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The Independent

January 8, 1921

# This Changing World

## A New Series of Articles

### By Edwin E. Slosson

## I—The Expansion of Personality

*What a plastic little creature man is! so shifty, so adaptive! his body a chest of tools, and he making himself comfortable in every climate, in every condition.—Emerson.*

THE world is more alive than it ever was before. This is not a metaphysical notion. It is a mathematical fact. It is true in two ways.

In the first place there are more people than ever in the world today. About a billion and three-quarters all told. The population of Europe increased during the nineteenth century from 180,000,000 to nearly 500,000,000. The population of the United States increased from 4,000,000 in 1790 to 105,000,000 in 1920.

In the second place every man in a civilized community counts for more because his personal power has been increased by the utilization of external energy. Besides his own muscular force, he has thru the engine and the dynamo added many horse-power to his man-power. One man in a factory can do a hundred men's work without straining his muscles or working overtime.

The inanimate world then is coming more under the control of human thought; first, by the multiplication of individuals, and, second, by the multiplication of the individual. Men are more numerous and many of them have been magnified. You cannot measure the circumference of a man with a tape or find out his weight in the world with the scales.

Personality is not a definite limited entity as we are accustomed to think. It can be considerably contracted and indefinitely expanded.

Let us consider first the diminution of personality. How large is a person? Can we say that a man's ego is the same size as his body, neither more nor less? That is obviously not true and would not, if it were true, settle the question for we cannot exactly define the limits of the body. Are the nails that grow out of my fingers a part of my personality? Certainly, since they are under my personal control. Yet I can trim them off without sense of loss. I can get my hair cut—and come to think of it I should—but that would not perceptibly subtract from my personality. My teeth are not a permanent part of me, tho I should hate to part with them.

Further curtailment cripples the personality but may not destroy it. A man may have a finger cut off without being the less of a man. A leg or two may be lost without impairing the integrity of individuality. Once a man had a crow-bar driven thru his skull when he was tamping dynamite. It took away a large portion of his brains but he never missed them. Surgeons can perform wonders in the way of division and subtraction on the internal organs of the human body without touching the ego in his undiscovered citadel. But we need not pursue this process of *reductio ad absurdam* any further since this suffices to show that the personality may be diminished indefinitely without destruction.

Let us then turn to the more cheerful and important aspect of the question, the expansion of personality. My finger-nail, so long as it was attached to my hand, I rightly regarded as part of my personality. But that part of the nail that I have cut off and thrown into the waste-basket is no more a part of me than the scraps of paper it lies among. I find, however, that I have trimmed the nail so close to the finger tip that I can no longer pick up minute objects like a needle or a microscope cover-glass from the table top. So I take in my hand a pair of forceps and find that I have a steel substitute for finger nails that is a considerable improvement on the natural appendage; I can pick up minuter things and hold them more firmly. The forceps are more completely under my control than my finger-nails. Can I regard them as any less a part of my personality? I can, it is true, discard the forceps and so break the connection with my person. But so I could with the finger-nails, and the forceps suit me better because I can pick them up again and attach them to my hand whenever I like, which I could not do with the finger-nails.

If I want to point out something on the map or blackboard to a class it would be very handy if I could extend my forefinger like a telescope two or three feet. But since I cannot I use a long wooden finger, a pointer. A tool is essentially an artificial limb, intended to rectify the inadequacies of nature. Stilts are simply extended legs. Roller skates and bicycles are the same. If we are knocking soft balls back and forth in a court with our hands we spread out our fingers as far as they will go and wish that they were webbed and that our arms were a little longer. The tennis racket is the fulfilment of this wish. For thousands of years man wished for wings. Prayed for them. Hoped that he might get them in heaven if he were good enough. His prayer was granted in 1908 when the Wright brothers first took flight.

If motive power be added the tool becomes a machine.

But however enlarged and specialized the machine is none the less a tool, a limb, a part of the person, so long as it is under personal control. The driver of an automobile feels the machine as part of himself. He guides its wheels as skilfully and unconsciously as the pedestrian moves his legs.

So, too, the cowboy or polo-player forgets in his excitement that he is a separable being from his pony. Horse and rider are one, a centaur in actuality.

Most of us nowadays use artificial teeth however sound our own set may be. My teeth are in Minneapolis, at least those I employ for masticating wheat. They are, I believe tho I have never seen them, made of steel instead of bone. Cooking is essentially a process of extra-corporeal digestion. The stove is an artificial stomach.

The artificial may be more completely incorporated into the personality than the natural. For instance, an artificial leg, made of steel springs and *papier maché*, may be much more of a real limb than a paralyzed leg that has to be dragged around.

Distance does not limit the extent of one's personality. Nor does lapse of time.

Whatsoever is under your control is, so far and so long as you exercize such control, a part of yourself. Every person whom you command, persuade or pay to do your will is thereby incorporated within the circumference of your individuality. The commander of an army, the manager of men, the ruler of a nation, the orator who compels the audience to follow his thought, the actor who commands their emotions, has expanded his own personality by including for the time other personalities.

Since money serves as the regulator of the flow of energy it also serves to enhance the power of the personality. This, doubtless, is its chief attraction. The multimillionaire can direct the course of his contemporaries and also, thru the power of bequest, of their posterity. We all use such money as we have in this same way. A little money is better than a longer limb. Instead of spading up a garden I can sit on the shady porch and get it done by means of a greenback. If I want a song sung I do not sing it myself. I get it done by proxy. I hire Caruso to sing it for me on a phonograph. He can do it better—that is, more as I want it sung—than I could.

The trolley car can travel faster than I can. So I take it into myself by getting into it if I have the means. Otherwise I walk, which is a less adequate expression of my individuality. For instance, if I am down town and want to come up quickly it would be better for me to have one leg and a nickel than to have two legs and no nickel. That is, my personality is, for that time and that purpose, more crippled for lack of a coin than it would be by loss of a leg. Being the fortunate possessor of five cents I have the power to make use of a share of the electric current that flows thru the third rail and I can ride north or south some seven miles without exerting myself and much faster than I could walk.

Or generalizing the conclusion of this line of argument we may say that the measure of one's personality is the amount of energy he can master. Of that unceasing stream of energy that descends from the sun and that ultimately disappears by dissipation thruout space, man is able to catch up and temporarily divert to his personal use a minute fraction, by transmuting it, partly thru his own body and more thru machinery, into available forms. Man has been multiplied and magnified by the magic of the machine. In this way and only in this way man is able to realize his will to power—the *Wille zur Macht* which, according to Nietzsche and Adler, is his great desire. It is only by drawing upon the stores of natural energy that man can become a superman. The modern man can outsoar the eagle. He can outrun the deer. He can outpull the elephant. He can outjump the flea—which I believe holds the world's lightweight championship for the high jump.

Yet the modern man is no bigger than his ancestors; much smaller in fact if it be true that there were giants on the earth in those days. If the winners of the Olympic games whose names are inscribed upon the marble slabs of the temple of Zeus were brought to life and pitted against the champions of the recent games at Copenhagen it would be an exciting contest for no one could tell in advance which would win. That the modern man can do more and see more and know more and live longer and live larger and live easier is not due to any natural increment of bodily or mental power, but solely to the advantages that applied science has bestowed upon him.

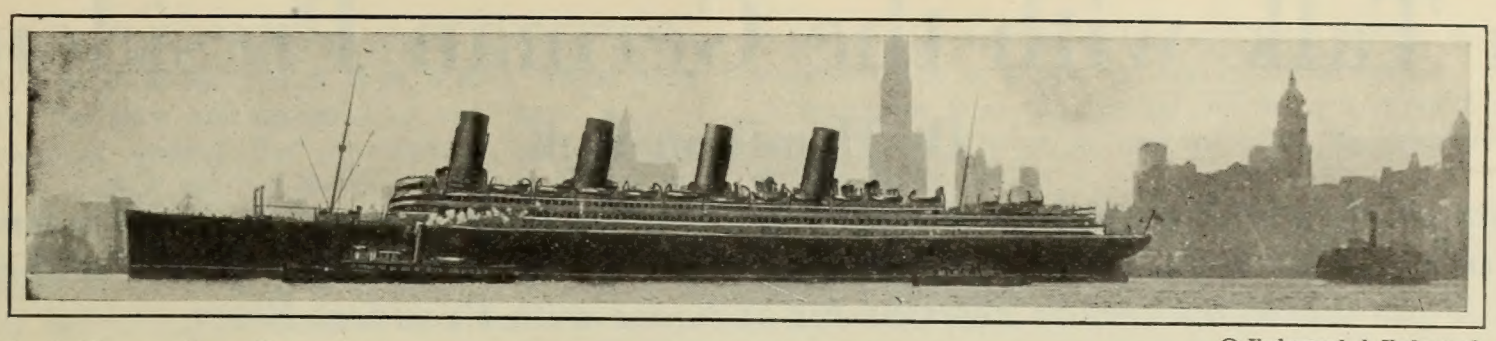



**Harvesting among the ancient Egyptians was all hand work. First the woman on the right pulls up the durra by the roots. The man behind her shakes off the dirt from the roots. The next man binds the grain in sheaves. The fourth slave carries it off to the fifth who strips off the heads on a spiked board**

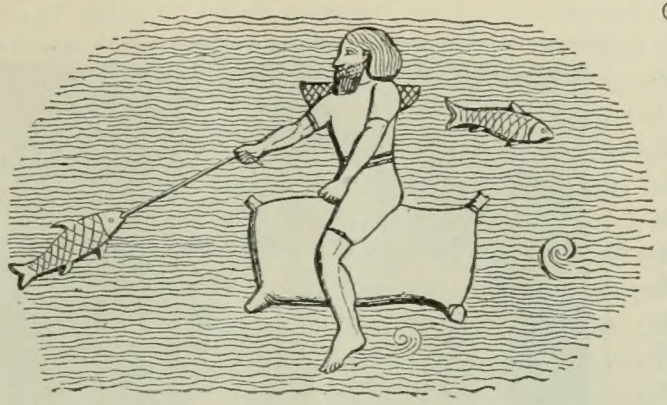


*International*

**Compare ancient agriculture with modern methods where the ground is cultivated with tractor plows and the grain is reaped and threshed by power machinery**



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From the ancient Assyrian fishing from his pneumatic boat to the modern "Aquitania," the fastest liner afloat, is the gain made in navigation in 3000 years

In ancient times when the only power was human power a rich man was distinguished by the length of the train of slaves who followed him around. But slaves are an unsatisfactory and insecure as well as a demoralizing basis of society. The more you have of them the more you have to feed and the more likely they are to revolt. Scientific civilization is based upon an ampler and safer foundation since man has learned how to draft into his service not his fellowmen, but the unfailing and unfeeling coal fields and waterfalls. So now we can all be plutocrats and if our inanimate servants were embodied in human form and equally divided among us we should see following every man, woman and child of us, wherever we went, a train of ten slaves. Since the partition of power is not equal among us some would have a train of hundreds or thousands, but none of us is so poor but that he would have one or two slaves of his own. That is to say even the poorest man in a civilized community is getting more in the way of food, clothes, transportation and the conveniences of life than if he had another man working for him with unaided human energy.

From this point of view we may define civilization as *the breaking down of natural barriers to the expansion of human individuality thru the scientific control of energy.* Man is running an obstacle race with the world as prize. He has to surmount or overthrow the hurdles and fences which inanimate nature or the carelessness of his forerunners has placed in his path.

Let us then for a moment consider human progress from this negative standpoint and observe how far man has or may overcome the limitations imposed upon his activities.

1. Overcoming the limitations of time.

Man has no time but the infinitesimal present. But his memory enables him to recover much of his past and his prescience enables him to forecast something of the future. Books form a sort of artificial memory, more comprehensive and accurate than that of the brain. Historical research extends our knowledge of the human race back into the remotest ages. As our historical eyesight gets stronger we can see farther into the mist of antiquity. Recently our Greek history has been prefaced by the Minoan civilization of three thousand years before. Back of Babylon have been discovered the dim outlines of Sumeria. And the caves of Altamira have given us a glimpse of man ten thousand years earlier drawing pictures of the extinct animals with which he fought. In turn our books, inscriptions and monuments will carry our ideas to succeeding generations.

Man's life seems to be inexorably and mysteriously limited in time, yet this limit can be postponed to an undetermined extent. Thru modern sanitation and medicine the average length of human life in civilized communities has been extended by more than five years. What is more important, the period of mental and physical usefulness and enjoyment has been materially extended. Among savages a man is apt to be aged at forty. A woman is a hag at thirty. In our time and land the period of vigor and beauty may easily be double that. With greater knowledge of hygiene, more rational mode of living and the elimination of bad habits we may anticipate the extension of the normal human life to near the century mark.

Whatever length of life we may have at our disposal we can make the most of it by time-saving devices of all sorts. By means of machinery a man can do a piece of work in a few minutes that otherwise might take him a day. He can get to a town a hundred miles away in a couple of hours by means of the automobile or in an hour by means of the airplane. Now that we can communicate across a continent instantaneously we may say that time has in this case been annihilated.

2. Overcoming the limitations of space.

Space is for practical purposes best measured in the time dimension. To say "twenty minutes from Broadway" has a more definite meaning than to say "ten miles." So the instances just given of rapid transit and instantaneous communication may serve equally well to illustrate the reduction of distance. Man can be in only one place at one time so far as his bodily presence is concerned, but by means of modern mechanism he can extend his power and personality to all parts of the world. Formerly a man's voice was limited to a few hundred yards. Now he can be heard across the ocean by the cable or can speak to ships anywhere in mid-ocean by wireless. The phonograph carries his voice farther, for thru it he can be heard anywhere at any time or in various places simultaneously. By telegraph and mail he can send his thoughts to every quarter of the earth. Books and pictures give him access to all countries and times. He can write a message at a distance by means of the telautograph and send his picture by the telopticon. The telescope enables him to see what goes on in the moon better than if he were there. In fact the column of the dictionary composed of words beginning with *tel-* is a monument to man's success in overcoming the barrier of space.

3. Overcoming the limitations of altitude.

The third dimension of space, the perpendicular one, requires special attention because of its peculiar difficulty. Man is naturally an inhabitant of flatland. He lives mostly near sea-level and has not so far ascended the highest mountains on his planet. But the airplane has given man the power to rise into air and the submarine has given him the power to dive into the sea. During the Great War there were battles in three dimensions. The steel-supported skyscraper has multiplied the floor space of a given area of ground by twenty or thirty. Our city squares have become cubical.

4. Overcoming the limitations of night and day.

Man has always had it in his power to turn day into night by simply shutting his eyes, but he could not make it daylight by opening them. The first torch or campfire lengthened the day, but it was not until the invention of the Welsbach mantle, the electric [*Continued on page 52*

# A Talk with the German President

## By Hamilton Holt

***In an article which we published December 18, 1920, the Editor of The Independent gave some impressions of his five days' visit to Berlin during his recent trip to Europe. He goes on here to describe his audience with President Ebert.***

JOHANN Sassenbach, the President of the Trades Union Council and one of the leading members of the Reichstag, the man who expects to come to Washington as soon as peace is negotiated with Germany to occupy the unprecedented post of "Social Attaché" to the German Embassy, suggested and arranged the interview for me with President Ebert of Germany.

Sassenbach and Ebert are comrades of old. Both are saddlers by trade. Both are leaders in the Socialist Party's councils, both fought many a good fight together in pre-war days against militarism, monarchism, and junkerism.

I had been told that the President scarcely ever granted audiences. On only two previous occasions had he allowed himself to be visited by journalists. On both of these times he got into trouble. So I did not anticipate that even Sassenbach's good offices would be successful.



President Ebert, the Socialist President of Germany, and Mrs. Ebert

But within an hour after Sassenbach's call I was notified that the President would see me at five p. m. the next day and that he would take the occasion to make a public statement thru me to the American people. The appointment was to be at the President's official residence on the Wilhelmstrasse, for the German government has not thought it in keeping with the Democratic spirit of the new day to occupy the Hohenzollern abodes of splendor. The Kaiser's palace is now vacant and closed. The Crown Prince's palace on Unter-den-Linden has been turned into a picture gallery. And Potsdam, like Versailles and Hampton Court, is already thrown open to the public as a symbol of a bygone régime.

I asked whether the conventional frock coat and a high hat were expected. But I got the refreshing answer that the President did not "like such nonsense" and wished to talk with me simply as man to man.

Accordingly in my ordinary business suit, I left the Adlon Hotel at quarter before five escorted by Mr. Wolfgang Schwartz, the courteous secretary of the German League of Nations Association, who was to introduce me to the President and act if necessary as interpreter. After a couple of minutes' walk down the Wilhelmstrasse, we found ourselves at the President's home. It was situated about half way between the Adlon and the American Embassy. An armed sentry was standing on guard at the iron gate.

I had my passport ready, but I was not challenged. Without ado we were admitted into the pretty courtyard where crossing directly to the rear we found a butler in a dress suit at the palace door which he had already opened to receive us. We were ushered into a large oblong, handsome, but formal-looking reception room. It was furnished with gilt, pink, and white chairs and tables of the Louis something period. There were two alcoves built into the corners of the room, in which were placed two marble urns. Two huge gilt mirrors reflected from the wall. A bespangled ornate chandelier hung from the ceiling. A rich oriental rug was on the floor. We were evidently in some home occupied before the war by a foreign diplomat or a member of the German nobility. The room was darkened except for three heavily draped windows which looked out upon a formal garden of trees, shrubs, lawn and statuary.

I had hardly taken in all these details when Dr. Karl O. Bertling and the Private Secretary of President Ebert entered. Dr. Bertling is the acting president of the admirable Amerika-Institut, founded before the war to promote American culture in the Fatherland. Doctor Bertling and his wife have lived long in the United States and only left the country with Bernstorff when the latter was given his "walking papers" after America entered the war. I visited the Institut the next day and was greatly impressed with the work it has done and is capable of doing to promote friendship between America and Germany.

At precisely five o'clock, a side door was thrown open and we were conducted into an ante-room, furnished in red, and then into another room in the center of which the President was standing to receive us.

Frederick Ebert, the first President of the German Republic, is a dark, Teutonic, agreeable-looking man, about as short and plump as Lloyd-George. His hair is thick and wavy black, his mustache is dark and curling and he wears an almost French imperial beard. He is a brunette of the typical South German type.

He was well groomed and wore a close-fitting navy blue sack suit. He does not look like a manual worker at all, but rather like a prosperous retail store keeper. He had a pleasant, frank manner and made me feel at ease at once. As is the invariable European custom, I, as the guest, was motioned to the sofa, which is always the seat of honor, while the President and the other three gentlemen formed a circle about, seated in heavily upholstered low office chairs.

The room was evidently the President's private office. His great flat-topped desk of dark wood was catercornered against one angle of the room. A tall modern grandfather's clock was opposite. The only ornament I noticed was a

bronze figure of horses over the closed bookcase and a portrait evidently of the Franz Hals school, which hung on the wall. The floor was covered by a red rug.

The President opened the conversation, as Emperor Mutsuhito of Japan did ten years ago when I had my audience with him at Tokyo, by asking why I had come to Berlin, what I was doing and how long my sojourn was to be.

I replied that I had not planned to come to Germany until the previous week. I came only because General Allen and other friends in the American Army of Occupation at Coblenz had advised me to. I had only a few days at the most to stay in Germany, but I did want to find out all that I could about present conditions in the brief time at my disposal.

"Your desire to acquaint yourself with the real conditions of the German people is most gratifying," said the President; "I appreciate it as a symptom of confidence in Germany of the new order. I learn you have been in touch with some of our best men engaged in the work of charity in this country, and I may assume that you are impressed by the extent of misery and need in the homes of our people and that you will not judge us from certain cheerful impressions of a pleasure-seeking traveler."

I told the President that any foreigner coming to Germany would get a very wrong impression from seeing the vulgar ostentation such as prevailed at some of the ultra-luxurious Berlin hotels and that I personally would not have stopped at the Adlon had I known just what kind of a place it was. I then said that I had spent that very morning with Mr. Yarnall investigating the food stations and maternity hospitals which those Good Samaritans, the American Quakers, had established, and were conducting for the women and children of Germany. I was very much touched by the pitiable conditions resulting from the food shortage, and I was proud of what some of my countrymen were doing to mitigate the prevailing distress.

The President replied: "The kind of work being done by the Americans will help allay the feelings of disappointment of the German people on account of the peace conditions imposed upon them by the Allies. Germany deeply appreciates what is being done to draw both peoples together in this way, which, after all, is the best way to bind up wounds and inaugurate new and happier relations."

"The German people," he continued, "have always been in the habit of looking upon the American people as to an ideal embodiment of sympathies toward all the peoples of the old world according to the manifold ties connecting them.

"It has thus been a matter of great comfort to us that charity work on a large scale has come to the aid also of war-stricken Germany from America and it gives me great satisfaction to avail myself of this opportunity to express Germany's gratitude to the American people. America's readiness to help reminds us of the happier days when there was pleasant and cheerful intercourse between the two nations. Such a spirit of helpfulness permits us to hope for a return of mutual understanding in a new era and in a new spirit.

"American help will greatly aid us to recover from the many evils that beset us and to realize the common ideals of true democracy."

I then asked him what I should stress in regard to social and economic tendencies in Germany when I returned home.

He considered a minute and then said that there was great unrest among the workers, but he hoped much good would result from the establishment of the National Economic Council, which will advise the Reichstag on economic affairs and the new factory law framed for the sole purpose of democratizing industry, both of which measures I described in my last article in The Independent.

But when I said these innovations, if successful, would make Germany lead the world in social reform, the President made a deprecatory gesture and replied, "I do not think you should go as far as that. But I will say there is a new spirit reigning in Germany."

But even if these experiments turn out to be all that is expected of them President Ebert thought there could be no permanent settlement of industrial unrest until the people had enough food and coal. "Germany cannot support her population," he said, "without exporting her commodities and importing raw materials."

He next laid great stress on the necessity of restoring trade with the rest of the world. This implied the reëstablishment of steamship lines, the revival of manufacturing and above all coal. Coal is evidently causing more anxiety to Germany than anything except food.

As regards state socialism the President said that Germany has already state ownership and operation of the railroads, post office, telegraph and telephone lines. The government is now considering a scheme to nationalize the coal and potash mines, and after that they expect to take up the water power of the nation.

I asked if anything was being done to stop the falling of the value of the mark.

The President replied that the Government had already attempted several things, but that matter was so intricate that he had come to the conclusion that the rate of exchange could not be regulated by one nation alone. He regarded the then forthcoming financial conference to be held in Brussels under the auspices of the League of Nations, in which Germany was invited to participate, as something that might help.



*Kladderdatsch, Berlin*

"Frederick the Great" was the caption given to this German cartoon of President Ebert

This gave me the opportunity to ask his views on the League of Nations. I told him that personally I thought that much of the world's present troubles were due to the fact that the League of Nations was not yet on a firm enough foundation and that I was sorry to have to admit that in this respect my country was more responsible than any other. I did not see how the League could function as it ought until both Germany and the United States were in it.

President Ebert agreed with me most heartily in this [*Continued on page 55*

# Will Demon Rum Stay Dead?

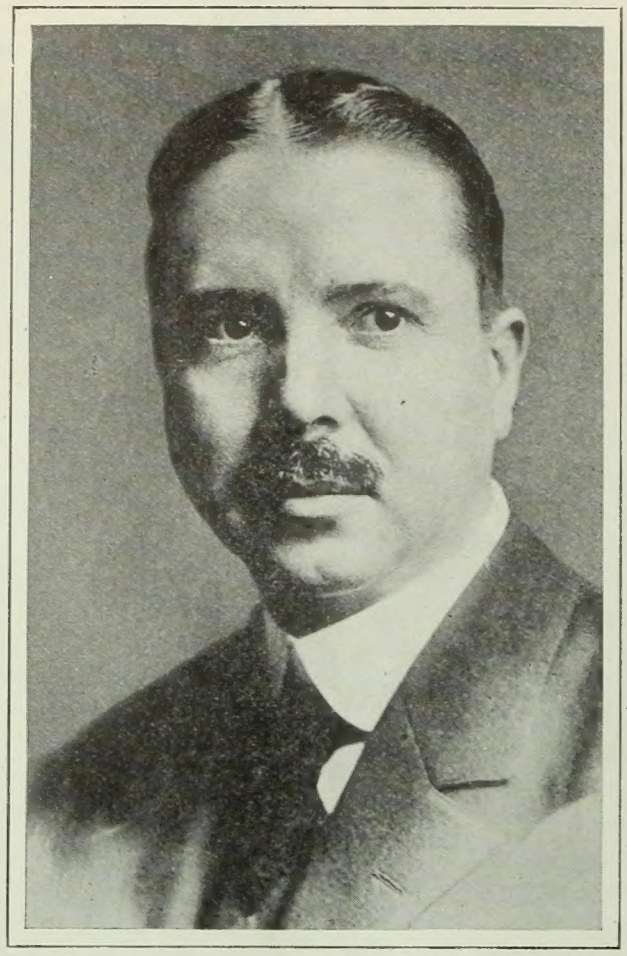
## By William H. Anderson

### State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New York

THE liquor interests cannot believe their own eyes and ears and the evidence of their own senses. Altho, since the advent of national prohibition, 236 distilleries, 1090 breweries and 177,790 places holding licenses to sell liquor have been put out of business, they still believe they can "come back."

This phenomenal faith in the ultimate resuscitation of a corpse is due to the fact that the liquor interests have always confidently relied on the politicians to "pull them thru," and the politicians with their inability to comprehend moral values, their suave ignorance of the trend of public opinion, and their disregard for the expressed wishes of voters are still promising the impossible.

Tho anyone possessing a working knowledge of human nature and human events knows that the saloon can never come back, because of the mandate of the American people, those closest to the firing line on the dry side of the "wet" and "dry" fight realize that there is grave danger of a nullification program being put over by politicians and the liquor interests, and their busy allies among those endowed with a perpetual thirst.



Mr. William H. Anderson, who did perhaps more than any other man to put prohibition into the Constitution

For the benefit of the great mass of men and women who have benefited by prohibition, who want to see it upheld and retained as our national policy, and above all who believe that reverence for law should be as Lincoln said, "the political religion of the nation," the fundamental facts in this conspiracy to rob the people of America of the victory which made it the first dry nation in the world should be set forth.

Two things must be accomplished openly by the enemies of prohibition in order to defeat the purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment; first a Congress must be elected which will repeal or emasculate the "National Prohibition Act," commonly known as the Volstead Law, the Federal enforcement measure under which Government officials operate; and, second, the state legislatures must be prevented from enacting or induced to repeal laws that coincide with the Volstead Law and that put the state's share of the burden of enforcement up to state officials. Prohibition must also be discredited in those recently wet localities, especially the big cities, where the people know little or nothing about its history and progress, while the belief that it is "unenforceable" must be encouraged.

Here we have the nucleus of the plan which has been widely advertised in liquor journals, upon which wet politicians base their nullification campaign and which is being encouraged by newspapers with pro-liquor tendencies in such wet centers as New York City.

This campaign of attack is well defined and under the direction of competent leaders. The liquor interests are pulling together, realizing it is now or never.

The liquor interests know that they cannot repeal the Eighteenth Amendment, for it would take a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the states to do this. No effort to rescind ratification could possibly be successful. But the Volstead Law can be changed so as to increase the permitted alcoholic content of liquors. This would have the effect of bringing back beer and possibly "light wines," whatever that term means. It would reinstate the brewers, open nearly every drug store, soft drink emporium and restaurant as an unlicensed saloon and put wine and beer on the menu of any family that wanted it. The outcome would be not only no prohibition, but not even the protection and restriction afforded by the license system. It would be impossible for the Government with a staff of inspectors larger than the regular army to determine what percentage of alcoholic beverages was being manufactured and passed out to the public.

John F. Kramer, Federal Prohibition Commissioner, said recently: "We might as well give up the whole thing and let it go by the board if we are to have wines and beer. Soft drink establishments are troublesome enough today, but change them to wine and beer emporiums and no power on earth can enforce the law, or limit the alcoholic content."

This is exactly what the handful of brewery-controlled politicians in both parties aim to do—they want to perpetuate the brewery for their bosses, the pro-German anti-American brewers—they wish to cater to the vote of the lawless element, they want to find a substitute for their old political stronghold, the saloon on the corner, both as a recruiting station and source of campaign funds.

It is this thing that the organized forces of morality and decency are fighting against in this election and must continue to fight until the enemy lies down and quits, which will not be for years.

No one pretends that the millennium has arrived because we have written prohibition of the liquor traffic into our national law. No one ever claimed that it would be easy to convert a wet country into a dry one, or to overcome in a year the social tendencies of generations. Alcohol is a poison and it permeates the national as well as the human system and cannot be driven out immediately by legislation. America must go thru the "sobering up" process just as the man recovering from a debauch must go thru it.

If the nullificationists have their way we will have no law that is worthy of the name to enforce, and the Eighteenth Amendment will stand in the Constitution as a mockery of our form of government. It is for this reason that the law-abiding citizens in all parts of the country must make a counter-drive against those who would promote disregard for the Constitution.

The necessity for the passage of state laws in conformity with the Volstead Law is emphasized by the experience of New York State. Last winter by [*Continued on page 55*

# Better Days for Business

## By Talcott Williams

ANXIETY over the business situation has sensibly lessened in December for two reasons. First, factory and other labor of the country at large has met decreasing wages with far more intelligence than has taken place in the past. Reductions in practically the entire textile industry of the country have taken place without serious collision. Such serious peril as has come to corporations large enough to affect the business situation as a whole, have been met on the new plan of looking on coöperation as better than catastrophe. A new phrase constantly heard in banking and business circles during the past four months has been that such and such a great corporation was "in the hands of its bankers." This meant that the individual banks which had handled the financial affairs of these corporations, when the corporations became involved were able under the Federal Reserve Bank system to turn to other banks for assistance thru rediscounting, distributing the strain. In the past, in 1873, 1884, 1893, 1897, 1907, when the stringency came, single banks or even a group of banks standing alone could not take these risks. Public failure came and a great corporation fell, spreading ruin in its fall.

The reduction of wages without collision between capital and labor has on the other hand been due to the diffusion of business intelligence which has taken place in the newspapers during the last decade. A metropolitan paper in New York or elsewhere has in recent years often doubled, in many cases tripled and quadrupled the number of columns it devoted to business news. In New York City this began with the *Times* and was taken up by the other dailies. Even the *American,* up to 1912 looked upon as attacking the business situation instead of printing news about it, has devoted a large part of its space to business topics, with the result of increasing its circulation and its advertising. On the other side, the corporations have furnished more facts about their condition than they ever have before. The result is that the condition of affairs was widely known to the employed as well as employers. Fortunately in this country, the wage earner reads the same newspapers as the millionaire. In England, in France and in Germany where wages are lower, the margin of expenditure narrower, and labor herd-like, the dailies are read by the well-to-do, and the employed receive their facts and information, to a very large extent, from weeklies. This is ill for both halves of the bargain, and the American plan of dailies which everyone reads, and weeklies which coördinate for all classes, tends to coördinate social action.

This has grown apparent as textiles were forced to reduce wages. As prices fell this reduction was accepted by intelligent labor, which in due time will profit by an advance in wages without the terrible cost of idleness and disorder in strikes. One serious exception has been in the Amalgamated Clothing Unions, which beyond any other labor is composed of those who often neither understand nor read English and consequently get their facts from the round 1,000,000 of circulation by language papers in our large cities. The other great exception in this matter is the iron and steel trade, where the steel trust is making the very serious mistake of maintaining exorbitant prices. It is nonsense for the trusts and railroads, led by the Pennsylvania railroad, which carries a large share of iron, steel, coke and coal freights, to combine in agreeing on $44 a ton for steel rails, when the wise plan would be to go back to $28, for near twenty years the standard price. A single industry cannot keep its wages and products up in this fashion when other wages and products are falling, particularly when this is a foundation industry whose costs settle the cost to the consumer of railroad construction and house, store and factory building.

The stabilization of credits and the adjustment of wages and output to the fall of prices is, however, a mere step forward which promises readjustment without shock. Fortunately, too, Europe, west of the Vistula, has been importing on a larger scale. The advance in the figures given for about two-thirds of 1920 over 1919 were close to an average of 20 per cent. Japan increased its imports about one-third; and India about two-thirds. Italy is almost the only country whose imports decreased. High coal wages in England are turning over the coal export trade to this country. Our freight has broken the market for ocean freight to one-quarter of what it was last summer. This shift of coal exports to this country, which has only just begun, has been, however, accompanied by an increase of nearly two-thirds in English exports. A like increase has taken place in France. It may easily be more profitable for England to burn its coal at home in advanced manufactures than to send it abroad. These figures all point to European trade as a whole improving, and furnishing a market for our own manufactures.

The one serious peril is the attempt of grain growers in the West and cotton planters in the South to advance prices for their products artificially, first by getting loans which have been already advanced on a larger scale than ever before, and second by advancing duties on exports of food. The rest of the country has accepted a lower range of prices and the farm will only lose if it seeks to prevent this.

In 1890, when Baring Brothers failed, the largest banking failure up to date, a panic was prevented by the Bank of England, the Bank of France and other banks uniting to liquidate. This took six years of economy, of restricted growth and hard work, but a smash was prevented. It is altogether probable that the country is entering on a like period of lower prices, lower wages, increased and more intensive work, restricted personal expenditures, more saving under steady payment by heavy taxes of the costly bill of the war.

All that is really needed to set the world on its feet is a mutual agreement to restrict enormous military expenditures. This step ought first to be taken by Japan and England, the two aggressive powers today.

Meanwhile those who watch the advertising columns of weeklies and dailies and buy as prices fall, will save money and help save the country. There will be lots of openings and opportunities for new posts and more pay a year hence. This is the time to begin studying to meet these coming openings.

## Our Naked Napes

THIS is the season when we are catching colds and a large proportion of them are caught in the nape of the neck. This is the most sensitive part of the body. Here we can be easily knocked out by a blow of the fist or a blow of the wind. The spinal cord, the trunk line of the human system, here runs thru the narrow isthmus connecting the head and the body, and comes close to the surface in the back. Here are located the ganglia of the brain that control the automatic adjustments of the body, especially its thermal regulation. A cold breeze blowing right on this spot may give us a cold that lasts thru the winter. We might stand stript before a wide open window with less danger than let a draft from a crack play on the nape of the neck. For physiology differs from finance in that small drafts are more to be dreaded than large ones.

Now nature has provided an extra protection for this vulnerable place. The hair when allowed to grow falls back over the neck forming a wind-shelter for the medulla oblongata. But nowadays women pile up the hair on top of the head where it is not needed while men clip close and even shave the nape of the neck. They could hardly do anything more silly. The arms and legs can stand the cold. The face may be bared with impunity. The chest and throat may be exposed to the weather as our ladies are now demonstrating.

But the nape of the neck needs all the cover it can get. If the savage has but one strip of cloth or a scanty skin to protect him against the cold he spreads it out to cover his back bone. Animals have manes on the ridge of the neck. But man deliberately deprives himself of the protection of his back hair and so gets blistered by the sun and chilled by the wind.

## Borah's Conversion

THERE is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just ones that need no repentance. Senator Borah, perhaps the most bitter and certainly the most sincere opponent of international coöperation in the whole Senate, has come out in favor of a triple agreement for naval limitation comprizing the United States, Great Britain and Japan. If it is right for these three widely separated and dissimilar commonwealths to act together in a matter so closely related to national "sovereignty" as disarmament, it can be no very terrible thing for all civilized nations to discuss disarmament and similar questions of world policy thru their chosen representatives at Geneva. If the Senator from Idaho will continue to follow the logic of his naval holiday resolution it will land him alongside Taft and Wilson among those "converted" to the League of Nations policy.

## Einstein's Crease

### By Edwin E. Slosson

THE theories of space and time initiated by Professor Einstein of Berlin have given a new twist to the old problem of free-will and destiny. According to Einstein the three dimensions of space, that is up-down, right-left and backward-forward, form with the one dimension of time, that is past-future, a four-dimensional system in which things are tracks and events are the junctions of these tracks. A moving particle of matter makes a sort of crease ridge thru the system and this more or less interferes with the free motion of all other particles in the vicinity. For instance the tracks of two oranges, cast out into empty space, tend to run together in the course of time, or, to use the Newtonic nomenclature, the two bodies are drawn together by the force of gravitation. One orange, alone in the universe, might conceivably roll around anyway at its own sweet will. But its absolute and arbitrary independence ceases the moment another orange comes into existence. Only a solitary monad could be completely free and it would lose its freedom the next instant, for whatever it did would determine what it must do. If it did nothing but stay still (that is, confined its movement to the time dimension) for a moment it would so have acquired the habit of indolence (otherwise inertia) that it would never move of itself thru all eternity. Which is, as the reader will observe, merely another way of stating Newton's first law.

To illustrate, take a new flat unrumpled sheet of paper. You can fold that any way you please. It is just as easy to start a crease in one direction as another. It is a *tabula rasa*. Very well, shut your eyes and start a crease across the paper with your finger nail at random. But just as soon as you have started the crease you have permanently warped the paper and forever limited the freedom of all other foldings. The paper no longer bends with equal ease in all directions. You might as well have run your crease in any other direction, but once started it tends to run in the same direction—just as a moving body tends to continue in a straight line thru space. Any other crease tends to run into the channel of the first or if it crosses the first it is bent or bothered at the junction.

Another illustration. On the level plains of western Kansas when I was a boy a wagon could go anywhere. It could head straight for the cloud-like tip of Pike's Peak with the determination to get there or bust. But after one prairie schooner had passed over the velvet sod of buffalo grass all ways were not equal. The next wagon had a tendency to follow in the track of the first either because the wheels or the driver's mind ran most readily in a rut. After a while the random trail had worn into a road so deep that the driver had to have great determination and much swearing to get the horses out of it.

It seems to be so in everything. The start settles the sequence. What has been determines what shall be. Yesterday dictates today.

You sit down at the piano to compose a tune. You can strike any key you choose. But having struck one the next will necessarily bear some relation to the first and by the time you have struck half a dozen you settled the key to which you must conform under penalty of violating the natural laws of harmony. For music is mathematical and the final chord is predestined when the first chord is sounded, however the melody may flow between. When an algebraic problem is once stated the solution is settled whatever may be the method of working it out.

Start a bonfire on a calm day. You may blow the flame from any side. But once going the fire itself determines the direction of the wind that feeds it.

In making new compounds in the laboratory the chemist sometimes gets an oil or gum that he cannot crystallize. If the compound has been made before he may go to the bottle in the stockroom and get a crystal to seed his solution. As soon as the minutest fragment of the crystal is dropped in, even an invisible dust particle, the whole solution crystallizes out instantly. But if the compound is a new one the chemist tries all sorts of tricks with the sticky stuff. He scratches it with a glass rod. He shakes it. He shocks it by sudden cooling. He drops in various sorts of crystals in the hope that one of them may be so much like the crystals of the unknown as to fool it into solidifying just as a hen is fooled into laying by a china egg. If by any of these means or by sheer accident the chemist can get a single microscopic crystal he can make pounds of it, tons of it. For instance glycerine, discovered in 1779, was known only in the liquid form until 1867 when certain crystals appeared spontaneously and from them crystals of glycerine have been propagated ever since. Sometimes a substance has two different forms of crystallization. In that case the whole dishful will crystallize out in the form of whichever crystal is dropped into the solution or happens to get started first.

A white rat appears unexpectedly in a litter of brown ones. Nobody knows why it came, but once in existence it may become the primogenital parent of a new race of white rats. Possibly the first man was merely a monkey mutant.

What started the cyclone that has destroyed the city? Perchance a lady's fan or a falling leaf. It is useless to inquire, for its origin, whatever it may be, is too trivial to consider. All we can do, now that the wind is blowing, is to measure its velocity, map its movement, and endeavor to forecast its course.

So with everything in nature. Origins always elude us, possibly because they are too minute for our minds. Anyhow, if we could know them they would not help us to understand the world as it now runs. Did the first particle

of matter move in a straight line or just dodge around like a mad hornet? Were the first couple of particles attractive or repellent to one another? We do not know and it does not matter that we do not know. It appears that for the last few million years or more all particles have shown a disposition to travel straight and to draw together and we may safely assume that they will keep up these habits during the lifetime of the human race. Many of our statutory laws are, as we know, merely customs codified. Perhaps natural laws are the same. The universe might maybe have been warped some other way in its primeval and plastic state—but it was not and we have only to deal with things as they are. Whether there was in the beginning any element of pure freedom, that is to say of mere chance, it has long ago been lost in the complexities of the interrelations of all things. Now we live in an orderly universe, very fortunately for us, for otherwise we should go crazy from vain guessing at what would happen next.

Such are the reflections suggested by the new theory of gravitation. But don't blame Einstein for them. He merely started the crease along which my thought flowed.

# What the Foreign Missionaries Teach Us

## By Shailer Mathews

MISSIONARIES are showing themselves leaders of a uniting Christianity. Face to face with strange civilizations and religions they get a new perspective of the gospel they preach. Especially is this true of missionaries close to those of other denominations. The fundamental contrast between Christianity and ethnic religions throws denominational differences into the background. Reports now coming from Japan and China show such tendency plainly. Missions founded by different denominations face the same tremendous task. It is only natural and sensible that they should plan coöperatively. Native Christians are growing impatient of church distinctions which are the price which Europe and America have paid for religious liberty. Extreme churchmen of course hold tenaciously to peculiarities in doctrine and practice, but the great current of Christian development is passing them by. There will of course be exclusiveness among converts, for human nature is pretty much the same the world over, but it is likely new ecclesiastical grouping will spring less from geographical and denominational differences in America than from conditions found among the converts themselves.

Denominational differences may embody some vital religious force or they may be simply vestiges of a more active past. In so far as these distinctions which keep Christian bodies apart are superimposed upon foreign people, they hinder spiritual life of converts and the spread of Christianity. Why, for instance, should the Chinese perpetuate denominational differences born from American slavery? Leading missionaries themselves recognize the foolishness of such policies. In many cases they are in advance of the denominations which support them. The discussion in the recent convention of the Disciples in St. Louis over the practice of open membership among the churches in China illustrates the progress of the missionaries as truly as the conservatism of the denomination. Not all missionaries will consent to make the mode of baptism divisive in the church of new China. But the Disciples are only one among many denominations who feel the contrast between missionary expansion and denominational exclusiveness. Baptist missionaries and mission boards are ready to coöperate in colleges and to assume evangelistic mandatories over sections of the pagan world, but Baptists at home are by no means agreed on such a policy. Catholic churches of all sorts have not waived ecclesiastical prerogatives, but their representatives on the field are developing a readiness to coöperate in Christian service.

Whoever recollects his church history will regard these advances on the frontier of Christianity with sympathy and hope. Christianity has always developed on the frontier even tho older churches have tried to check its advance. Thus did the church in Jerusalem try to check the advance of the more tolerant Christianity of Antioch and the Pauline churches—and failed. The influence of the missionary upon his church is always more creative than the control of the church upon the missionary. Great denominations have been born for his support. Christians in America have learned much from the Christian evangelists in Japan and China. Despite the reactionary eddies and rigidity of older men and women, American Christianity is following the guidance of those young enthusiasts for the gospel and humanity who have gone by the thousands to foreign lands. The Student Volunteer Movement is not concerned in spreading denominationalism. It wants to make men and women and civilization itself Christian. These hundreds of men and women fresh from our colleges who go to the foreign field will never be content with the limitations set by the religious mind of past generations. Their sense of the immensity of the need and their determination to place first things first, is already being felt in missionary boards. It will only be a few decades before it will be more potent and the boards at home will become as broadly Christian as their representatives among the heathen. The foreign missionary will have taught home-keeping Christians to love one another.

# Mostly Fools

WHEN Carlyle said that the population of England was "mostly fools" it was commonly supposed that the dyspeptic Scotchman was merely giving vent to a splenetic absurdity. But it begins to look now as tho his rash statement were to receive statistical verification. The new methods of determining the grade of intelligence, originally known as the Binet-Simon tests and devised for the purpose of weeding out backward school children, are now being applied to the population at large with startling results. The first chance for the application of such mental tests to millions of subjects was on the recruits of the American Army in the Great War. They proved it in sorting out soldiers who could not be relied upon to understand orders or to act intelligently in a crisis without orders.

Now come to compile the figures the average intelligence of the soldiers in the American Army turns out to be well below fourteen years. That is to say, these adult young men had on the average no more thinking ability than the normal child between 13 and 14 years of age. Many were much lower; 2.6 per cent were under 10 years, which would bring them into the moron class on whom the expense of uniform and drill and transportation over-sea was worse than wasted since they would never make good soldiers. The illiterates, as we should expect, ran lower than the rest, averaging about 11 years. The intelligence tests are designed to ascertain natural mental ability, regardless of the degree of education, so that those who had had no schooling would stand an equal chance. About 25 per cent of the American force in France were found to be virtually illiterate, that is, they could not get the meaning out of an ordinary newspaper paragraph or write so as to be read. Now the census gives the percentage of illiteracy among the male voters as only 8.4. Evidently we cannot find out how many people are unreachable by print by simply having the census taker inquire at the door: "Can you read and write?" and naively put down the answer. This points to a serious deficiency in our school system,

for the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Australia and other nations have reduced their illiterates almost down to the infants and feeble-minded. But while we could and should teach to read everybody capable of learning, that would not raise the level of intelligence since that is a natural inheritance and can only be improved by giving future generations better parents.

Psychologists classify mentally defective adults as idiots with less sense than a child of three, imbeciles between three and eight years of mental age and morons between eight and eleven. The psychologists have not yet ventured to define the "fool" but presumably it would include these three classes and a year or two more. Now the oversea soldiers were superior to the average of their age for the obviously unsound and defective had been left behind. So it would seem that Carlyle's hasty estimate of the mentality of the majority of his fellow-countrymen will prove conservative and applicable to America as well.

## The Kaiser As a Model

SOME people, when appealed to for contributions to the Central Europe Relief Fund, find excuse in saying that they will give only when the ex-emperor has donated all his wealth to his distressed countrymen. Since when has Kaiser Wilhelm become the standard of American morality?

# The Boo-Shwa-Zee!

## By Preston Slosson

WHO are the bourgeoisie? We hear them endlessly cursed, but not very definitely defined. In fact, this dismal word has been applied to at least three quite distinct species of human being.

When an artist or would-be artist uses the word it is equivalent to Philistine. It means a man of many solid qualities, but with too much solidity inside the skull. A man who knows just enough about modern art to be a little afraid of it. A man who has the Puritan smugness without the Puritan zeal. A man whose artistic tastes are expressed by cast iron deer on the front lawn, slippery black sofas, meaningless scraps of shell and beadwork hung on the walls, rows of unread classics in the bookshelf, the illustrated supplement to the Sunday paper, and the latest comic song on the phonograph.

When a nobleman or peasant in the old days used the word it was equivalent to Middle Class. It meant a town dweller, a "burgess," a prosperous but unassuming merchant. Far above him towered the privileged classes: court, nobility and clergy. Far below him were the laborers of town and country. With the "upper ten" on top and the "submerged tenth" below, he was like the slice of meat in the sandwich.

But when the modern Socialist uses the term he makes it equivalent to all the property holders. Even the millionaire, the topmost man of the modern world, is called "middle class," as tho there logically could be a middle with nothing above it. The orthodox Socialist is mentally inferior to the Pacific savage, for he cannot count above two. If you are not a proletarian you are a bourgeois and you can't escape it.

The only thing common to these three views of the bourgeoisie is that this class is always condemned. To the artist a mere money-grubber; to the noble a vulgar tradesman; to the Socialist an oligarch and oppressor. And a civilization, such as that of the United States, which is branded as "bourgeois," is viewed with equal horror by Mencken and Metternich and Marx.

But the artist is content to sneer at the bourgeois; he has no hope of abolishing him. No one has been mad enough to dream of a world in which all make their living by selling vers libre to each other. The aristocrat sadly recognizes that his day of political ascendancy has passed and that even the proudest aristocracies are only kept alive by catching an occasional wealthy bourgeois and varnishing him with traditional culture. Not so the Socialist! He will abolish the bourgeoisie as a class and proletarianize the world.

We fear that Socialism is beginning at the wrong end. Class barriers must be abolished. So be it. But why abolish the bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat? Do the reds really want a proletarian world? The proletarian is the man without property, the man without education, the man harried and driven by fear of want. A universal proletarianism means universal misery; the dead level of the masses in China, India or Russia. It cannot be that Utopia will mean simply the World Slum. Nor is there much hope of making the world one big aristocracy or upper class. That may come in some far distant day when the energies inside the atom have been unlocked and the whole human race is set free from the need of daily toil; but it is out of the question now. If wealth were equally distributed we should not all be Rockefellers or Dukes of Devonshire.

The conclusion is irresistible. The leveling up of the poor and the leveling down of the very rich, if such a program is really carried out, would put all men at the bourgeois level. All men would have to work (the Socialists admit it), but all would, or so it is claimed, have leisure for education and sufficient income to live in comfort. Instead of palaces and hovels, there would be decent houses for all. Instead of the poor trudging barefoot beside the touring car of the millionaire, everybody would have his Ford. Instead of the contrast between the fifty dollars a plate banquet and the beggar's crust, there would be food in plenty for every table and extravagant luxury for none. Something like this is the real goal of all Utopian reformers. But where does it land us—

In a bourgeois world! Everything that is characteristic of the class which today has a small but sufficient income would be characteristic of a world in which none were poor and none very rich. With the social status of the millionaire and the poor laborer gone from the world, the mentality of these classes would also disappear. How can the Socialist expect the comfortable descendant of the class-conscious proletarian of today to keep alive the fire of revolution? Becoming bourgeois in circumstances the proletariat will become bourgeois in attitude. They will be steadied by education, made conservative by prosperity, made domestic by security of the home. All the sane and smug and solid qualities which make the Socialist rave at the bourgeoisie today would become universal instead of being confined to a class. Everyone would be a good citizen, a "burgess," a "bourgeois"; everyone would be a "pillar of society." Even religion would prosper, with the atheistic and licentious aristocracy and the indifferent or rebel mob both eliminated; do not the Socialists say that the Protestant churches are simple "middle class clubs"? People would be more "respectable" and "conventional" than ever; for the violators of social custom and criminal law come, as a rule, either from those who are made reckless by ignorance and poverty, or from those who are made reckless by idleness and self-indulgence.

In short, if the social revolution really takes place and all classes are merged into one, either the wealth of the world will vanish in the turmoil of revolution and the whole world sink into proletarian misery or else the present day proletarians will be fed and educated to the bourgeois level and the whole world will become as much as possible like Kansas.

# The Story of the Week

## Farm Tariff Passes House

ON December 22 the House of Representatives passed the Fordney emergency tariff bill, designed especially to protect agricultural products and part of the Republican program of measures to relieve the present economic hardships of the farmer. One hundred and fifty-five Republicans and forty-one Democrats voted in favor of the new tariff rates and seventy-two Democrats and fourteen Republicans were opposed; a rather unusual deviation from a strict party vote on a protective tariff measure. No amendments were carried. The bill as it left the House imposed protective rates on wheat, wheat flour, corn, beans, onions, rice, lemons, peanut and cottonseed oils, cattle, sheep, mutton, cotton and wool. In the Senate the Fordney bill was referred to the Finance Committee for consideration. The Senate is also considering the preparation of a farm credits measure which will enable the Government to extend credit liberally to farmers and livestock raisers on the security of their crops and herds.

Retrenchment and tax revision is the big problem before Congress and the incoming administration. Representative Mondell, Republican leader, has spoken in favor of cutting appropriations from the present departmental estimates of more than $4,650,000,000 to $3,250,000,000; especially by heavy reductions in military expenditure. He also favored refunding the Victory notes maturing in 1923 into long term bonds. Chairman Good of the Appropriations Committee has stated that in his opinion appropriations could be kept within $3,500,000,000. He favors the enactment of a budget law at the present session, without waiting for March 4, and urged this view on President-elect Harding in a conference at Marion.

Secretary Houston of the Treasury continued his pessimistic utterances before the Senate Finance Committee. Now, pessimism in a Secretary of the Treasury, the "watchdog of the national finances," is both professional and patriotic. He warned Congress that:

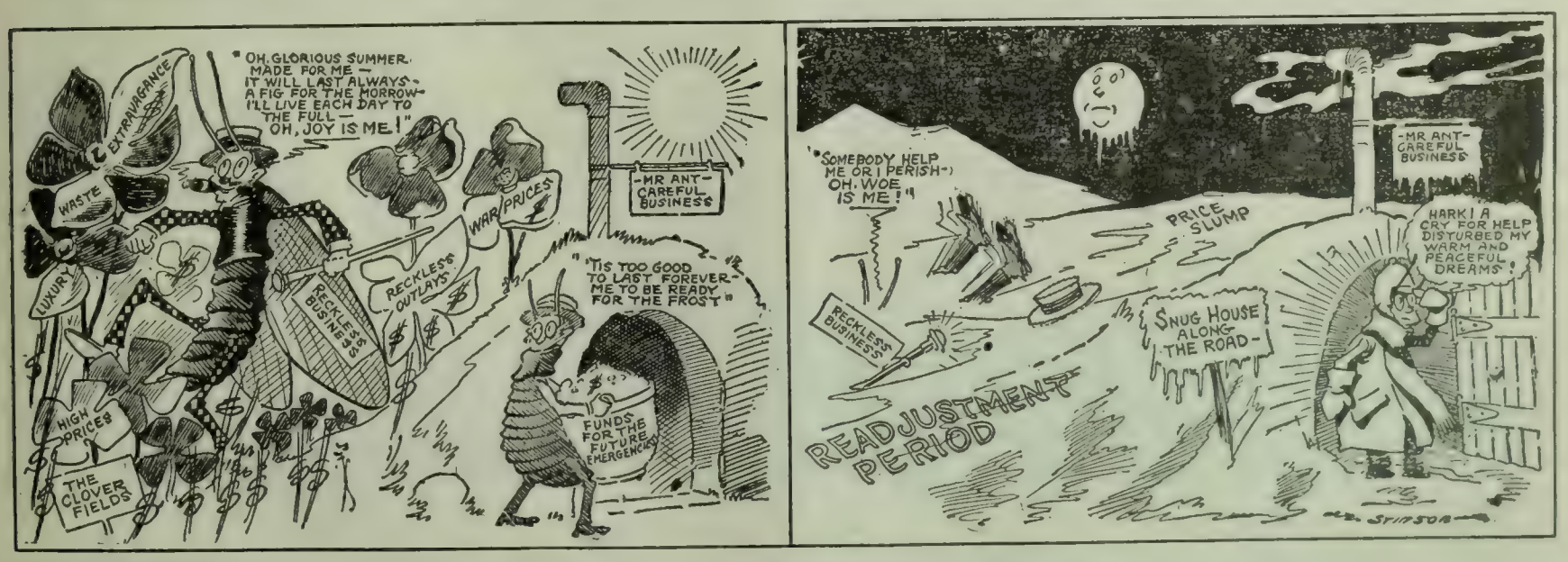
> Unless every unnecessary expenditure, such as the proposed appropriation for payment of soldiers' bonus, be avoided, unless every official or other estimate or request for appropriations be reduced to a minimum, no sound plan of tax revision can be carried out and the successful financial conduct of the Government during the next three years will be seriously impaired.

He estimated that "the revenue from taxation be maintained after this fiscal year and until the close of the fiscal year 1923 on a level of at least $4,000,000,000." He pointed out that the excess profits tax and the income tax were growing less profitable than they had been during the war. He said that the very high income tax rates on large incomes tempted the wealthy to invest their surplus in tax-exempt securities and that he recommended a reduction of the supertax "not to exempt the rich but to tax the rich." The excess profits tax should be "replaced—not merely repealed"—by a flat tax on corporation income or profits. He opposed a general sales tax, but approved the imposition of specific sales or consumption taxes on a few selected luxuries. He pointed out the need of a balance between taxes on wealth and taxes on consumption and declared that to substitute consumption taxes for all others would "violate all the recognized principles of justice as to the division or distribution of the total tax burden."

## The Silent Panic

THRUOUT the last few weeks of 1920 there was a general decline in values. Stocks on exchange made new low records. Commodity prices fell so heavily as to turn the anticipated year's profit for many a farmer, manufacturer and merchant into a deficit. Mr. Anderson of the Chase National Bank, New York, estimated that during the year American business men had sustained a loss of $2,000,000,000 as the direct result of the decline in commodity prices. Even the Christmas season did not do all that was expected in reviving trade. The Industrial Bureau of the New York Merchants' Association places the average decline in the cost of living in the city at 10 per cent between June and December, in spite of great increases in the cost of fuel and rent. The cost of living is still, however, practically double the pre-war average. The fall in prices has been most rapid in the clothing industry and has gone so far that New England textile mills are reducing their wages budget both by laying off hands and by cutting wages an average of 22.5 per cent.

Naturally the farmer has been hard hit. Altho the majority of crops have done very well—so far as nature's part in the affair goes—the money yield for every important crop is less than it was in 1919. The Department of Agriculture estimates that the aggregate income for the prin-




*Stinson in Dayton Daily News*

THE WELL-KNOWN FABLE OF THE GRASSHOPPER AND THE ANT

**The grasshopper danced the lovely summer thru**
**Then came the snows and icy blasts of winter**

cipal farm crops has decreased in one year from $14,087,995,000 to $9,148,419,000. This means nearly $5,000,000,000 out of the farmer's pocket in a year of abundance. In North Dakota more than a score of small state banks have been compelled to suspend payments. In many parts of the country farmers have combined to hold their cotton and their grain until prices have risen to a point which will make possible profitable sales.

Unpleasant as the situation is, there is another side to the matter. The fall in commodity prices has brought some relief to the consumer—or rather to those consumers whose income has not been affected by the general depression in business. There have been as yet relatively few bank failures and the new Federal Reserve banking system has "eased off" the situation and prevented such an abrupt and open panic as visited the country from time to time under the old anarchic banking system. Finally there is the general conclusion which we hear everywhere today from business men and economists, "It had to come." The inflated values of war time, the misleading "war prosperity" and insane after-war extravagance could not have been maintained much longer, and it would have been a just cause for apprehension if there had been no reaction toward pre-war economic conditions. But it is certainly desirable that deflation proceed slowly and regularly, for all abrupt changes in commodity prices, whether up or down, cause widespread misery in some part of the community.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Quit following me!**

## Republican New York

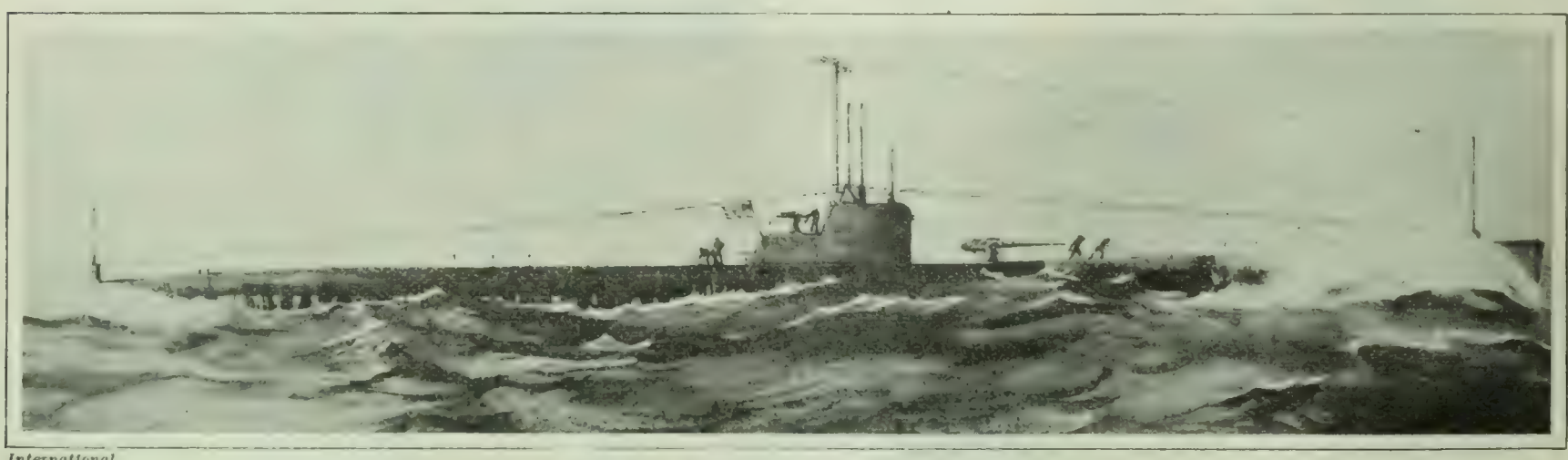
THE figures of party enrollment in New York City have just been published. By state law only those who have enrolled with a party at one election are entitled to vote in the primary in the following year; so party enrollment is a better test of normal party strength than any single vote, indicating as it does the party with which the voter intends to act in future. In 1919 the enrollment figures showed a Democratic plurality of 162,974; in 1920 this was changed to a Republican plurality of 112,463. Manhattan and Kings (Brooklyn) show a strong Republican lead; the outlying boroughs of the Bronx, Queens and Richmond are still Democratic, altho in all parts of the city alike the Republicans gained at the expense of their rivals.

Of course the nation-wide Republican landslide accounts for much of this change. Many Democrats had so deep a quarrel with the Wilson Administration that they not only voted for Harding but temporarily left their party. But another factor seems to be the enrollment of women voters. In New York, as everywhere else in the world, women divide politically in about the same proportion as the men. But such slight difference as does exist favors the Republicans. Republican women are in the majority over Democratic in all of the boroughs except Richmond, and in every one of the boroughs the relative proportion of Republicans to Democrats is greater among the women than among the men. Incidentally, the figures show that more than half a million women in the Greater City are enrolled party members, which disproves both the anti-suffragist assertion that women are indifferent to politics and the assertion of some feminists that women will always be independent of party allegiance.

The importance of all this lies in the fact that 1921 is a mayoralty year. Municipal elections in a place like New York are of almost greater interest and importance to the local population than national elections. Four years ago Mayor Mitchel, widely known as the "best mayor New York ever had," was swept out of office by a Tammany landslide. The recent building scandals, the crime wave and the panic in the police department, the failure to provide full time for all the school pupils and other administrative inefficiencies are counted on by reformers to arouse anti-Tammany sentiment. The heavy Republican enrollment is another encouragement to the foes of Tammany. But if there should be a split between the Republicans and the anti-Tammany Democrats, or if Tammany should drop Mayor Hylan and substitute some more popular figure such as ex-Governor Smith at the head of the ticket—well, there is always the possibility of the tiger "coming back from the ride with the lady inside" and smiling in its wonted way.

## The California Land Law

THE new California law, which prevents aliens ineligible to become citizens (Chinese and Japanese) from purchasing or even leasing agricultural land, came into effect on December 10. Altho the law is not retroactive and does



*International*

THE NEW AMERICAN SUPER-SUBMARINE

**Three of these undersea boats, now being constructed at the Portsmouth Navy Yard, are to be added to the fighting strength of the United States Navy. Their speed and cruising radius are so great that they can accompany the fleet, and their armament includes torpedo tubes in bow and stern and a five-inch gun mounted on the forward deck. This super-submarine is 300 feet long; its surface propelling power is from Diesel engines, when submerged it uses two electric motors**

not affect existing property rights, the Japanese Government regards it as infringing treaty privileges by discriminating against Japanese nationals.

Representative Kahn of California, after a conference with the American Ambassador to Japan, announced that California members of the House would meet in a sort of informal caucus to discuss the negotiations now being carried on between the American and the Japanese Governments.

He said that the principal matter to be discussed was a proposal that the California Legislature repeal the present law and enact another forbidding all aliens to acquire California land. This would affect the Japanese in California in exactly the same way as the present law, but would avoid any discrimination against the Japanese as compared with other aliens; thus safeguarding at once the substantial interests of the Californians and the national pride of the Japanese. The question of immigration legislation is also under consideration.



*International*

TWENTY-THREE UNDESIRABLES

**These Communists, mostly Russians, were deported from the United States two days before Christmas because of their activities here in opposition to our Government. They were arrested in different parts of the country, and they had all been under bail for some time**

## Constantine at Home

KING Constantine is back in Greece and apparently the masses are glad to welcome him in spite of the awkward diplomatic position in which Greece has placed herself by recalling to power a ruler dethroned by the Allies for pro-German policies. On his arrival in Athens the streets were alive with cheering thousands, gay with banners and resonant with the chime of bells. Venizelos in the high tide of his popularity never had a more rapturous reception.

The King is lavish in his denials of past pro-Germanism and in promises of future friendship with the Allies. He refuses to admit that he is less zealous to obtain for Greece the "unredeemed" regions in Asia Minor than was Venizelos himself. M. Stratos, speaking on behalf of the new régime, declared that "Our first move will be to smash the army commanded by Kemal Pasha, leader of the Turkish Nationalists, and thus show we desire to retain Smyrna." This policy, however, will be difficult to reconcile with the demobilization of the army and the reduction of expenses which were so loudly demanded by the opponents of Venizelos. The Greek Patriarch, the highest dignitary of the Greek Orthodox Church, has expressed fear that the recall of Constantine may mean the loss of the fruits of Greek victory over the Turks.

Prime Minister Rhallis has resigned. The cause of the resignation was the refusal of the British Government to let the existing Greek Government confer a decoration on Admiral Kelly of the British Naval Mission. This incident, trivial as it was, indicated the deep displeasure of the British at the course of political events in Greece. But Premier Lloyd George is cautious, and refused to commit himself to the policy favored by some French diplomats of punishing Greece by extinguishing her claim to the Smyrna region. He told the House of Commons that unless the Allies were careful they might "incur the hatred of the Greek race" and that it would be wrong to upset the whole trend of British policy in the Near East because of resentment at the result of a Greek election.

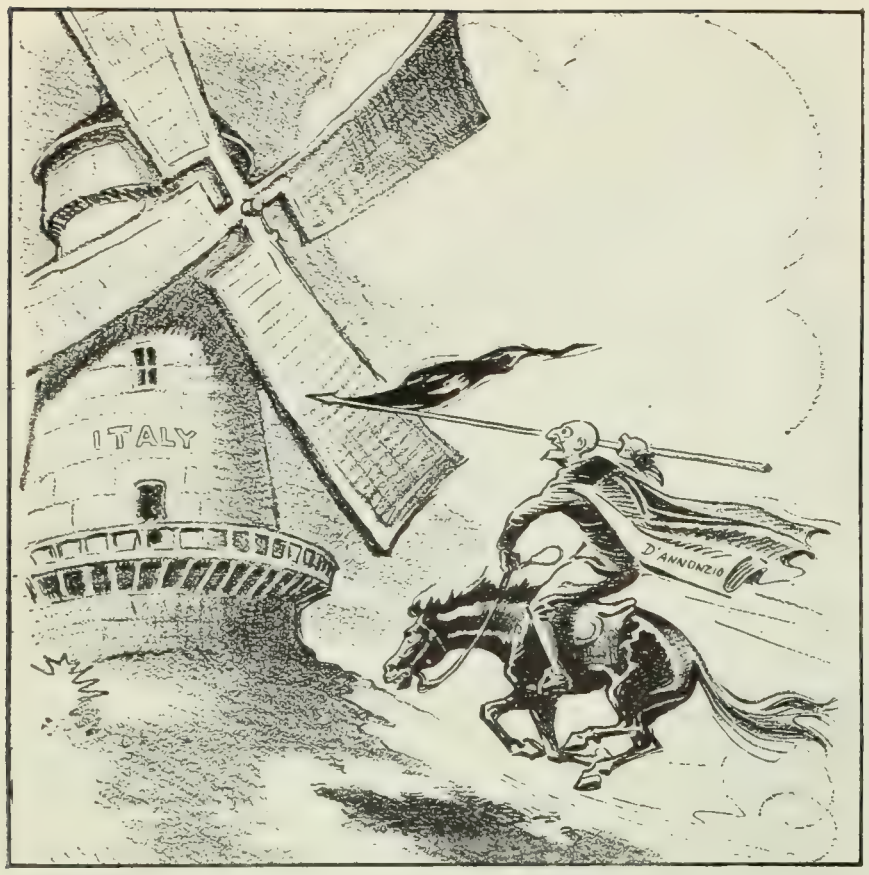
## The Lost Earthquake

AS if national quarrels were not enough to shake the stability of the earth last December, a series of destructive earthquakes was recorded from most widely separated parts of the globe. The greatest disaster was the earthquake of December 16 in the province of Kansu, China. More than 2,000 persons are said to have been killed. Almost as disastrous was the earthquake of December 17 and 18 in western Argentina. The villages of Costa de Araujo, Tresportenas, La Central and La Valle were almost wiped out and hundreds of dead and injured were taken from the ruins. In Albania forty-two persons were killed by an earthquake in the Tepeleni district. Severe shocks were recorded in Japan, in Italy, in the island of Yap and in many other parts of the world about the same time as the destructive earthquakes in China and the Andes.

Now comes the mysterious part of it. Official seismographs (earthquake recorders) in Washington, D. C., located an earthquake on December 16 within 2,800 miles of the place of observation. Many other observers in different parts of the United States and Canada made records placing the earthquake much nearer than China. Now the "near by" earthquake has never turned up. One theory is that an earthquake occurred under the ocean or in some other uninhabited place in or near North America and that the Chinese earthquake which occurred at the same time was not recorded in these records. The other theory was that the seismograph record at Washington was of the Chinese earthquake and that the instrument simply gave an erroneous indication of distance. Experts are divided on the subject, but it is probable that even if there were a separate earthquake near the Atlantic coast of the United States on December 16 it was connected indirectly with the Chinese shock and perhaps with all the other seismic disturbances of the week. There are certain zones of weakness in the earth's surface which are greatly subject to earthquakes and volcanic disturbance and a severe earthquake at one point will often be followed by similar shocks in other earthquake zones, even on the other side of the world.

## Italy versus Quarnero

A state of war or something very like it may be said to have existed thruout December between the Kingdom of Italy and the "Regency of the Quarnero," as Gabriel d'Annunzio terms his dictatorship on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The point at issue is the enforcement of the Treaty of Rapallo, agreed upon between Italy and Jugoslavia and duly approved by the Italian Chamber of Deputies and Senate. D'Annunzio objected to this agreement because it did not give to the independent State of Fiume the generous boundaries marked out by his ambitions. Trusting in the romantic and military spirit of the Italian people, and his own ability to rouse this spirit to the burning point by melodramatic eloquence and striking feats of arms, he hurled defiance at the authority of the Italian




*Dallas News*

**Don Quixote tilts at windmills**

Government in the name of the Greater Italy of his dreams.

Nor were his appeals wholly without success. He won to his side the crews of some of the warships sent to suppress him. Ardent Italian imperialists in the army broke their military oath to enlist under his banner, and he rewarded them to the best of his ability with both money and honors. Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, in vain pleaded with the Mayor of Fiume, a partizan of d'Annunzio, to avoid a conflict with Italy. General Caviglia, commanding the Italian forces surrounding Fiume, appealed to d'Annunzio to surrender. This appeal also was rejected by the poet-dictator.

With great reluctance the Italian Government was at last forced to declare a blockade of Fiume. It could do no less, and honor the good faith of the nation as pledged in the Treaty of Rapallo; and the necessity of the act may be judged from the general support which the announcement of the blockade received from the Italian press and people, for it is certainly an "acid test" of loyalty when military measures must be taken to repress fellow-nationals whose crime consists in trying to enlarge the national domain. It is such a situation as confronted the British Government when it was compelled to disown and condemn the Jameson raid against the Transvaal Republic, knowing all the while that the raid had the secret sympathy of many Englishmen. Or Americans may be able better to understand the dilemma of Italy if a case is imagined with respect to our own country. Suppose that after our military spirit had been inflamed by a long war, and public excitement kept at fever heat by months of fruitless negotiations, a boundary had been agreed on between the United States and Mexico. Suppose that some 50,000 Americans lived on the further side of the new frontier and had been joined by several regiments of veterans of the Great War and that the American residents and their new recruits had proclaimed Sonora an independent nation and demanded its annexation to the United States. Suppose, finally, that the only way to carry out the treaty with Mexico in good faith would be for the United States to suppress the rebellion and return southern Sonora to Mexican sovereignty, requiring also that the northern part of the state, where the American settlers were mostly located, be perpetually independent and abandon all idea of annexation to the United States. The duty of the United States would be plain: to enforce the treaty and thus preserve the nation's honor. But it would not be surprising if the Government were slow and reluctant to take active measures against the American colony in Sonora, nor if some regiments sent on this duty were to desert and take the other side.

Fortunately, not only the majority of the Italian people but many of the inhabitants of Fiume itself have turned against d'Annunzio's extravagant ambitions and dictatorial methods. The rigors of the blockade, causing acute distress in Fiume, roused discontent even among those who had hitherto been of d'Annunzio's faction. Fiume is a commercial city, already injured by the two years of political disturbance succeeding the armistice, and many of its inhabitants prefer the local independence granted by the Treaty of Rapallo to a wider dominion bought at the cost of a ruinous blockade and a fratricidal war. After a show of armed resistance which cost the lives of several Italian soldiers, d'Annunzio abdicated his dictatorship and opened negotiations for peace on the terms demanded by the Italian Government.

# Our West Indian Wards

THE United States has retired from military occupation of the Republic of Santo Domingo. Rear-Admiral Thomas Snowden, military governor, issued a proclamation at the direction of President Wilson reciting the reasons why American occupation, authorized under the treaty of 1907 for the restoration of political and financial stability in the republic, could now safely be withdrawn. In this proclamation it was declared that "the Government of the United States believes the time has arrived when it may with a due sense of its responsibilities to the people of the Dominican Republic inaugurate the simple process of its rapid withdrawal from the responsibilities assumed in connection with Dominican affairs." A commission will be appointed of representative Dominican citizens to propose legal and constitutional changes, such as a more effective election law, to the Congress of the republic. Similar steps were taken before we evacuated Cuba.

Santo Domingo has made great progress under American guidance. A statement issued by the Department of State summarizes what has been achieved:

> Complete tranquillity has existed for some time thruout the Republic, and the people for the first time in many years have been enabled to devote themselves to peaceful occupations without fear of disturbance.
>
> The finances of the country have been placed on a stable basis; great improvements have been brought about in public works; particular attention has been devoted to sanitation and public health; the educational system has been completely reorganized, with the result that whereas there was a school attendance of about 18,000 pupils before the occupation there are now 100,000 pupils attending school.
>
> As the result of the American administration, the gross revenues of the Republic have increased from a total of some $4,000,000 in 1916 to a total of over $7,500,000 in 1919.

The United States is still in occupation of Haiti, which occupies the western part of the same island with Santo Domingo, and the report of the court of inquiry investigating the conduct of the American marines has recently been made public. Apparently, if the report is to be trusted, there has been much exaggeration in the rumors of "atrocities" and "indiscriminate killings" which have figured so largely in the press. Only two murders and sixteen other "serious acts of violence" could be traced to the Americans. These offences "were all isolated acts of individuals and in every case the responsible party was duly brought to trial before a general court-martial, convicted and sentenced." The report contains a positive as well as a negative vindication of the American occupation. "Now for the first time in more than a hundred years," we

are told, "tranquillity and security of life and property may be said to prevail in Haiti." President Dartiguenave of the Haitian Republic admits the benefit to the civil population arising from American policing and has confined his criticisms to the American financial administration. In order to examine these other issues, which were beyond the competence of a naval court of inquiry, a Congressional investigation may be necessary. At any rate, it is a relief to learn that there was so little truth in the allegations of military oppression and that the honor of the American marines, as a body, stands unsullied.

# Brazil Approves Monroe Doctrine

ON December 3 Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, left Washington for his diplomatic round trip to South American countries. On December 21 the battleship "Florida," with its cargo of American diplomats, anchored in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. The Brazilians gave Secretary Colby and his staff a most cordial reception, as was to be expected from the people most friendly to the United States of all Latin American countries. What is of greater interest, because not so much to be taken for granted, is the fact that special emphasis was laid by the Brazilians on the advantages of the Monroe Doctrine. Senator Alfredo Ellis said:

> To your great nation as the older brother of the republics of the New World was reserved the hard task of watching over the safety and liberty of the whole family. That program was defined and is known thruout the world as the Monroe Doctrine. Many think that the Monroe Doctrine means that the whole continent is to be considered as a hunting ground for the Americans on account of their power and preponderance over their weaker brothers. Luckily your great President, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, when speaking to the Mexican people, defined lately the clear spirit and true signification of the so-called Monroe Doctrine. It is a doctrine of defense.

Deputy Benito de Miranda said:

> To my mind there are two culminating points for the well-being of America and the reconstruction of Europe. The first was when President Monroe proclaimed the doctrine raising a barrier against the pretentious appetites of the "Holy Alliance." The second was when President Wilson a century later launched his historic Fourteen Points, clearly showing the Europeans, long consumed with odious rivalries, what should be taken henceforth to be the American ideas for their guidance.

But the Brazilians made very plain that even if the United States continued to remain outside the League of Nations they could not in this one respect follow our example. In an interview President Pessoa spoke very plainly on this point:

> It is a great pity that the internal politics of the United States has prevented the ratification of the Peace Treaty. By failing to do so your country has lost the commanding leadership in world affairs that President Wilson won for it in Paris. I do not keep very close track of American political conditions and probably do not understand the influences responsible for the failure of your Senate to accept the Peace Treaty. Brazil is naturally very much interested in the beneficial purposes of the League of Nations. Therefore it is a matter of regret that the United States, which took the lead in the promotion of that great project, has not retained it.

# Home Rule at Last

FOR the first time since the Act of Union united Great Britain and Ireland (in body, tho not in spirit) in 1801, a Home Rule bill has been passed with the consent of both Houses of Parliament. Gladstone's first bill was defeated in the House of Commons by a split in the Liberal party. His second bill passed the Commons but was rejected by the Lords. A third bill was actually placed on the statute book during Asquith's Premiership, but it had been repassed over the opposition of the House of Lords and never came into effect owing partly to the militant hostility of Protestant Ulster and partly to the coming of the Great War. The Home Rule bill of 1920 had a smoother course in Parliament. It was backed by a coalition Government, containing many members of the Unionist or anti-Home Rule party, and so it did not provoke the unyielding hostility of either the Orangemen of Ulster or the House of Lords. Premier Lloyd-George had conciliated Ulster by establishing two Parliaments instead of one within Ireland.

The connecting link between the Parliaments for north-eastern Ulster and for the rest of Ireland is a Council, selected by the two Parliaments and with such powers as they may agree to confer upon it. The House of Lords was contented with making a few amendments of minor importance. The speech of the King on the adjournment of Parliament was devoted largely to Irish affairs. After deploring the state of anarchy and civil war in Ireland, the King concluded:

> I sincerely hope that this act, the fruit of more than thirty years of ceaseless controversy, will finally bring about unity and friendship between all the peoples of my kingdom.

The immediate prospects of this wish being realized are not very good, it must be confessed. Premier Lloyd-George has gone so far in conciliating the foes of Home Rule that he is no longer supported by its friends. On behalf of Sinn Fein, Father O'Flanagan has demanded recognition of the revolutionary "Government" as preliminary to a conference of conciliation, and this demand the Premier has emphatically rejected. Even the Irish Nationalists, who do not demand complete independence, are not content with the Home Rule Act of 1920. Sir Horace Plunkett, always a moderate man, has stated that the new law is rejected by four-fifths of Ireland and that nothing short of Dominion Home Rule, such as is now enjoyed by Canada, would content the Irish people. Other Nationalists object to the partition of Ireland between two Parliaments. They point out that the Home Rule bill which died during the war at least recognized the principle of Irish unity.

If either part of Ireland refuses to take part in constitutional government as provided under the Home Rule Act it may be ruled as if it were a British dependency during the trial period of three and one-half years, and if at the end of that time it still holds out against the law the whole measure lapses and the British Government must seek a fresh solution for the perennial Irish problem.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

The Thinker

# Here are Books—and Books

## Whimsical Stories

"I, the little house, tell this story—of the little lady who needed to be loved but did not know it, and the wounded officer who wanted rest." Now that sort of thing is all very well, occasionally, and *The Little House* is a pretty story enough of its kind, but Coningsby Dawson is not the man to tell it, for if you want to write a delicate, whimsical story you must have a delicate, whimsical mind and not just be whimsical temporarily, by main force and a little scornfully.

The man who tells that sort of story naturally and to perfection is E. V. Lucas. *Verena in the Midst* is a novel, at least it is as much like a novel as anything else; it is a delightful collection of letters, in the manner of *The Vermilion Box*. There is a slender thread of plot, the various characters reveal themselves amusingly and cleverly in their manner of writing and Richard Haven, Verena's principal correspondent, fills his letters with those delightful odds and ends which Mr. Lucas is always gathering in out-of-the-way corners and enjoying so thoroughly himself that he simply has to share them. There are bits of verse, exquisite or amusing; there are stories and brief descriptions and things like this which defy classification: "Why we should naturally be amiably disposed to people because they cultivate the normally objectionable practice of living near or next door to us I never understood.'

*The Little House*, by Coningsby Dawson. John Lane Co. *Verena in the Midst*, by E. V. Lucas. George H. Doran Co.

## Three English Novels

Stacy Aumonier's *One After Another* is that rare thing, a serious modern novel which is not depressing. I am not trying to prejudice you, it is not "glad,"—it has its fair share of tragedy and suffering but it leaves you feeling that there is some hope for the world and those of us who live in it now. *One After Another* is unusual in other ways. For one thing it is a story of three generations, chiefly the second to be sure but with sufficient flavor of heredity to make doubly fascinating the psychology of its very interesting people. Then Mr. Aumonier has an astonishingly effective way of suggesting in a bare three lines the big scenes on which the average author dwells thru pages of loving detail. Sometimes he leaves out whole novels. For instance, Tom, who tells the story, has barely met Mary Copley and the next chapter begins: "There was an awful to-do about socks on the day of our wedding."

Also it is the kind of book which it is difficult to read to yourself. There are bits which have to be shared, like this: "She was very large and fair. She seemed to be all back and front—if you know what I mean. . . . She manipulated one of those high soprano voices which are like burnished steel—clear, strong, and unrelentingly safe. You could hear her making a bee-line for the top C and you knew quite well she would get there safely, and at the same time you didn't care." Oh, by all means a book you should read.

Another book you should read, tho for very different reasons, is Sir Philip Gibbs' *Wounded Souls*. This is an after the war novel which gives a vivid picture of French, German and British reactions to peace and of the attitude of the three people to their erstwhile enemies. Even without Sir Philip's name on the title page one would accept its psychology as absolute fact. There is something about its delineation of the different types of German mind which rings as true as the once famous "Christine" rang false. But it is not just information conveyed in the form of a novel, it is an exciting and absorbing story.

*Lady Lilith*, if you like Stephen McKenna, is rather disappointing. The book has most of the faults of its predecessors and not all of their charms. It is slow, too, in getting under way and it ends on a continued-in-our-next note, but the middle is distinctly interesting. The long and short of the matter is that Stephen McKenna is usually so absorbing that one hasn't time to pick out his weak points, but in this book one has. It is a novel of English society just before and in the first years of the war, the same society, many of the same people who appear in the pages of "Sonia" and "Midas and Son." Lady Barbara Neave, the heroine, is an extraordinary but not an incredible young person. She has most of the qualities of the modern girl increased to the *n*th degree. It is quite possible that you will be intrigued by her, it is equally possible that you will detest her.

*One After Another*, by Stacy Aumonier. The Macmillan Co. *Wounded Souls*, by Philip Gibbs. George H. Doran Co. *Lady Lilith*, by Stephen McKenna. George H. Doran Co.

## Good Advice to Parents

If anyone in this day and generation goes astray it will not be from lack of good advice. You can find a book on how to do anything you have ever wanted, or not wanted, to attempt. Some of these books, of course, are twaddle but many are honestly helpful and in that class I should place *The Parents' Library*, "a series of practical books relating to the care and culture of the young," written, most of them, by M. V. O'Shea, Professor of Education in the University of Wisconsin. The subtitle has an early Victorian tinge but the volumes on *The Faults of Childhood and Youth*, *The Trend of the Teens*, etc., attack the special modern as well as the age-old problems and do it in a thoroly up-to-date manner. They are interesting, clear and full of stimulating suggestions. The series contains also valuable medical advice on *Diseases of Infancy and Childhood* and *Proper Feeding of Infants*, and there is an excellent book on teaching children to appreciate music and a fair attempt at that impossible task, the compilation of a *Guide to Good Reading*.

Much good advice and many excellent suggestions are to be found also in Miriam Finn Scott's *How to Know Your Child*. Unfortunately its general tone is rather patronizing and self-satisfied.

*The Parents' Library: First Steps in Child Training, The Trend of the Teens, The Faults of Childhood and Youth, Everyday Problems in Child Training*, by M. V. O'Shea; *Putting Young America in Tune*. by Henriette Weber; *The Home Guide to Good Reading*, by David Harrison Stevens: *Maternity and Infant Care, Diseases of Infancy and Childhood, The Proper Feeding of Infants, by W. H. Galland*. Frederick J. Drake & Co., Chicago. *How to Know Your Child*, by Miriam Finn Scott. Little, Brown & Co.

## London Reminiscences

"Old Mother London gave me the key to her streets, and diligently I used it," says Arthur Warren in *London Days*, a collection of essays which recount in charming literary style the author's impressions of London in the last quarter of the 19th century. Mr. Warren went to London as a boy fresh from college, eager to explore its treasures and to know its famous men. For nine years he was London correspondent of the *Boston Herald;* he had a wide acquaintance among the British celebrities of the times. In *London Days* there are entertaining personal reminiscences that give new sidelights on Gladstone. Meredith, Browning, Burns, Whistler. Parnell, and many other famous men whom Mr. Warren knew intimately.

*London Days*, by Arthur Warren. Little, Brown & Co.

## Masks

Whenever George Middleton becomes sated with the vulgar pleasures of being the author of a Broadway success he publishes a book of one-act plays too good to appeal to the Philistine manager. The last one is *Masks*. The six plays are skilfully constructed, thought-provoking and, with perhaps one exception, interesting, but somehow they manage to rouse one's sympathies with the Philistine manager. There is no sign in any of them of a sense of humor, which is quite as essential to tragedy as to comedy, and it is not strictly good form for a person who possesses no "charm" to decry it so violently.

*Masks*, by George Middleton. Henry Holt & Co.

## A Floral Offering

A contents page is for purposes of reference, not of diagnosis. Nevertheless, it is impossible to open *Christmas Roses and Other Stories*, by Anne Douglas Sedgwick, to its garden of titles, and not feel that this contents page, at any rate, is alarmingly symptomatic. And one's fears are never appeased. The promise of sentimentality in this idea of naming each of a group of

stories after a flower is beautifully carried out; and furthermore, tho in some cases the flower connection within the story is brought about naturally enough, in other cases it is necessarily dragged in or patched on. There are enough hints and sudden brief disclosures of the distinguished author of "Tante" and "A Fountain Sealed" in *Christmas Roses* to make it, for anyone who knows those earlier books, worth reading—with whatever disappointment. It is too bad that clarity, simplicity and sharpness of outline have become in this latest volume dulled and indecisive.

*Christmas Roses*, by Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Houghton Mifflin Co.

## For the Week-End

SARAH AND HER DAUGHTER, by Bertha Pearl. (Scott & Seltzer.) A faithfully minute description of daily life in New York's Ghetto; well written and interesting because so obviously true, but depressing because it does not even suggest a means of alleviating the struggle.

THE SEARCHERS, by John Foster (Doran). A thriller full of mystery and murder, with priceless jewels as the goal and a torn piece of parchment as the only clue. Breathless, but hardly subtle.

WANG THE NINTH, by B. L. Putnam Weale (Dodd, Mead & Co.). A book for boys and "boys grown tall"; the tale of a Chinese child, his care-free peasant childhood and his subsequent development. A glimpse of the Boxer uprising is given, with Wang as a messenger to the Allied forces.

THE HOUSE WITH A BAD NAME, by Perley Poore Sheehan (Boni & Liveright), is a mildly exciting tale of intrigue and mystery, with an odd admixture of highly sentimental moralizing. Just enough suspense to keep the reader going.

PAGAN FIRE, by Norval Richardson (Scribner's), is a capable but uninspired story of a beautiful American woman who finds in Rome, where she goes with her ambassador husband, an awakening to a desire and aptitude for a kind of life and love that she had never dreamed of before, in her prosaic American days. Good reading, but not great literature.

EGAN, by Holsworthy Hall (Dodd, Mead & Co.) If you insist on having your fiction up to the minute and one hundred per cent American you can't do better than this story of a young lieutenant of aviators who comes back to his home town in Ohio to find his father's business gone to pot and the girl he left behind him almost engaged to another man.

## All Kinds of People

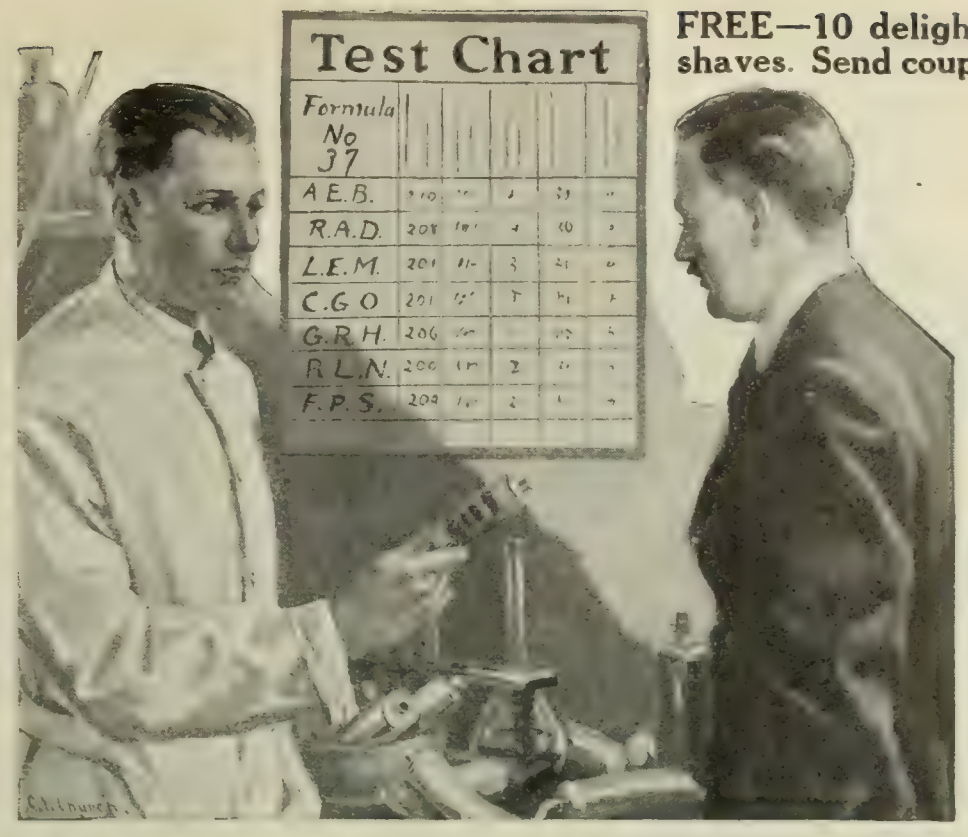
PORTRAITS OF AMERICAN WOMEN, by Gamaliel Bradford (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). Portraits is exactly what they are. The author is not recording biographies; he is presenting vivid personalities. If you have the least curiosity about Abigail Adams, Sarah Alden Ripley, Mary Lyon, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Louisa May Alcott, Frances Elizabeth Willard or Emily Dickinson you will be interested in this book.

ALL AND SUNDRY, by E. T. Raymond. (Henry Holt & Co.) Like "Uncensored Celebrities" these are rapid, clever sketches of prominent political and literary figures. Mr. Raymond has the caricaturist's knack of selecting and emphasizing salient features. The resulting impressions are not always unprejudiced, but they are invariably vivid and amusing.

REMINISCENCES OF DANIEL BLISS, by His Eldest Son. (Fleming H. Revell Co.) An account of the life and work of the first president of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, much of it told in his own words.

BUFFALO BILL'S LIFE STORY, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation.) Indian fighting, buffalo hunting, any number of hairbreadth escapes; the sort of thing the small boy loves, told somewhat in the small boy manner.

EMPRESS EUGENIE IN EXILE, by Agnes Carey (Century). Informal, intimate, personal impressions of the Empress Eugenie, written in very readable style, and filled with humanly interesting reminiscences. The author spent some months in the Empress's household at Farmborough; this book is based not only on memories, but on the very full journal that she kept of the life there.


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PETER'S PENCIL, by Phyllis Morris (John Lane). A small boy's adventures when his drawings come to life. There is an Alice in Wonderland flavor about the story, but it is told more simply and with less imaginative skill.

JOHNNIE KELLY, by Wilbur S. Boyer. (Houghton, Mifflin Co.) Usually stories about red-headed school boys are things to be avoided but this tale of the rise of Johnnie Kelly, son of a New York policeman, to the leadership of Public School 199 is an exception. It is amusing and it is also real. The author is a public school master.

ATLANTIDA, by Pierre Benoit. (Duffield & Co.) A mystery of the mountains of North Africa where a wonderful and terrible granddaughter of Neptune holds sway in a hidden kingdom. The proportion of archeology to action is perhaps a little large for the average American reader of mystery stories—the book is translated from the French—but it is an exciting and unusual tale with a flavor of "She" about it.

ERSKINE DALE, PIONEER, by John Fox, Jr. (Charles Scribner's Sons.) A story of some of the forbears of the "Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come" and June of the "Lonesome Pine." Frontier life in Kentucky, plantation life in Virginia, battles with the Indians, battles with the British, a duel or two and a romantic love affair make a story told so simply, with the emphasis so entirely on external affairs, that one feels inclined to classify it as a good historical novel for young folks.

## Sea Books

SEA POWER IN AMERICAN HISTORY, by Herman F. Krafft and Walter B. Norris. This book, by two professors of the United States Naval Academy, follows the ideas of Mahan, to whom the authors give generous credit as the pioneer in their field of study. There is an illuminating chapter on American Sea Power in the World War.

THE VICTORY AT SEA, by Rear Admiral William S. Sims (Doubleday, Page Co.). A full and fascinating account of the war against the submarine with clear explanations of all methods used: the convoy, the depth charge, the mystery ship, the sub-chaser, the mine barrage and all the rest. There are valuable map diagrams, tables of shipping losses and reprints of official correspondence. Especially interesting is the revelation of the fact, not known to the public at the time, that Germany had victory in hand in April, 1917, and would have won the war before the end of the year but for the development of successful methods of coping with the German submarines.

# This Changing World

(*Continued from page 37*)

arc and bulb and the vacuum tube that the night was finally conquered. Nowadays it is possible to secure indoors light of such color, intensity and diffusion that delicate and continuous work may be done with as little strain on the eyes as sunlight. The motion picture man prefers to take his outdoor scenes indoors whenever possible because he can get better lighting. Artificial light is cheaper than daylight in New York City; that is to say a room with a window costs more rent than an inside room plus the electric light.

5. Overcoming the limitations of cold and heat.

Man is a sensitive plant and must keep his internal temperature constant however cold or hot it may be outside. He learned how to get warmth by means of fire long before the dawn of history. First the fireplace, then the stove, later the radiator and now the current of warmed and moist air. This makes it possible now to keep a building or a group of buildings, housing five thousand people, at any desired temperature during the winter. That part of the problem is satisfactorily solved in theory, however unsatisfactory may be the usual results.

But curiously enough the reverse or cooling process received little attention until our own day and is as yet relatively undeveloped. The system of internal refrigeration by means of ice water, ice cream and the like might almost be claimed as American, tho now it is spreading to the Old World. The electric fan and household refrigerator are also American institutions. The preservation of meats and fruits for an indefinite period has altered the food habits of all nations and revolutionized commercial relations. But as yet there are no habitations as comfortably cooled in summer as they are heated in winter.

6. Overcoming the limitations of climate and season.

The weather man can with difficulty forecast and cannot at all control. But since man has now the power over cold and heat, light and darkness, and can make the atmosphere of his habitation dry or humid, still or breezy, as he wills, he can, if he cares to take the trouble, be altogether independent of the weather so long as he remains indoors. It would be quite possible to build an apartment house sheltering five thousand people at the poles or the equator and have all of the people living in it under just those atmospheric conditions that have been found most healthful and invigorating. It is possible to grow grapes in Greenland and to make polar bears comfortable in the tropics. One of the earliest triumphs in the history of man's conquest of nature was the discovery by the Egyptians and Babylonians that it is possible to overcome aridity by irrigation.

But the easiest way to evade unpleasant seasons is that adopted by the birds who have their summer home and winter quarters in different climates. Man also has now become a migrant and shuttles between north and south, city and country, as the seasons change. Even those whose duties compel them to remain in one place can make use of cheap transportation to supply themselves with the fruits, flowers and vegetables of other latitudes. Since it is summer in the northern hemisphere when it is winter in the southern the two halves of the earth can always compensate for each other's deficiencies. In the old days when food supplies had to be obtained from the immediate vicinity the family dietary was dependent upon the season, but now that the whole world can contribute to our table such seasonal variations are wiped out and we may have spring lamb in the fall, and pumpkin in the spring.

7. Overcoming the limitations of food supply.

Besides reducing the irregularities of seasonal production as described just above man has found it possible to multiply the production of the soil thru intensive cultivation and scientific fertilization. Instead of being dependent upon hunting such wild animals as happen to run in his neighborhood and upon gathering such edible fruits, nuts and roots as he can find, man has developed new varieties and species of plants and animal, more prolific and better suited to his purpose. The lithe lean razor-back pig that used to run wild in the forests of central Europe has been rounded out into a living pork barrel, as nearly spherical as is possible for a quadruped. For wool growing, on the contrary, the aim is superficial area instead of cubical contents, so the skin of the sheep has been expanded till it hangs in folds and flounces on the body and trails out behind like the train of a lady's dress.

Then, too, the modern methods of preservation and preparation of food have greatly enlarged and extended the supply. The ancients could only get sugar by robbing the bees who robbed the flowers, but we can get it with equal ease and abundance from the cane of the tropics and the beet of cool countries. Man is no longer altogether dependent upon nature for his food flavors since he can make new savories and scents from coal tar.

Most important of all is the recent discovery of the possibility of getting the free nitrogen of the air into combination as ammonia or nitric acid for this relieves us from the fear that the human race should suffer from nitrogen starvation. Up to ten years ago it seemed that the future expansion of civilization would be limited by the saltpeter beds of Chile, which were rapidly being exhausted.

8. Overcoming the limitations of natural materials.

Besides food man must have a lot of other desirable or essential things for which formerly he was dependent upon the caprice of nature. Iron is one of them; the most useful of metals but not found in nature, so primitive man had to get along as best he could with such inferior metals as gold and copper. But in time man learned how to make iron out of red ochre and aluminum out of clay, mercury out of cinnabar and a score of other metals out of equally unpromising material. By combining these in various proportions he can get an alloy of almost any desired hardness, strength, elasticity and conductivity. So, too, of building stone. Not content with marble and granite the modern man makes concrete, brick and terra cotta that can be poured and molded instead of being quarried and carved. Precious stones, synthetic rubies and sapphires, even diamonds, have been produced in the electric furnace. For our textiles we are no longer obliged to steal the swaddling clothes from the baby worm, or denude the shivering sheep or rob the cotton plant of its fruit, for we can spin our own silk from dissolved logs. The synthetic sweaters that we now see on the street are gorgeous with unnatural hues prepared from black coal tar.

9. Overcoming the limitations of the fine arts.

Culture in the sense of an appreciation of the beautiful in art was formerly confined to a few. A singer or violinist could be heard only in one place at one time and by those who could get into the same room. Good acting was unknown outside great cities. To see all the pictures of a single artist one had to travel all over Europe and then could only compare them thru his memory. Books were scarce before printing was invented and literature was limited to a few libraries.

But now at the touch of applied science these obstacles are being swept away. Anyone anywhere with a modest income may read the best literature—defining "the best" to suit himself. By photographic processes pictures in black and white may be very cheaply and quite correctly reproduced in unlimited quantities. The five cent Sunday paper or fifteen cent magazine contains illustrations better than one could buy for ten dollars in the nineteenth century. Color photography and printing lag strangely behind, but some of the best of the new processes give a very fair idea of the painting copied. As for statuary any bronze statue can of course be exactly duplicated. A plaster cast is equal to the marble statue so far as form is concerned, tho it lacks the texture of the stone.

The phonograph can reproduce certain human voices and violin strains so as not to be distinguished from the original. The player-piano can even imitate individual performers. The drama has for the first time been brought within the reach of the multitude, so far as its action is concerned. We may anticipate a development of the motion picture that will give correct color, stereoscopic effect and speech.

10. Overcoming the limitations of language, race, sect, class and nation.

These distinctions, being largely artificial, are the hardest to overcome. But we have made considerable progress since the days when a man was compelled to conform to the creed of his king and forbidden to apostatize or proselyte, when he had to follow the occupation of his father and to remain in the class to which he was born; and when he could not renounce his fatherland any more than he could repudiate his parentage. The United States has, by dint of much scolding and some fighting, at last compelled all other nations to recognize the right of naturalization or change of nationality, and there are here no legal restrictions on change of religion or trade. Some of our states since the war have legislated against the learning of certain foreign languages in schools, but since few students ever really learned any foreign language in American schools this is not a serious restriction.

Perhaps it is necessary to call attention here to the fact that in this case as in the others I am using the phrase "overcoming the limitations of,"


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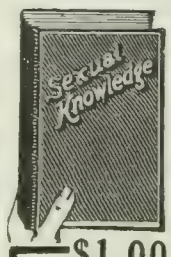
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not "obliterating the distinctions of." On the contrary compulsory uniformity is quite the opposite of the tendency I am pointing out. It is only thru diversification that progress is possible and when individuals are free to move about and change their minds their natural diversities have opportunity to operate. I am not advocating the abolition of differences of religion, nation, etc., any more than I am advocating the abolition of time and space. I am merely pointing out how the disadvantages of such differentiation may be surmounted.

11. Overcoming the limitations of personal freedom.

Social restrictions on individual liberty inevitably tend to increase as a country becomes more crowded for the same reason that the opportunity for erratic gymnastic exercizes is lessened the more people there are in the room. Yet these restrictions, being purely artificial, are often arbitrary or antiquated and may ultimately come to be discarded. The compulsory enforcement of them, either by public disapprobation or legal penalties, which constitutes their objectionable feature, will be altogether unnecessary so soon as men become civilized enough to follow voluntarily the Golden Rule or Kant's Categorical Imperative, that is, whenever good morals and good manners become universal.

The three fundamental forms of freedom, freedom of thought, of speech and of action, differ in the degree of their necessity. Freedom of thought was formerly denied and penalized, especially as regards heretical opinions on religion and government, but is now conceded, at least in theory, as an absolute and inalienable right of the individual. Freedom of speech can never be an individual right because it is not an individual act. It takes two to make a conversation and more to make a speech. The right of a person to free speech is necessarily limited by the right of the other to refuse to listen. Nobody has a right to tell anybody what he does not want to hear—except, of course, policemen, tax collectors, doctors and such privileged personages. The third, freedom of action, since it more often involves interference with other people, must unavoidably be more restricted than freedom of speech.

But altho these liberties may never be made absolute, yet the general tendency for the last five hundred years has been to enlarge them in such respects as I have specified in Section 10. The civilized man has more freedom than the savage in two ways: first, he enjoys many privileges that the savage cannot—such as riding on trolley cars and seeing the movies; and, second, he is not bound by so many taboos. The rules of social etiquet, irksome tho they may be, are not so strict in the United States as they used to be in Fiji.

12. Overcoming the limitations of ignorance.

This is the most important of all, for it practically covers all the preceding. It is only thru increase of

knowledge that mankind is able to abolish those restrictions of human activity that are unnecessary and useless and to surmount those that are inevitable or desirable. This is a topic that requires separate treatment, but it may be pointed out in closing that by the opportunity for elementary education afforded by the schools and the later education accessible thru books and papers it now has for the first time in human history become possible to make all knowledge accessible to all. Anybody anywhere can obtain any published information from any part of the world within a few weeks for, say, five dollars at the most. Anybody with an idea and five hundred dollars can put his idea into print and send it to all parts of the world.

All of these triumphs of militant man fighting against his natural limitations have been gained thru applied science and especially thru the utilization of external energy. My next article will be devoted to

THE FALL OF ENERGY AND THE RISE OF MAN.

## Will Demon Rum Stay Dead?

(*Continued from page 40*)

means of a bi-partizan arrangement wet Democrats traded votes with wet Republicans for the expulsion of the Socialists in return for votes for the passage of a beer bill, which was signed by the Tammany Governor. And tho its permissive feature has since been invalidated by the decision of the Supreme Court, which says that the prohibition amendment "of its own force invalidates every legislative act, whether by Congress, by a state legislature or by territorial assembly, which authorizes or sanctions what the section prohibits," still it stands on the statute books of the State as official defiance of the Federal Government by the law-making power of the State, and an invitation to lawlessness. Its passage was instantly followed by greater local official laxness and a distinctly lowered tone in public sentiment on the question of law observance, and it has had its reflex action in facilitating the formation of the notorious illicit "whiskey ring" in New York which has become a national scandal and the basis of a world-wide attack on prohibition.

There was a definite, well organized, lavishly financed drive against prohibition in the recent campaign, but the effort to elect a wet Congress failed. The Presidential candidate supported by the wets was defeated, and the Governor of New York who signed the nullification beer act was defeated for reëlection by a candidate who, even in New York City, the nullification center, made the enforcement of the prohibition law his major campaign issue.

However, it is not the Congress elected this year which was the real hope of the liquor interests. The new apportionment following the census of 1920 will call for fifty or sixty new Congressmen, practically all of them from the larger cities that were wet and where the political machines are wet; or else if the ratio is enlarged to prevent increasing the number of Congressmen the settled prohibition sections of the country will have their representation proportionately cut down. The wets came a great deal nearer inserting a beer amendment in the Volstead law when it was pending than they did to defeating the entire law when perfected, and this proportionate increase from the cities is expected by them to turn the scale in the Congress to be elected in 1922.

The only way to defeat the nullification program of the outlawed liquor interests is to bring about such enforcement by marshalling public sentiment that prohibition will win new converts and then to organize public sentiment to vote only for candidates for succeeding Congresses who are known to be right. The importance of voting for state legislators in those states where laws have not been adopted in conformity with the Volstead Law who will pledge the public their support of the passage of such measures is equally important. Once Federal and State laws are in harmony, the problem of enforcement will be simplified, tho the selection of competent, honest local officials to enforce these state laws is also essential and will furnish a part of the civic and political education essential to secure general willing public acceptance of such an advanced piece of legislation as the prohibition amendment.

*New York*

## A Talk with the German President

(*Continued from page 39*)

opinion and added that the League must have all the nations in the world as member states. "There must be no discrimination," said he, "and all must have equal rights and duties. From the very beginning of the war I have favored a League and have been a member of the German League of Nations Association from its inception."

At this point President Ebert rose to signify the audience was over and putting out his hand said good-by. As we bowed ourselves out of his presence, he added, "It is for the common interest of humanity that the League of Nations shall function as soon as possible and be of the greatest service to mankind. Germany's entrance will benefit the world as well as Germany."

While President Ebert, of course, did not naturally disclose any state secrets, he did talk to me with frankness and feeling about Germany's external and internal problems. I came away in the belief that I had been talking to a sincere man, and I could feel in some measure even in the few minutes I was in his presence how the German people had come to put their trust in his courage, decision and faithfulness during those trying days in 1918, when the Republic was being born.

Ebert is still only the provisional President of Germany. When the first constitutional election takes place it will be seen what place he has earned and holds in the hearts of the people.


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A dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Saturday, January 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, December 20, 1920.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Four Per Cent. Collateral Trust Bonds.

Due July 1, 1929.

Coupons from these Bonds, payable by their terms on January 1, 1921, at the office of the Treasurer of the Company in New York, will be paid at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

A Quarterly Dividend of 2% ($1.00 per share) on the PREFERRED Stock of this Company will be paid January 15, 1921.

A Dividend of 2% ($1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company for the quarter ending December 31, 1920, will be paid January 31, 1921.

Both Dividends are payable to Stockholders of record as of December 31, 1920.

H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.

New York, December 23, 1920.

PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY
COMMON STOCK DIVIDEND NO. 20.

The regular quarterly dividend of $1.25 per share upon the Common Capital Stock of this Company, will be paid on January 15, 1921, to shareholders of record at close of business December 31, 1920. The transfer books will not be closed and checks will be mailed from the office of the Company in time to reach stockholders on the date they are payable.

A. F. HOCKENBEAMER,
Vice-President and Treasurer.

San Francisco, California.

EUROPE 1921

Parties enrolling now. Moderate prices. Most interesting routes. Great success 1920.

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If you are interested, write for free booklet called "The Secret of Being a Convincing Talker—How I Learned it in One Evening."

THE INDEPENDENT

311 Sixth Avenue New York

# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

**I. This Changing World.**

1. Make careful observations for one day, and then write an account of all the ways, during the day, in which your natural equipment has been supplemented by other devices and improvements. See if you can illustrate by the story of one day's doings all of the instances Dr. Slosson gives of the ways in which modern man has overcome natural and other limitations.
2. Do you think that in some cases our natural powers have been stunted by too much assistance from science? Consider this, using Dr. Slosson's division for your outline.
3. Write an imaginary dialog between an American who enjoys all the modern improvements on art — Victrolas, movies, photography, unlimited reading matter, etc. and one of the following: a Greek of Athens in its glory, an Italian of the Renaissance, a Chinese or Japanese painter or designer of the classical tradition, or an Englishman of the pre-Raphaelite period. Before you choose among these, find out enough about each to understand why the question is asked.

**II. A Talk with the German President.**

1. Make out a list of the questions you would ask President Ebert if you could have an audience with him.
2. What do these mean to you: Potsdam, Versailles, Hampton Court, "Louis something period," Franz Hals.

**III. Prohibition.**

1. Carry a notebook about with you for a week or so, and see how long a list you can get of the stock things people say about prohibition. At the end of the time, if you have enough material, you might work it into a satirical sketch.

**IV. Here Are Books.**

1. Find out something about the writing of each of the following: E. V. Lucas, Stephen McKenna, Sir Philip Gibbs, Anne Douglas Sedgwick. As far as possible, read something that each has written, so as to have your information at first hand.
2. Consider these two statements: "—that rare thing, a serious modern novel that is not depressing. . . . It has its fair share of tragedy and suffering but it leaves you feeling that there is some hope for the world . . . "; "—depressing because it does not even suggest a means of alleviating the struggle." There are two points of view about fiction; one, indicated in these two quotations, expects fiction to go beyond presenting human facts to suggesting something to do about them; the other is willing or even desirous that a book should simply present life, and leave the reader to comment. With which point of view have you more sympathy, and just exactly why? What, for you, makes a book depressing? Can you think of two books dealing with painful or disagreeable subjects, one of which is depressing and the other not? If you can, how do you explain the difference in effect?
3. Probably you have noticed that each publication has its own style and set of mannerisms in the matter of book reviewing. Become as familiar as possible with the styles of three well known magazines or newspapers—you might include The Independent among the three—and write three reviews of the same book, any book you choose for the purpose, each review calculated to suit one of your three publications. When you have done that, write a definition of what you think to be the really ideal book review.

**V. The Boo-Shwa-Zee.**

1. Who are Mencken, Metternich, and Marx? Expand Mr. Slosson's point about the three different ways in which the bourgeoisie is regarded by the artist, the noble, and the Socialist.
2. When Mr. Slosson says that a leveling up of the proletariat and a leveling down of the aristocracy would result in a single remaining class which would be precisely the bourgeoisie of the present system, he does not discuss whether or not the existence of a higher and a lower class has something to do with making the bourgeoisie what it is under the present system. What do you think about it? Do you think that a bourgeois class is so unaffected by the proximity of the two other classes that it would be just the same if they did not exist?

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. General History—This Changing World.**

1. "We may define civilization as the breaking down of natural barriers to the expansion of human individuality thru the scientific control of energy." This sentence states the "thesis" or argument of the whole article. Explain the meaning of this statement and illustrate it by examples drawn from our modern American civilization.
2. Which of the changes and improvements mentioned in the article belong to the last 150 years? Give as many reasons as you can why so much of the development of human civilization has been crowded into a few decades.
3. Do you think that legal restrictions on personal liberty are greater or less in the United States of 1921 than in England of Queen Elizabeth's time? Give reasons for your opinion.

**II. German Politics—A Talk with the German President.**

1. What are, in President Ebert's opinion, the chief present needs of Germany? From your knowledge of Germany before the war comment on the statement, "Germany cannot support her population without exporting her commodities and importing raw materials."
2. President Ebert is a Socialist. Does that mean that Germany is already a Socialist nation? What steps in the direction of Socialism has the German Government taken?
3. Should Germany now be admitted to the League of Nations or not in your opinion? What arguments might be made for and against this step?

**III. Prohibition—What Next in Prohibition?**

1. What is meant by the "nullification" of a law? In what ways could the eighteenth amendment be nullified without repealing it?
2. Why would it be easier to change the Volstead Act than the eighteenth amendment? Point out the differences between a constitutional provision and a Federal statute.
3. What connection does Mr. Anderson trace between the reapportionment of Congress according to the census of 1920 and the attitude of Congress to prohibition? Why are the great cities the centers of anti-prohibition sentiment?

**IV. The Adriatic Question — Italy versus Quarnero.**

1. The overthrow of d'Annunzio's Government gives an opportunity to review the whole question of Fiume and the Adriatic, by reference to back numbers of The Independent or other historical sources: (a) What were the boundaries of Italy before the war? (b) What lands did Italy claim that formerly belonged to Austria-Hungary? (c) What was President Wilson's attitude toward the Italian claims based on the secret treaties concluded during the war? (d) With what nation did Italy negotiate the Treaty of Rapallo? (e) Why was d'Annunzio opposed to this treaty?
2. Write an essay either (a) comparing and contrasting the careers of d'Annunzio and Garibaldi, or (b) summarizing the history of Italian unification from 1848 to 1920.

**V. The Financial Crisis—The Silent Panic. Farm Tariff Passes House. Better Days for Business.**

1. Define "deflation," "depression," "panic." Why is the present business depression called a "silent panic"? Why is it said that "it had to come"?
2. Why does a period of falling prices injure the farmer? What measures have been proposed for the relief of the farming population?
3. Why does Secretary Houston consider it impossible to remove any taxes at present without finding new sources of revenue in their place?
4. What is the difference between taxation on wealth and taxation on consumption? To which type do the following taxes belong: (a) tariff on imports, (b) income tax, (c) general sales tax, (d) tobacco tax, (e) amusements tax, (f) inheritance tax, (g) land tax? Why does Secretary Houston say that the two types of taxation should be balanced?

**VI. Monroe Doctrine — Brazil Approves Monroe Doctrine. Our West Indian Wards.**

1. What is the "Monroe Doctrine"? What do you know about its history?
2. Do you think that our military occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti was justified

# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

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## This Is Thrift Week

"Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself," said Benjamin Franklin, on whose birthday, January 17, we are asked to begin our annual observance of Thrift Week. Not that we can make a week's thrift cover a whole year! But if we follow out during the next fifty-one weeks the good resolutions that we are advised to make during Thrift Week the year's prosperity is assured.

Here is the Thrift Week calendar, prepared under the Economic Program of the Y. M. C. A.:

**Jan. 17th—National Thrift Day or Bank Day**

To emphasize the service financial institutions render in a community and the benefits of doing business with them.

**Jan. 18th—Budget Day**

To emphasize the importance of planning expenditures in advance, buying and investing wisely and keeping a record of expenditures.

**Jan. 19th—National Life Insurance Day**

To emphasize the importance of protecting loved ones by creating a life insurance estate.

**Jan. 20th—Own Your Own Home Day**

To emphasize the importance of living under the shelter of one's own home.

**Jan. 21st—Make a Will Day**

To emphasize the value of planning for the future welfare of one's dependents by making a will.

**Jan. 22nd—Pay Your Bills Promptly Day**

To emphasize the value of credit and the moral obligation of paying bills promptly.

**Jan. 23rd—Share With Others Day**

To emphasize the religious privilege of sharing a part of one's income with the church or other unselfish causes.

## Remarkable Remarks

EUGENE V. DEBS—I love the Socialist party.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—You can lead men with love.

GEORGE ADE—The girls cover their ears but expose their wishbones.

REV. J. H. OLMSTEAD—Ireland is blacked up with burnt Cork.

DR. FRANCIS POTTER—I think Jesus made a mistake that he did not marry.

HERBERT HOOVER—Europe won't get back to normal in thirty years.

REV. PERCY STICKNEY GRANT—The Pilgrims were practically law breakers.

C. L. EDSON—I used to do all the talking, but of late I occasionally listen.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB—I want to keep what is justly mine as long as possible.

GENERAL VON BERNHARDI—What the American Free State needs is a big war.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I am very sure that not every young society girl smokes.

WARREN G. HARDING—I would like to acclaim a Southland aflame with industry.

R. G. MCCUTCHEON, Secretary of National Music Teachers' Association—Music will give the country the emotional stimulus formerly given by booze.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER—But for my wife's business sagacity, I would still be a poor man.

H. G. WELLS—We have tamed and bred the beasts but we have yet to tame and breed ourselves.

SIR DONALD MACLEAN, M.P.—Excepting neutrals and Great Britain, Europe is bankrupt today.

DON MARQUIS—Nobody ever was as crooked as his face looks in a photograph of a public dinner.

SENATOR PENROSE—I am against this international idealism and this higher thought in world politics.

PROF. RAYMOND PEARL—The United States will have a population of 197,000,000 people about the year 2100.

R. C. BRAN—My children made considerable racket when fourteen of them were down with the whooping cough.

DEAN INGE—Nineteenth century England was a going concern. Twentieth century England is a gone concern.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND—After a recent conference I had to hang out my shoes in order to dispose of the smell of tobacco.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP SHAHAN—The burning of Cork surpasses in grim horror and fierce injustice the crime of Louvain.

PROF. ARTHUR GORDON WEBSTER—In the Army and Navy the theory is that anybody can teach anything if ordered to.

GOVERNOR RIGGS OF ALASKA—In Canada the founder of a great new industry gets knighted; in Alaska, very often, indicted.

J. DENNIS BRADLEY—The air is full of stertorous greetings and heavy breathings of portly admirals and plethoric generals in literary labor.

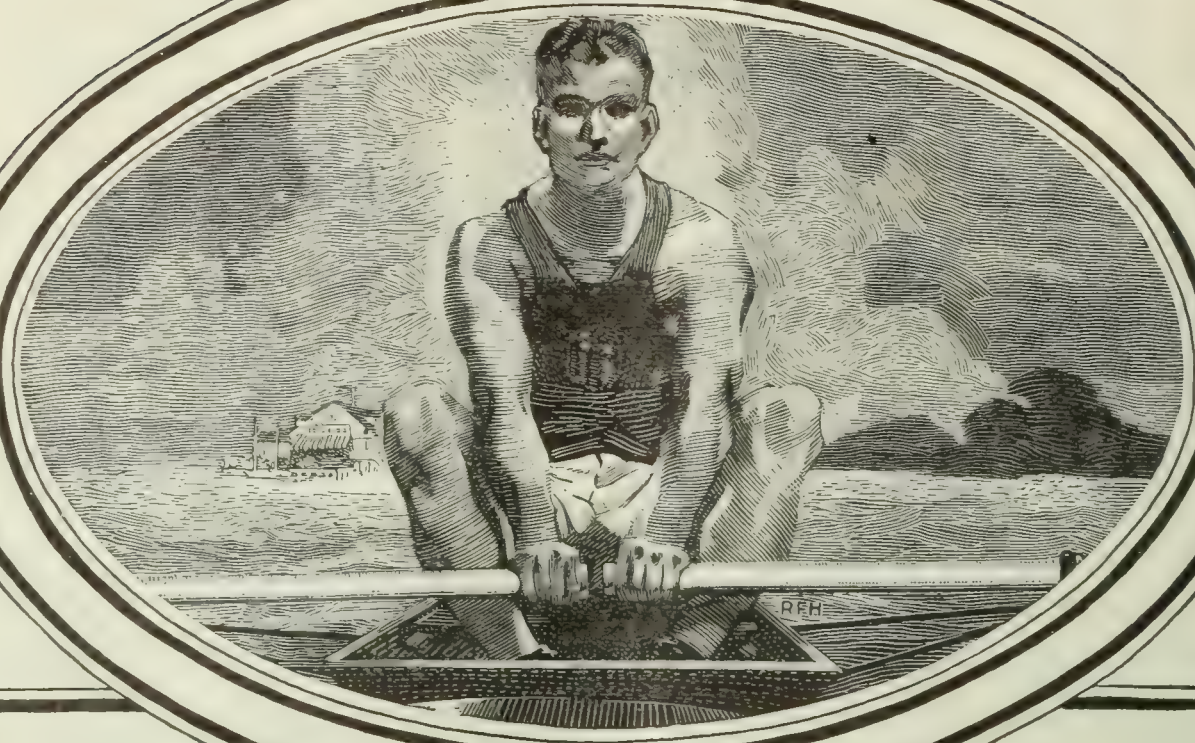
ARTHUR BRISBANE—Will Mr. Harding extend the territory of the United States south as far as the other side of the Panama Canal, thus conferring a great blessing on every square foot of Mexico?

## Opening Nights

*Miss Lulu Bett.* A comedy of family bickerings, by Zona Gale, based upon her novel of the same name. Sleazy and colorlessly agreeable. (Belmont Theater.)

*Transplanting Jean.* A comedy that keeps in its translation the epigrammatic gaiety and entertaining *nuances* of the French original by de Flers and Caillavet. Margaret Lawrence is an engaging heroine, and Arthur Byron is at his best in the rôle of volatile man-about-town. (Cort Theater.)

*Mary Rose*, by J. M. Barrie. For sheer beauty and whimsy loveliness the best play of many seasons. The American company, contrary to several New York critics, is as good as the English company now performing in London, while Ruth Chatterton as "Mary Rose" is a worthy successor to Maude Adams as a Barrie heroine. (Empire Theater.)



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The Independent
January 15, 1921

# The New Negro

## "When He's Hit, He Hits Back!"

### By Rollin Lynde Hartt

*In this article Dr. Hartt has been at pains to avoid extremist arguments and scarehead testimony; he deals only with facts, presented from the moderate viewpoint of a Congregational minister who knows the various sections of the United States and has written for many years on American affairs. This article will be followed in an early issue by one which discusses the negro problem from the viewpoint of a Southerner*

THE other evening five hundred Knights of the Ku Klux Klan marched in procession thru Jacksonville, Florida—a "band of determined men," who "would brook no interference." Fifteen southern states now have Ku Klux organizations—their emblem, the "flaming cross"; their device, "We Stand for Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, Patriotism"; their advertisement, a shield bearing skull and cross-bones. Specimens of that advertisement, clipped from southern papers, are shown to visitors at the headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York City.

Southerners recall that during Reconstruction the South owed much to the Ku Klux. Northerners, however unsympathetic, find that it accomplished its purposes. Can it accomplish its purposes today, or is it perhaps destined to end by defeating them if not actually bringing about the very situation it aims to forestall? There are friends of the South who, having studied the evolution of the new negro, harbor serious misgivings. No mere fanciful bugaboo is the new negro. He exists. More than once I have met him. He differs radically from the timorous, docile negro of the past. Said a new negro, "Cap'n, you mark my words; the next time white folks pick on colored folks, something's going to drop—dead white folks." Within a week came race riots in Chicago, where negroes fought back with surprising audacity.



*Underwood & Underwood*

**Is the Ku Klux Klan back again? It looks so. But with a difference; the negroes of today are a new race, not to be driven and terrorized into submission**



**He's brought himself and all his trappings and all his military energy and training back home again. And now what will happen?**

Another new negro, home from overseas said, "We were the first American regiment on the Rhine—Colonel Hayward's, the Fighting Fifteenth; we fought for democracy, and we're going to keep on fighting for democracy till we get our rights here at home. The black worm has turned."

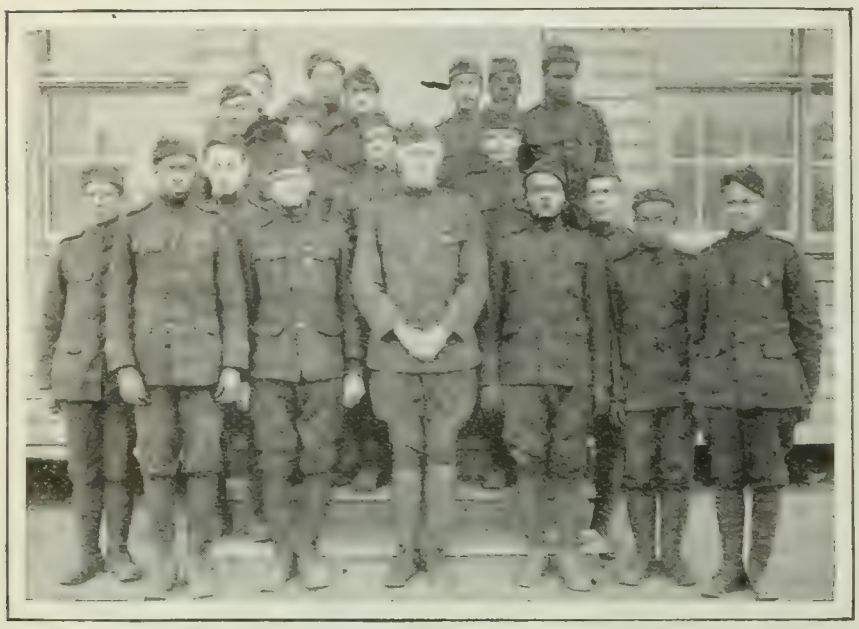
I said, "There is a high mortality among turning worms. We've got you people eight to one."

He answered, "Don't I know it? Thousands of us must die; but we'll die fighting. Mow us down—slaughter us! It's better than this."

I remembered seeing a negro magazine shortly after the Chicago riots; a war-goddess on its cover brandished aloft her sword. "They who would be free," ran the legend, "must themselves strike the blow." I remembered a telegram from a negro editor, "Henceforward, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life." Here, in this colored veteran, was the same spirit—the spirit, that is, of the new negro. Hit, he hits back. In a succession of race riots, he has proved it. "When they taught the colored boys to fight," says a negro paper, "they started something they won't be able to stop."

This is apparently no transient mood. The evolution of the new negro has been in progress since 1916, when southern negroes began to move North. That huge, leaderless exodus—a million strong, according to Herbert J. Seligmann, author of "The Negro Faces America"—strong-

er by far, according to some authorities—meant that for the first time in history the negro had taken his affairs into his own hands. Until then, things had been done to the negro, with the negro, and for the negro, but never by the negro. At last, he showed initiative and self-reliance. Despite the lure of big wages "up North," it required no little courage. If the vanguard was exploited, the exploitation continued and still continues. In an article on "The High Cost of Being a Negro," the Chicago *Whip* declares, "In Chicago, Kansas City, New York and Detroit, where negroes are working, they have to pay twice the rent, and in neighborhood clothing and grocery stores recent investigations show that for the same goods the negro has to pay a color tax sometimes as high as 50 per cent. Thus



© Keystone View

**These are the negroes from the 369th (old 15th) regiment, the first American regiment on the Rhine, who won the Croix de Guerre. Colonel Hayward of the regiment stands in the center**

the net earnings, if any at all, are 50 per cent less than those of the white workers." Yet the exodus from Dixie goes on. Few—astonishingly few—return.

"One reason for the migrations to the North," says Dr. Hawk, a colored clergyman, "is that the negroes want independence. Planters give them two or three acres for themselves and furnish the plants and seeds and they pay with a certain per cent of their crop, but they have always been in debt for things they are compelled to buy at certain stores. Since the war, wages have been so high that they could free themselves from debt and go North. . . . The going of a negro causes great unrest among other negroes. . . . The exodus is not only among the poor or floating class; lynching has a lot to do with it."

When the movement was just beginning, a white Southernor wrote in the Tifton *Gazette:* "The white people have only themselves to blame. They have allowed negroes to be lynched, five at a time, on no stronger ground than suspicion; they have allowed whole sections to be depopulated of them; they have allowed them to be white-capped and whipped and their homes burned, with only the weakest effort to apprehend or punish those guilty—when any effort was made at all."

"The exodus is a great mark of progress," thinks Dr. Hawk; "negroes are saying, 'We can do this thing ourselves.'" They had not been doing it long when a new and still more tremendous influence came into play. America declared war. Negroes by scores of thousands joined the colors. Nor was that all. On the fourteenth of March, President Wilson "put the devil into the negro's head," as a southern newspaper phrases it, by receiving a deputation of colored clergy at the White House and making a speech thus reported in the negro press the country over:

I have always known that the negro has been unjustly and unfairly dealt with; your people have exhibited a degree of loyalty and patriotism that should command the admiration of the whole nation. In the present conflict your race has rallied to the nation's call, and if there has been any evidence of slackerism manifested by negroes, the same has not reached Washington.

Great principles of righteousness are won by hard fighting and they are attained by slow degrees. With thousands of your sons in the camps and in France, out of this conflict you must expect nothing less than the enjoyment of full citizenship rights—the same as are enjoyed by every other citizen.

How—as a matter of precise, historic fact—did the negro acquit himself in France? Accounts by white men vary. Accounts by black men don't. Exclaims a negro paper, "Are you aware that a negro was the first American to receive the Croix de Guerre with palm and gold star? That three negro regiments and several battalions and companies were cited and had their flags decorated for valorous conduct? That negroes placed for the first time in artillery and signal corps won high distinction? That negroes in the early part of the war held 20 per cent of all territory assigned to Americans? That the negro army was the healthiest on record? That out of 45,000 negroes engaged in battle only nine were taken prisoners? That the negroes established a record for continuous service in the trenches—191 days?" "Under similar circumstances," comments the New York *Crisis*, "we would fight again. But, by the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if, now that the war is over, we do not marshal every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a sterner, longer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell in our own land." "Back again, to be lynched, bombed, and riot-frenzied and segregated!" cries the Chicago *Whip*. "The black man fought to make the world safe for democracy; he now demands that America be made safe for black Americans."

In other words, the negro thinks as in identical circumstances a Caucasian would think. Having learned initiative, having heard from his President the promise of "freedom," and having served his country on the battlefield, he is determined henceforth to act as in the circumstances a Caucasian would act. For once—to that extent—black is white.

"You have now with you a new negro," declared the editor of the Oklahoma City *Black Dispatch* in addressing a white audience. "This new negro, who stands today released in spirit, finds himself physically bound and shackled by laws and customs that were made for slaves." Is he then seeking "social equality"? "What we want is social justice," the speaker went on to say; "none of my race is dreaming of 'social equality.'" "The negro is satisfied to confine his social aspirations within his own race," affirms the Hot Springs (Arkansas) *Echo*, "but he does want such political and economic rights as are guaranteed to every law-abiding citizen." Putting the case still more explicitly, the Houston (Texas) *Informer* says: "What the colored man demands is 'social equity.' He wants the same rights of society that other men and races enjoy; but he does not ask the association and companionship of men or women of other races."



*Underwood & Underwood*

**Mary Seymore, who ran for the Legislature from Hartford, Connecticut, is a symbol of an era not only of woman suffrage but of negro suffrage. She has negro blood in her veins and her great ambition is to see her race given a chance to progress**

Once in the world, Mr. Dooley could remark to Mr. Hennessy,

[*Continued on page 76*

Eleventh article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest

# Time Charts vs. Good Cheer

## By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcolm Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

THE American business man is usually thought of as hard-headed, intensely practical and unsentimental. As a matter of fact he is probably ruled by sentiment, even by religion, to a greater extent than we know.

Witness the Link-Belt Company of Philadelphia, Chicago, and Indianapolis, where there has been a conscious development from pure scientific management to humanism in management; from figures to feelings as the instruments of control.

We visited the Philadelphia establishment. Twenty years ago this concern was one of the first to introduce the Taylor system of scientific management, under the supervision of Frederick W. Taylor himself; with some modifications, to be sure, owing to the fact that this concern manufactures special orders and not staple products, but essentially the Taylor system with its functional foremen, time and motion study, minute cost determinations and the rest.

The nine hundred and odd workmen were scientifically adjusted to their jobs, shop routine was carefully and thoroly established, and the men worked at a swift, steady pace. The worker who failed to come up to the standard of performance found that his earnings were so small that he did not wait to be discharged. He quit and sought work where he could go it at a slower pace. The worker who remained produced in large quantities and made better than average earnings.

Costs were kept in such minute detail that operations of so little duration as 105 seconds were recorded as separate units. Labor-hour costs were recorded at their actual cash costs. Value of buildings, equipment, tools and machinery were allocated to separate workmen and unit processes with accuracy. Every instruction was written and carefully recorded. Orders and results passed by writing, and even human relations were controlled finally by paper forms. For every act and process there was a form which required careful filling out. The processes and relations were as mechanical as the Taylor system could make them.

This required an immense amount of work, rewriting bills of material, making thousands of entries; costs were always at least a week behind the labor date. A thoro study of their methods and recognition of faults resulted in a number of changes: the use of a single bill of materials, a distinctive time card for each separate form of production labor, and a uniform, general method of distributing indirect expenses. Selling costs were kept apart from the rest. Thus the work was materially reduced and accuracy sufficient for practical purposes retained.

While they still have scientific management it is so modified that it can no longer be called the Taylor system. It is the Link-Belt system.

In the planning department there have been probably the fewest changes. Here we find scientific management *par excellence*, likewise in the cost-accounting and stores departments. The work is carefully planned, instructions are made out in copies sufficient for each of the employed workers on each job, and accurate time studies are made and recorded. Their purpose, however, is more to make possible intelligible cost accounts and job estimates than to maintain rigorous paper control over the shops.

The greatest variation from scientific management has probably been in the personal relations with the men. This plant has always tried to give the workers a consciousness that the management was interested in their welfare and a fair deal for everyone: the effort has always been apparent to give the men all that is coming to them, to recognize their interest in the plant. It is easy to understand, therefore, that the management would early feel that the Taylor system went too far with its functionalization, particularly with respect to foremen. And they returned to the system of a single superintendent with general foremen and sub-foremen, each in complete charge of his particular group of workmen.

This foreman has all the functions of the old type of foreman, with slightly less emphasis on the personal relation side. He can recommend for discharge, but his discharge is not final. He is still the gang boss, with the responsibility of "getting out the goods," but he is primarily an instructor and executive.

The interesting development in this concern is the changed type of superintendent. Contrary to general practice, he is not the technical type of man. He did not forge his way up thru the ranks of factory workers to his present position. He was a cost accountant with an attractive personality, a man of impelling presence. He is superintendent, not because he knows the technical side of manufacturing, but because he knows and can handle men, because of his great and evident human sympathy. The responsibility for matters technical is left to his foremen and sub-foremen.

His training school for this present position was a Sunday School. He was a whirlwind of a superintendent there. His school was live and interesting. Mothers sent their sons to him. He reformed recalcitrants. He built his whole soul on making everyone feel happy, contented, and anxious to do things.

SO when the management of the Link-Belt Company saw, a few years ago, that they were facing a peculiarly difficult labor situation, they decided that they must change their tactics. They decided to pin their faith on the man who showed that he could inspire and lead his fellows, who could preach a sermonette to an imported workman in greasy overalls without evoking indifferent suspicion in response. The technical side of the problem could be left to his lieutenants. It was subordinated to the human relations aspect of the general manufacturing problem.

Not that this factory has become a revival camp meeting with a chorus of "Glory Hallelujahs" for every achievement in production. Far from it. Enthusiasm has not replaced, it has supplemented hard sense and technical skill. The superintendent with his foremen meet every morning, and at this meeting each man reports the progress of work in his department. Technical difficulties, failures to hold up to the schedule, failures to coördinate—these and more are discussed to the end that each knows just what the rest are doing, just where he stands, and what is expected of him. It would go hard with the foreman who showed in these meetings any- [*Continued on page 76*

# The Plain Truth About Germany

## By John Spargo

**This article is based on Mr. Spargo's personal observations during a recent visit to Central Europe, where he studied economic conditions and drew some conclusions that are of fundamental importance to the American people. Mr. Spargo, who is one of the contributing editors of The Independent, has taken a leading part for many years in industrial affairs in the United States. He came to this country from England in 1901, was U. S. delegate to the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress at Copenhagen in 1910, with Samuel Gompers founded the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy in 1917, was appointed by President Wilson to the Industrial Conference in 1919. Of his numerous books "The Bitter Cry of the Children" and "Industrial Democracy" are perhaps best known.**



© Western Newspaper Union

IN the month of October, 1920, the State Department of the United States of America could issue no passport to Germany to any citizen, the reason being that we were still at war with that country. Yet, somehow, the Germans seemed quite unaware of the war and to be laboring under the impression that peaceable and friendly relations existed between the two nations. There was no hesitation on the part of German officials to visé the passports of American citizens desirous of entering Germany. Of course, it was illogical that a passport not issued for travel in Germany should be solemnly viséd by German officials, but this illogicality was all of a piece with the entire farce of legal and diplomatic warfare as it then was—and as it still remains. With merry ostentation American "enemies" of Germany crowded the trains, lounged in the best hotels, transacted business in the shops and elsewhere. All this was done openly, without a vestige of secrecy or camouflage, and yet these queer enemy Germans minded it not. Instead, they welcomed every augmentation of our novel belligerency with the most benign affability. The Americans, not to be outdone by anybody—particularly enemies—acted the pacifist role with equal grace and played Jonathan to the German David.

On the surface it was simply a howling farce, a thousand times more diverting than anything that Gilbertian genius ever devised. Beneath the surface, however, there was tragedy such as the world has rarely witnessed; the tragedy of a great nation sinking down into the engulfing morass of economic death and destruction and pulling down with her the whole body of civilization, while the statesmen of the world, guardians and trustees of that civilization, played their petty politics. Hitherto, Nero fiddling during the burning of Rome has been the classical example of foolish and dangerous statecraft, but allied policy toward Germany in A. D. 1920 outshines Nero's folly as much as the great electric searchlight outshines the glow-worm.

No trace of hatred of America by the Germans could be discovered by the present writer in October, 1920. On the contrary, there was everywhere manifest a pathetic desire for American understanding and friendship. The cynically minded, who still confound the German people with the Prussian military régime, will of course say that this was the result of a subtle and cunning propaganda. As a matter of fact, the feeling was too universal to admit of such a cynical explanation. Statesmen and agricultural laborers, scholars and housewives, in the smallest villages no less than in the large cities, quite unaware that they were talking to a journalist in quest of information, spoke with evident earnestness of desire for America's friendship. No propaganda, however skilfully conducted, could have produced such a result—and the German governmental machine is not yet efficient enough for such an enterprize, even if it were inclined to undertake it. No, the reason for the German attitude toward America lies, the present writer is convinced, in the widespread recognition of Germany's desperate economic condition and her hope that America will help her if not to her feet, then at least to her knees.

As surely as this hope of the Germans is motivated and inspired by self-interest, so is the conviction of a growing number of thoughtful Americans that we ought to do that very thing. It is not sentimentality, but the sternest economic realism. It is not altruism, but the prudence arising from the instinct for self-preservation. For it is as certain as anything human can be that the economic collapse of Germany would involve serious disaster to every great nation, including our own. We are linked to the economic life of Germany by a series of relations of the most vital consequence and importance, just as we are linked to many other nations in both hemispheres. This is so obvious, one would think, as to require no demonstration, yet it is often overlooked. We shall do well, therefore, to give heed to a few elemental facts which irresistibly lead to this conclusion. We may omit consideration of the security of our foreign loans and consider more fundamental matters. In the first place, to disorganize and destroy the economic production of a great nation of sixty millions of people—particularly when that nation is as intelligent and efficient as Germany—must inevitably, at any time, seriously disturb and strain the economic life of neighboring countries, and beyond them all other countries trading with that nation or the nations affected by her ruin. Can anyone imagine that Germany's economic collapse would leave intact and unshaken the economic life of Sweden, Norway, Denmark or Holland, among neutral nations, or that of Belgium, France, Italy or England among the nations engaged in the Great War? We have been mordantly called a nation of "economic illiterates," but surely there is none among us simple enough to believe that the United States would be uninjured. Even now we are witnessing a serious diminution of our economic prosperity as a result of the

abnormally low exchange rates which prevail in nearly all the countries above named, making it impossible for them to maintain their customary relation and importance as purchasers of our goods in the markets of the world.

Moreover, in the distraught and distempered state of civilization thru which we are passing, the danger is increased beyond any human computation. The present writer at any rate is not an alarmist, finding grim pleasure in dire foreboding or prophecy. On the contrary, now as always he believes profoundly in the resistance and recuperative powers of civilization, especially here in this nation where opportunity is more widely diffused than anywhere else under the sun. At the same time, ignorant and reckless disregard of disease is not healthy optimism. It is rather a danger to be shunned.

To ignore the tragic fact of Bolshevism in Russia, and the eruptions of the same evil menace in Asia, in Italy, in Hungary, in Poland and in Czechoslavakia would be most dangerous folly.

We need to remember, in this connection, that Bolshevism is a madness incidental to the fever of economic despair and disintegration. Not the least of the dangers to be feared from the ruin of Germany's economic life is the Bolshevization of her despairing masses. No greater disaster could befall the world than that, at the moment when Russian Bolshevism is approaching its dissolution and liquidation, it should be reinvigorated and reënforced by the Bolshevized genius, energy and passion of Germany. If that should happen, there needs must ensue a war greater than that we have just passed thru—a war of civilization against a red militarism infinitely more terrible than any Hohenzollern ever conceived.

Let us look frankly at some of the salient and outstanding facts in Germany's economic position. We must not make the mistake of basing our impressions upon the careless and luxurious life at the Adlon or the abundant evidences of luxury in the great shops on Unter den Linden. Germany, in common with all the belligerents in the late war, produced very many rich spendthrifts who made large fortunes by war profiteering. For the great mass of the German people, however, life today represents a struggle that is unbelievably hard and in which most of them can find no hope. The American journalist who proclaimed thru the pages of a popular magazine that there was no starvation, or even privation, in Germany, because, forsooth, he has been able to purchase an elaborate dinner at a fashionable hotel for 750 marks, was either very childishly ignorant, or unscrupulously vicious—and equally dangerous either way. As a matter of fact, for 750 marks ten very excellent dinners, a bottle of good wine accompanying each, could have been purchased in the best restaurant in Berlin. What matters is not the ability of the rich German or the traveling American, whose dollars represent such an abnormal value in exchange, to secure luxury, but the difficulty of the average German to secure the ordinary necessities of life. To that difficulty the pinched wan faces of the women in the working class districts bore tragic testimony. It is a story as old as civilization itself that the burden of poverty strikes first of all the mothers of the race and then the offspring. If the children of the great German cities appeared to be less starved than the mind of the investigator had feared and imagined, that fact was due to the wise and beneficent remedial measures undertaken by such bodies as the American Quakers, the Swedish Red Cross, the Relief Organizations of Norway and Holland, and—note this to the credit of our human kind—the labor organizations of Belgium.

To see the problem of the average German family of the working class the present writer visited some of the markets in company with wives of artizans and laborers. A carpenter, bricklayer or plumber, earning thirty-five marks per day, has first to meet a tax deduction of 10 per cent. Suppose the remaining 31.50 marks is handed intact to his good *frau*, how can she possibly provide for the necessities of her husband, herself and two or three children? That was the problem brought home to one in these wanderings in the market places. Of course eggs at 3.50 marks each were out of the question; so, alas, was butter, for the entire day's wages of the artizan would be required to purchase two-thirds of a pound. Even a pound of rather poor looking bacon cost something more than half a day's wages of a skilled mechanic. When one saw the puzzled *hausfrau* purchase four ounces of chopped meat for the entire family, supplementing it with a few soup greens, one understood the tragic lack of power in the wage to purchase sufficient calories for healthful and decent living. Nor was this the worst, for there were many unemployed. During the latter part of October there were 250,000 unemployed workers in Berlin alone. There were other thousands in Stuttgart, Leipzig, Hamburg, Chemnitz and elsewhere. Moreover, there was the certainty that, unless some great constructive work were speedily undertaken, the number of these unemployed would grow and swell the potential forces of red Bolshevism. Bad as the lot of the industrial wage earners was, that of the salaried official class was worse. These are but a few of the vitally dangerous facts existing under the thin layer of the luxury to be found in the fashionable hotels.

The truth is that the whole economic life of Germany since the war constitutes a vicious circle, which cannot be broken by Germany alone, but only by the coöperation of the rest of the great nations with her. The [*Continued on page 78*




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**A French view of the German indemity question—"Eet is impossible to get ze blood from ze turnip, n'est-ce pas?"**




*Thomas in London Opinion*

**Master Northcliffe: "Hi, guv'nor, wotcher think you're doing, pouring water into the pump?" Mr. Lloyd George: "Don't you know you can't get a disused pump to work without first pouring water down it to wet the sucker?"**

# Michelson's Eye

## By Edwin E. Slosson

LAST summer an enthusiastic young astronomer said to me: "The science of astronomy has made more progress in the last five years than in the previous century."

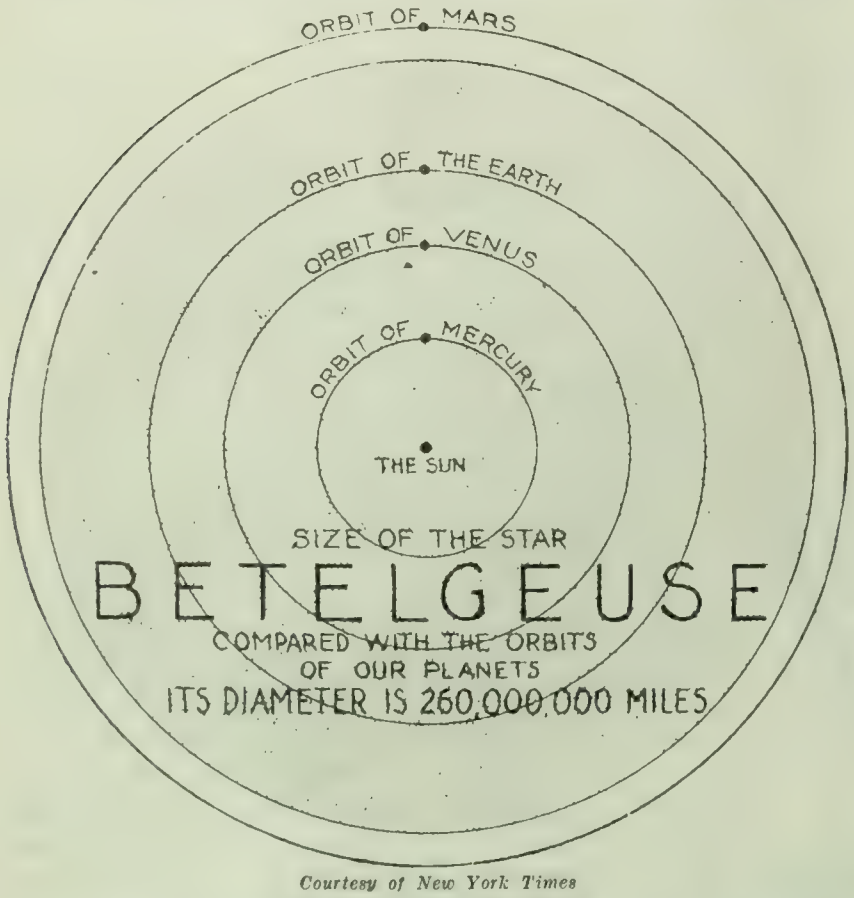
"What discoveries do you have in mind particularly?" I inquired.

"Can't tell you all yet, but you will hear about it before New Year's," he replied.

And now, two days before the old year goes, the announcement comes that Professor Michelson of the University of Chicago has measured the girth of Betelgeuse. He found the star to be 260,000,000 miles in diameter. If it were a hollow sphere there would be room enough in it to hold the sun with the three planets, Mercury, Venus and Earth, revolving in their regular orbits. Probably our sun was about as big in its younger and stronger days, shortly after Mars had seceded and established its independence. But since then the sun has shrunken until now it would take some 27,000,000 suns to fill up Betelgeuse.

If you need an introduction to Betelgeuse ask your grandmother to point him out to you. For in her day every respectable person was supposed to know the names of the constellations and the cabinet officers. The younger generation does not seem to care about either. But however indifferent you may be to the heavenly bodies you probably can recognize at sight two constellations, the Big Dipper and the three stars that form the Belt of Orion. Now Betelgeuse is the Alpha or leading star in Orion and lies in the giant's shoulder, so you can find it even tho you may not have a grandmother handy to use as a star-finder.

Mark Twain used to say that he could understand something about how astronomers could measure the distances of the stars, but he did not see how, even with the largest telescopes, they could find out their names. But Michelson's machine tells us many more important things about the stars than their names. It gives us information about their size, motion, composition and age. The distances of the stars could be approximately ascertained by taking observations six months apart when the earth was at opposite sides of its orbit. This gave a base line of 186,000,000 miles for the calculation of the parallax of a star. But that did not help us out on its diameter, for even the biggest star seen thru the biggest telescope was not much more than a mathematical point. In fact a star looks smaller thru a telescope than to the naked eye for the glass cuts down the blur.




*Courtesy of New York Times*

THE GIANT OF THE SKIES

**The shaded portion of the diagram shows the size of Betelgeuse compared with the orbits of our planets. As will be seen, the star would nearly fill the orbit of Mars. The sun and the planets as shown here are greatly exaggerated. The sun, for example, if correctly drawn to scale, would be only 1-150th of an inch in diameter. It would take 27,000,000 suns like it to equal Betelguese, altho the diameter of our sun is 866,000 miles**

But the attachment of Michelson's interferometer to a telescope multiplies its magnifying power immensely. It is as much of an advance over the modern telescope as Galileo's telescope was over his naked eye.

The interferometer is the most marvelous measuring instrument made by man. Michelson employed it in 1893 to measure the wave length of light as standard unit for the metric system. Twenty years later the same line in the spectrum was measured again by French physicists with all the refinements since introduced and the results agreed to one 100,000,000,000 of an inch.

The principle of the thing is not hard to understand. Suppose you wanted to compare two combs to see if they had the same number of teeth. It would be a bother to count them and you might make mistakes. But if you should lay the two combs together and hold them up to the light you could see at a glance whether they matched or not. If they were identical you would see as you slid one along the other that the light coming thru the grid would be first eclipsed and then clear in alternate succession. The least sliding movement shows itself instantly and it might occur to you—as it did to Michelson—that a grid or grating of alternate light and dark lines might be used for minute measurements. You doubtless have noticed those changeable pictures displayed in shop windows as an advertisement. Sometimes it is a lady with her hair plain and with her hair waved. Sometimes it is two presidential candidates that dissolve into one another as you walk by. A single step suffices to transform one portrait into the other. These pictures are made by ruling lines on a copper plate. Now when a ray of light falls on a very finely ruled grating of this sort it is reflected off as a spectrum band with red at one end and violet at the other. Passing light thru a prism will do the same, but not so well, for the glass absorbs some of it and does not stretch the spectrum out so long. Michelson's echelon spectroscope, consisting of plates of glass accurately ground to equal thickness and laid together so they slightly and successively overlap like the steps of a stair, has a greater resolving power on light than either the glass prism or metal grating previously known.

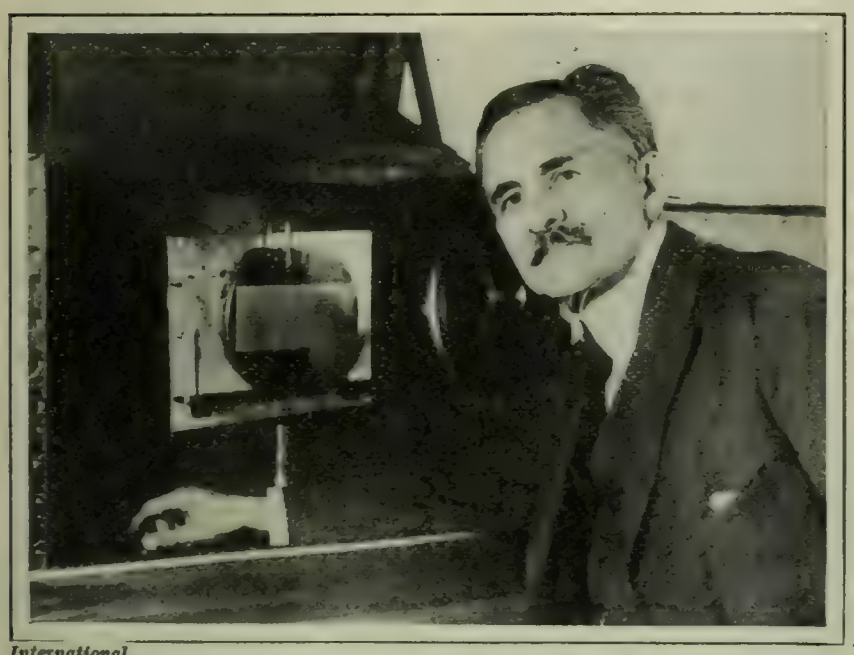
If a ray of light passing thru a small slit is thrown upon a grating it is spread out in a band of alternate light and dark lines. These lines are irregularly spaced and by their number, grouping and intensity it can be told what the light comes from, how hot it is and whether it is moving toward us or away. By laying the spectrum of a star alongside of the spectrum of a flame from, say, burning carbon, iron or hydrogen, one can see if these elements are contained in the star. As the nursery rime has it:

> Twinkle, twinkle little star,
> I know exactly what you are,
> For by my spectroscopic ken
> I see you're only hydrogen.

Two and two always make four—unless one of them

happens to be a minus two, when they make zero. Light consists of wave motion, sometimes up and sometimes down, one instant plus and the next instant minus. So adding two rays of light may double the light—or produce darkness. It depends on whether the waves, when they meet, happen to agree in phase, whether they are in a position to coöperate or interfere. If the two rays do not perfectly coincide there will appear alternate light and dark bands and the measurement of such interference fringes enables the two lights to be compared.

In Michelson's interferometer light from different sources or from the same source after traveling different paths are brought together and if the waves have been displaced they will not match, but interfere and cancel each other. Michelson used the instrument in 1886 to detect the "ether drift," but with negative results. This threw the scientific world into confusion, for it appeared to be proved experimentally that the ether neither moved nor stood still. But recently Einstein has suggested a way out of the dilemma by his sensational theory of relativity. Einstein's view received support from the British observations on the eclipse of 1919, which seemed to prove that a ray of starlight passing close by the sun is bent out of its straight course in agreement with Einstein's law of gravitation, but not with Newton's. But a few hasty observations on occasional eclipses form an insecure foundation for so far-reaching a theory and astronomers have been wishing that there was some way of measuring the deflection of light without waiting for an eclipse to come along. Possibly Michelson



*International*

**The great American scientist whose latest discovery enables us to tell the size of stars. This photograph shows Professor Michelson with one of the instruments which he used in measuring the diameter of Betelgeuse**

has granted their wish for his new instrument may prove powerful enough to measure minuter deviations than has hitherto been possible.

As early as 1894 Michelson suggested that the application of his interferometer to astronomical research would enable the diameter of stars to be measured with greater accuracy than their distance, but nobody followed up the hint, so now he has done it himself. Last summer Professor Hale placed at his disposal the magnificent equipment of the Solar Observatory of the Carnegie Institution at Pasadena. Here on Mount Wilson is a reflecting telescope with an eight-foot concave mirror. If instead of using the whole aperture the light from a star is passed thru two narrow slits a series of interference bands are produced instead of an image of the star. These light and dark bands will alternately coincide or conflict as the slits are moved apart. and so give an opportunity to measure the diameter of the star as has now been done with Betelgeuse. The distance of this star is known to be about 150 light years. That is, the light that the astrometers on Mount Wilson have been looking at left home before the American revolution and has been traveling toward us day and night at the rate of 186,000 miles a second ever since.

The limit to a telescope has hitherto been the impossibility of making and mounting larger lenses or mirrors than those now in use in California. But for Michelson's interferometer it is not necessary to catch the star image on the same mirror. Two smaller mirrors may be used at any convenient distance apart and their interference fringes thrown together. This is the same as widening the mirror to that diameter and vastly extending the resolving power. It does away also with the heavy and cumbrous tubes of our big telescopes. Michelson has one of those minds that throw off bright ideas in continuous showers like the sparks from a carborundum wheel grinding steel. He should be kept surrounded by a circle of disciples holding open tinder boxes so as to catch the flying fire. In 1907 he received the Nobel prize for his echelon spectroscope and measurement of the wave length of light; the only American physicist to be so honored. In the list of Nobel prize men he is credited to Germany, but this is wrong. It is true he was born in Germany, at Strelno in 1852, but by race he is Hebrew, not Teuton, and by nationality he is 100 per cent American, since he was educated at the U. S. Naval Academy and did important service in the navy during the Great War. His is a distinguished family. His brother Charles has been editor of various Hearst papers. His sister Miriam is the author of "In the Bishop's Carriage" and other popular novels and plays. One of his sons, Albert, was American consul and another, Truman, is a Government ethnologist.

## A Thought for 1921

HARD times coming? Perhaps so, but think of the iron times we would have had to endure if Germany had won the war!

## The Blot on the Flag

TUSKEGEE Institute, which keeps tabs on lynchings in the United States, has just sent us the gruesome details for 1920.

During the year fifty-three negroes and eight whites were lynched. Of these one was a negress, and three were burned at the stake. Eighteen, or one-third, were put to death for the "usual crime." One of the white men was killed for no other offense than being a foreigner, while of the more trivial charges against the negroes, three were put to death for assisting fugitives to escape, two for insulting women, two for knocking down prison guards, one for jumping a labor contract, and one for insisting on voting.

Georgia leads the dishonor roll with nine lynchings, while Alabama, Florida and Mississippi follow with seven each. Nine of the sixty-one lynchings were in Northern and Western states.

There are two rays of light in this gloomy picture. First, lynchings are decreasing. There were twenty-two less this year than last. Second, there were fifty-six instances recorded in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, tho in four cases only after mobs had been fired on and seven attackers killed.

Now that the American people are showing such commendable zeal in condemning the mob murders in Ireland, would it not help matters if our British cousins should take similar action with regard to mob murders here?

## Two Men

SUPERFICIALLY the career of d'Annunzio parallels that of Garibaldi. Both men were ardent Italian patriots, romantic and Quixotic by temperament, daring and adventurous. Both men added new territories to Italy by unauthorized raids which the Italian Government dared

not openly countenance. Both men gained military possession of still other territories which Italy had to relinquish on account of the general diplomatic situation.

But the resemblance was only superficial. D'Annunzio aping Garibaldi was like Louis Napoleon attempting to revive the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte or Kaiser Wilhelm posing as another Frederick the Great. It is easier to imitate the hat than the head. Garibaldi's soul was rooted in the soil of ethics. He cared first of all for humanity and the universal cause of liberty, secondly for the greatness of Italy, and only incidentally for his own fame. The lands which he aspired to conquer were all Italian by speech and sympathy; he did not, like d'Annunzio, attempt to bring thousands of unwilling Slavs under the Italian flag. His youth was one of labor and adventure; he was not, like d'Annunzio, a decadent poet who turned patriot in order to end in a blaze of glory a misspent life. The real soul of Garibaldi is not incarnate in the volatile little dictator of the Quarnero, but in the moderate and truly patriotic Italians who made, and kept, the Treaty of Rapallo.

## Protecting Home Industries

THE New York police are trying to keep bandits from New Jersey from entering the city. New Jersey, in turn, is objecting to the exportation of bandits from New York. It is felt that local wealth should be reserved for home burglars who will "keep the money in the state."

# The Missionary's Place in Politics

## By Shailer Mathews

THE Japanese Government is warning missionaries in Korea and Manchuria not to mingle politics with their religion. The two are separate, it says. If this means that missionaries should not stir up revolution, should not aid rebels, the Japanese Government is right. There have been instances in which missionaries of certain countries have been used by those countries for the purpose of furthering their political ambitions. Japan had an experience of this sort in the sixteenth century and has never forgotten it. But not only in Japan does the missionary have to be on his guard against interference in governmental affairs. The entire British Empire in the East is sensitive to revolutionary currents and the missionary must consciously refrain from even careless remarks which might raise suspicion of political activities.

It is to the credit of the American missionaries that they are facing this delicate situation with wisdom and self-control. Their sympathies must again and again be stirred as they see school buildings and churches destroyed, and Christians punished brutally as revolutionists; but they have thus far given no ground for rebuke. If ever good people had good sense, the missionaries have it in those sections of Asia where political tension is the strongest.

But back of this situation lies a real question. If missionaries were to confine themselves merely to preparing heathen for heaven it would not be likely that they would stray far into politics; but if missionaries ever preached such a limited Gospel they certainly make a different appeal today. Your missionary is a pioneer in social transformation. Without merchandise, without seeking profit, he embodies moral ideals and cultural habits which in the nature of the case affect the social life of the people among whom he lives. If we add to this obvious fact the more accurate conception of Christianity which is coming to prevail at least among the younger missionaries it will be apparent that the preaching of the worth of human personality, and the democracy of the kingdom of God, is bound indirectly to effect a people's conception of government and the social order. Now ideas which are commonplace in a democracy may be disturbing among a subject race. The preaching of such human worthfulness as has resulted in democracy cannot be dissociated from the preaching of the Gospel. However much the missionary keeps out of actual politics and is silent upon political conditions, the message of brotherliness and of the equality of spiritual freedom is bound to work like leaven among a people. If that people be subject and inexperienced in the responsibilities which the possession of right entails, they are likely to act unintelligently. Therein lies an unappreciated complication for the missionary movement as a whole.

Christian salvation including moral development must be preached abroad as well as at home—in Asia and Africa and the Islands of the Sea just as truly as in Europe and America. Such a message will sooner or later affect political currents.

This certainly adds new burdens of responsibility to the missionary. He can no longer be trained simply as an evangelist or as an educator in some particular branch of learning. He must be taught laws of social development and must be trained to appreciate the social inhibitions and motives which lie in his message. So trained he will be conservative as well as a guiding force to peoples suddenly brought face to face with evangelical ideals. The Gospel will thus be kept from breeding social revolution while educating peoples in brotherliness.

The Gospel has always had such representatives among the missionaries. Unless they are in large force at the present time, there is distinct danger lest missionary activity in certain regions be curtailed by governmental act for fear that evangelization may mean revolution. The only worse alternative to such a misfortune would be for missionaries to ignore the social significance of Christianity and preach an innocuous otherworldliness which would leave their converts insensible to political abuses and opposed to social advance.

## Give Yourself a Mandate

AS a nation we have refused to assume any responsibility for saving central Europe from anarchy by entering the League, or saving western Asia by accepting the Armenian mandate. But that does not prevent us as individuals from doing what the Government has left undone. Liberal contributions made this winter to the European Relief Council or the Near East Relief will not only express your individual sense of responsibility for the welfare of the world, but will help the League in its task of stabilizing conditions and bringing back prosperity and peace. Just as volunteer enlistments are a sort of private declaration of war against a national foe, so volunteer charity is the acceptance of a private "mandate." Buy yourself a share in World Peace.

# Background Folk in Your Novel

## By Preston Slosson

THEY say that if anyone should poke his head into a railroad car and call out "How is your third act getting along?" half the men and women would give a self-conscious jump. Millions of people are trying their hand at novels, short stories, plays or moving picture scenarios; and the minority who are too busy digging ditches or selling oil stock or writing editorials to attempt the fascinating task of interweaving narrative with character creation look forward to the time when they will have the leisure to do so. In the life all about us lies abundant material; the greatest novels and dramas ever written are published so widely that everyone can see for himself the manner in which effective work may be done, and yet few of us can hope to scale the hights of creative literature. Something is lacking in the flavor of

our work no matter how conscientiously we follow the best recipes.

One reason, perhaps, why the average modern play or novel seems a trifle thin and flavorless is that in concentrating attention on the main thread of the plot and the leading personalities the background is neglected. Minor characters are treated as stage scenery; mere conveniences for the development of the action or a picturesque setting for the hero, heroine or villain. This is not the way in which the masters worked. The first law of creative literature is make *every* character interesting. More easily said than done, of course; but too frequently this principle is not even recognized.

Take the two most gigantic romancers in English literature, Scott and Dickens. It might almost be said of them that they became great by this one principle alone. Perhaps you may think that you are weak in plot; but certainly you can construct a better plot than most of those of Dickens. You may think that your hero and heroine are unconvincing; but you can bet a cookie that they are more lifelike than some of the stilted, featureless, rhetorical lay figures who do duty for "leading young man" and "leading young lady" in the formal plan of Scott's novels. A contemporary critic would certainly pronounce the novels of Scott and Dickens "formless, chaotic, weak in plot, slipshod in expression, padded with irrelevant material, filled with anachronisms and improbabilities, marred by illogical and artificial climaxes, and stuffed with windy moralizing and sentimental sham eloquence." All of which is more or less true. But the best novel is not the most perfect novel, and time and again we turn from the machine-made historical novels of the day to drink at these great fountains of vital romance. What is the secret?

Almost any of Scott's novels will give the answer—"Ivanhoe," for example. The average modern writer would throw the limelight full on Ivanhoe, Rowena, Rebecca and the Templar, analyze their psychology in most elaborate fashion, trim the edges of the narrative to fit them, and make the other characters a sort of Greek chorus to their deeds and words. Scott, on the contrary, makes Ivanhoe a mere conventional hero and Rowena a mere heroine to be rescued from time to time and toted around generally. But what a background! The grim Black Sluggard relaxing for an evening to drink and sing and shout with Friar Tuck; the passionate, manly, patriotic, narrow-minded Saxon Cedric quarreling with the torpid soul of the noble Athelstane; the lightminded De Bracy, in whom one sees already all the good and evil of the English gentleman whose ideal of life is sportsmanship; the fanatical ecclesiastic whose pure conscience and sense of duty drives him to condemn Rebecca as a witch; the stolid, faithful Gurth; the immortal jester Wamba who seems one of the brotherhood of Shakespere's clowns; the thwarted and crippled soul of Isaac of York, whose native kindliness of temper has been driven by persecution into avarice; the crazed Saxon woman who sets fire to the castle of the ogre Front de Boeuf; the yeomen in their Lincoln green—here is not a novel but life itself, or an imaginary world more real than life.

In Dickens the background is more important still, as his plots were even weaker than those of Scott. The incidents become more important than the main theme; the minor characters become the focus of the reader's interest. Not David Copperfield and Agnes, but Micawber and Betsy Trotwood live in the memory. Sam Weller, Dick Swiveller, Mr. Podsnap, Sarah Gamp, and a crowd of clerks, boatmen, coachmen, innkeepers, butlers, beggars, lunatics and all other sorts and conditions of men—chiefly poor and obscure men whom any other writer would have used as mere stage scenery—entirely eclipse the nominal "principal characters" and wreak havoc with the theme of the novels. The loss is small. We can forgive anything to the genius whose magic touch can make every errand boy and boarding house landlady as immortal as Achilles or Hamlet.

It would be good practice for anyone who contemplates writing a novel to read over some of the best sellers of history with special attention to the way in which the minor characters are individualized and made significant. Read "The Cloister and the Hearth," forgetting Gerard and remembering the people he met on his tramp from Holland to Italy. Read "Les Miserables" with as close attention to Gavroche, the lion-hearted Paris gamin, and Javert, the man who made a religion of law and order, as to Jean Valjean himself. Even "Uncle Tom's Cabin," tho scorned by supercilious critics, is really a great novel because of Mrs. Stowe's skill in background and deserves the careful study of those who wish to write fiction. Forget all about Uncle Tom, little Eva and Legree, and note the fine drawing of the less noticed persons of the story: George Harris, the man of partly white blood and the spirit of a proud Anglo-Saxon, who is none the less reckoned by the law as a negro slave; Cassy, whose soul is both hardened and strengthened by slavery to a dreadful sternness; Miss Ophelia, the gently caricatured type of New Englandism; the quiet folk of the Quaker settlement; the legislator who voted for the fugitive slave law and later helped to rescue fugitive slaves. Life, after all, is not made up of heroes, heroines and villains; most of us are bound to be minor characters in history. But people are not mere crowd units. The background folk have individualities as truly as the great. The bank clerk in your next novel and the butler in your next play have souls as well as trades; do not leave them out.

## A Sane Suggestion

REPRESENTATIVE McArthur has introduced a constitutional amendment providing that a newly elected President and Congress should take office soon after election, thus abolishing the four months' interregnum which is now so glaring a denial of democratic methods in our constitutional system. The Independent has frequently called attention to the need for this change and we hope that the proposed amendment will receive early and favorable action.

## Where "America First" May End

**A. D. 2200. The Geneva Encyclopedia**

*America, United States of*—A transatlantic nation, sometimes called "the Hermit Republic." Very little is now known of this country, which has followed the old Thibetan policy of complete isolation from the rest of the world. According to old records it was once a great Power and took a dominant part in the War of 1914-1918. At this period it stood also at the forefront of the nations in the arts of peace, especially with respect to industrial production. But the refusal of the United States to enter the League of Nations, and the general tendency evident about 1920 to refuse all political, commercial and cultural relations with "foreign barbarians," led to stagnation such as always results from national isolation and the fate of China befell the proud republic of the Occident. Explorers from the Republic of Canada and the Federation of Latin America find the natives still cherishing the superstitions of the early twentieth century. They worship a deity called the "Monroe Doctrine" and dread a devil known as "Article Ten," altho only the priestly orders are able to give the meaning of either phrase. They believe that the Atlantic is a million miles broad and that the nations on the other side of it are all "imperialists" and "secret diplomats" ruled by "monarchs," altho even in 1920 most of Europe was republican in form and practically all of it in substance. Anyone who questions these beliefs is liable to be burned to death over a slow fire of Hearst newspapers for alleged 'Unhundredpercentamericanism."

# The Story of the Week

## Disarming Germany

THE French are threatening to occupy German territory unless the German Government is more expeditious in disarming. The regular army appears already to have been brought down to the maximum strength of 100,000 men fixed by the Treaty of Versailles, but there is great difficulty over the demobilization of irregular forces, half army and half police, such as the *Einwohnerwehr* and the *Sicherheitspolizei.* The French contention is that these are not really police, but camouflaged military organizations with the double purpose of overthrowing the German republic in the interest of the old militarism and then starting a war of revenge against the Allies. The German contention is that the disturbed internal condition of Germany and the constant possibility of Bolshevist uprisings makes it imperative to maintain a heavily armed auxiliary police.

Two parts of Germany are at the moment under the sway of reactionary forces and their local civic guards are particularly menacing to the peace of Germany and of Europe. One is East Prussia. This interesting little corner of Germany is cut off by the Polish corridor to the Baltic from all the rest of the country; it is an island of German population in a sea of Slavs and Lithuanians. The insecurity and isolation of this region leads naturally to militarism; all the more so since many of the Prussian junkers of the old monarchy have their landed estates within its boundaries. The other is Bavaria. Less than two years ago Bavaria was a hotbed of Bolshevism; the one German state where a communist government was established and endured for many weeks. But the Bolsheviki were always a minority of the population, which in bulk is Catholic, agricultural and conservative; so when the Bolshevist government was overthrown there was a strong reaction not only against the Bolsheviki, but against revolutionary and republican institutions generally. As in Hungary, the pendulum swung in a few months from a violent communism to a violent royalism. Fearing an attempt to restore the Bavarian royal house and a hostile attitude to France which would provoke renewed French intervention, German miners have requested the Government to disarm the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr.* The miners are particularly concerned, because if the Allies should advance farther into German territory the coal mining districts of the Ruhr would be the first places occupied.

The reason why France made formal protest of Germany's failure to disarm at the end of December was that January 1, 1921, had been fixed by agreement at Spa last July as the latest date for Germany to carry out the disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. A failure to do so would permit the Allies to proceed to a further occupation of German territory. The amount of coal to be paid by Germany was temporarily fixed at Spa also, but the coal arrangement lapses at the end of this January when fresh adjustments will have to be made. The amount of Germany's general indemnity will have to be fixed before May 1. France does not so much desire to advance her troops farther into Germany as to establish her *right* to do so under the Spa agreement, by pointing out Germany's violations of her pledges. Thus in all the important negotiations respecting reparations which will come up this year, as well as in all other diplomatic disputes with Germany, France will have in reserve the threat to occupy German territory in retaliation for agreements broken.

Dr. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg died on January 1, 1921. He was Chancellor of the German Empire at the outbreak of the Great War and continued in office until July, 1917. Altho sanctioning by continuance in office not only the general war policy on which the Kaiser and his military chiefs were resolved, but also the invasion of Belgium and the declaration of unrestricted U-boat warfare, the Chancellor was personally a man of moderate and pacific instincts. He admitted that the invasion of Belgium was contrary to international law, scandalizing his fellow-countrymen by his inopportune frankness, and he did his best to avert the intervention of the United States by holding off the submarines. But being the sort of man who "means well—feebly," he always submitted under protest to the demands of the Kaiser and the German general staff. If he had had the backbone to defy the forces of reaction he might at many times during the war have brought about a peace of compromize instead of living to witness the total overthrow of the German Empire.

## French Socialists Split

THE Unified Socialist party which Jaurès made it his life work to assemble out of a jumble of discordant factions into which French Socialism was formerly divided, has now again fallen apart. The cause for this disaster was not in Paris but in Moscow. The word of the Russian Bolsheviki had gone forth that only those national Socialist parties would be allowed to affiliate with the "Third International" (the international organization of Bolshevist



*Wide World*

**The famous Gobelin tapestries which were among the choicest treasure starvation. Dutch financiers have arranged a transaction whereby Aust wheat, a more precious commodity in Europe now. The tapestry reprodu**

and Communist parties) which had expelled their moderate members and adopted purely revolutionary tactics. The Federation of the Seine, the local Socialist organization in Paris, accepted the Moscow conditions by 13,488 votes out of 17,146. The Paris Socialists are the most revolutionary in France, but the sweeping victory of the Bolshevist element at the capital foreshadowed a Bolshevist victory in the party at large.

A congress or convention of the Socialist party was held at Tours to consider the affiliation of the French party with the Third International. Three factions appeared in the convention. The "Right," represented by Marcel Sembat and others of the older and more experienced chiefs of the party, upheld political action and opposed Bolshevism. The "Center," whose chief spokesman was Jean Longuet, favored joining the Third International but without accepting the conditions which the Russians wished to impose and without splitting the party by expelling moderate Socialists. The "Left," dominated by Marcel Cachin, was for acceptance of all the Bolshevist conditions and uncompromizing adherence to the program of revolution and class dictatorship. Clara Zetkin, a German communist leader, fired the enthusiasm of the radicals by calling on the French convention to "split from your party all social patriots and all vacillating Centrists, and form a single revolutionary force capable of discipline, vigorous action and the emancipation of the proletariat."

Finally the convention voted and the "Left" or Bolshevist faction triumphed, obtaining 3208 votes for unconditional union with the Third International. A substitute motion by Longuet obtained only 1022 votes. The "Right" and "Center" factions declared themselves the true Socialist party and chose Paul Faure as their Secretary-General. Meanwhile the "Left" has formed the French Communist party, affiliated with the Third International.

The new Communist movement provoked a heated debate in the Chamber of Deputies which, since last election,



© Keystone View

**On the continents both east and west of our land of plenty there are whole peoples literally starving. This United States transport at Seattle is being loaded with American flour and provisions for the relief of the widespread famine in China where many thousands of natives have died from lack of food**

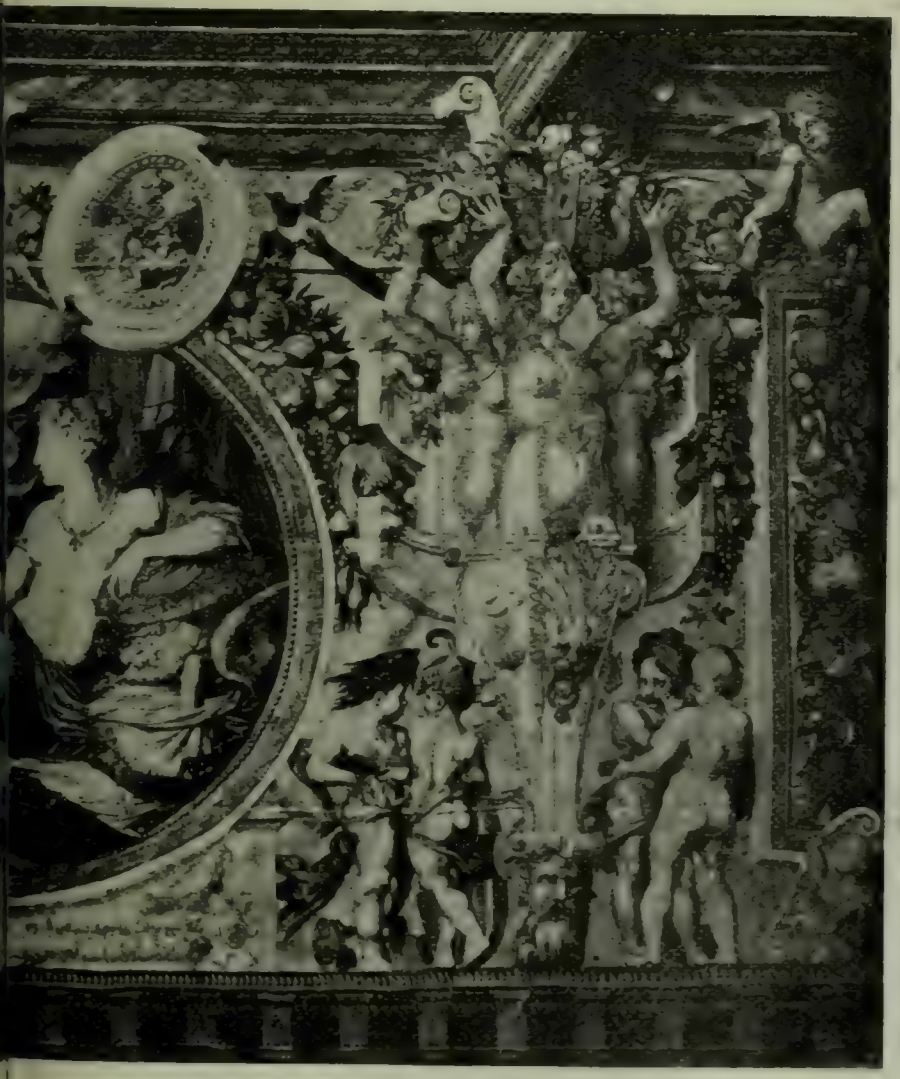
is predominantly conservative and "bourgeois." M. Cachin hurled the defiance of the Communists at the French Government:

> We shall take advantage of the Government's protective measures as long as they are extended to us. When they cease, and coercion and represssive measures are adopted, we shall continue our revolutionary propaganda everywhere, and at all times.

To this M. Steeg, Minister of the Interior, replied:

> Deputy Cachin has thrown down a challenge to the Government. We accept it. We shall repress any attempt at revolution with all possible means at our command. The Government's energy will be equal to the audacity of M. Cachin's party.

By a vote of 451 to 54 the Chamber expressed its confidence in the "ability of the Government to take the measures necessary to end revolutionary propaganda."



**trian Imperial family are being pawned to help save Austria from these Imperial art treasures and acquires 60,000 tons of American ne of the more famous pieces, designed in honor of Diana de Poitiers**

# British Labor on Ireland

THE British Labor Commission, headed by Arthur Henderson of the Labor party, has recently published its report on conditions in Ireland. The commission was supplied by the British Government with permits to travel wherever it wished, even in the areas in open rebellion. The general trend of the report is unfavorable to the coercive policy of the Government and numerous instances of misconduct on the part of the Royal Irish Constabulary are reported. The report gives a very clear picture of the atmosphere of hate and fear now hanging over the unhappy land and the outrages daily committed on both sides.

The Sinn Fein army, we are informed, "may consist of 116 battalions whose strength varies from 100 to 1000 men." It is not organized as a regular army, but is all the more formidable on that account because "if it functioned as an army it would have to concentrate to fight and then it could be defeated without difficulty, but in its present form it lives and fights and disperses." War by ambush and secret assassination is difficult to repress and, in the opinion of the Labor Commission, reprisals on the part of the police have only succeeded in stimulating the insurgents to fresh outrages.

The forces of the British crown consist of two parts: the regular army or "garrison" of some 50,000 men, and the Royal Irish Constabulary and its auxiliary forces. The practice of enlisting former veterans of the Great War to fill vacancies in the constabulary gave rise to the nickname "Black and Tans," since the new recruits wore the blackish green caps and belts of the constabulary in conjunction with the khaki uniform of the army. The constabulary, and

especially the new recruits, are blamed for most of the acts of terrorism charged up to the account of the British Government. Some "are men of intemperate habits and utterly unsuited to their duties." "Incendiarism is part of the policy of the Black and Tans and auxiliaries. It is, we believe, one of their methods of terrorism and revenge." "It is within the knowledge of the British Government that there have been cases of looting." Detachments of auxiliary cadets were sometimes better disciplined than the regular constabulary, but sometimes they were "the authors of reprisals whose brutality and destructive effects were only equaled by the skill and forethought with which they had been planned."

The report concluded with an appeal for a peaceful solution and an end to the whole policy of coercion:

> The final solution of the Irish problem will not be found thru a policy of violence or of vengeance. Ultimately it will have to be found along the lines of conciliation and consent, by the more enlightened method of negotiation. The Irish people have faith in British Labor alone among the political parties in this country, and we believe that if the Labor movement will persist in its efforts for peace it will be able to make an effective contribution toward the settlement of the most difficult problem confronting the British people.

Assassinations of police continue. Archbishop Gilmartin of Tuam and Bishop Cohalan of Cork have warned Catholic Sinn Feiners that all who take part in such deeds are liable to excommunication. But so far the Irish clergy have had as little effect in restraining Irish revolutionists as the remonstrances of the Labor party have had in changing the policy of the British Government. The recent passage of the Home Rule bill has as yet done nothing whatever to reconcile Irish opinion.

# The Conquest of Fiume

D'ANNUNZIO'S "Regency of the Quarnero" has fallen before the arms of Italy and peace reigns on the Adriatic; or, to quote one Italian statesman, "now that d'Annunzio has sqared into the skies we can have a little peace on earth." The poet dictator left Fiume in an airplane after a final despairing proclamation that Italy was not worth "the least pinprick" of his blood. Whether that be so or not, d'Annunzio held out long enough to cost the blood of many brave Italian soldiers and volunteers of Fiume, who fell on both sides in the conflict which his obstinacy had provoked.

General Caviglia entered the city and accepted its surrender. By the terms which closed the little "war" between the Kingdom of Italy and the "Regency of the Quarnero" the authorities of Fiume were required to release all prisoners and military stores which they had captured, to submit to disarmament, to evacuate the islands of Veglia and Arbe (which go to the Yugoslavs under the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo), and to send away the volunteers who had joined the fortunes of the insurgents. A general pardon is extended to the legionaries who volunteered for the defense of Fiume, but this does not extend to the sailors who deserted the Italian navy during the recent conflict. D'Annunzio was required to leave Fiume and release his legionaries from their oath of allegiance.

The fall of Fiume comes as a double relief to the Italian Government. In the first place it frees the Italian army from the disagreeable task of coercing fellow-Italians by force of arms. In the second place it puts an end to the danger of a sympathetic uprising in Italy itself. While Fiume was being bombarded there were pro-d'Annunzio demonstrations in many cities. Nationalist crowds paraded the streets shouting "Down with the Treaty of Rapallo!" It was feared not only that the Nationalists might make trouble by appealing to patriotic sentiment against the Government and the treaty, but that the anarchists and communists might take advantage of such a disturbance to further their own propaganda. Tho the radical wing of Italian Socialism has no slightest sympathy with d'Annunzio's adventure, caring nothing for national ambitions across the Adriatic, it would not be above making use of any weapon that lay to hand for rousing discontent against the existing order.

Altho many Italians are disappointed by the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo and in a measure sympathetic with d'Annunzio's effort to make the whole Adriatic an Italian lake, they cannot fail to recognize that Italy has already obtained better terms than she would have had either by the Pact of London in 1915 or by President Wilson's suggested compromize at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The Pact of London was a secret treaty negotiated at the time of Italy's entrance into the Great War. It was agreed to by Britain, France and Russia, but not by the United States, as at that time we were still a neutral nation. Its principle was the "balance of power" and the statesmen who negotiated it took for granted that Austria-Hungary would still be in existence at the end of the war. They therefore awarded part of the Dalmatian coast to Italy as a strategic area which would give Italy command of both shores of the Adriatic. But they left Fiume to Austria-Hungary as the only possible outlet of Croatian and Hungarian commerce on the Adriatic.



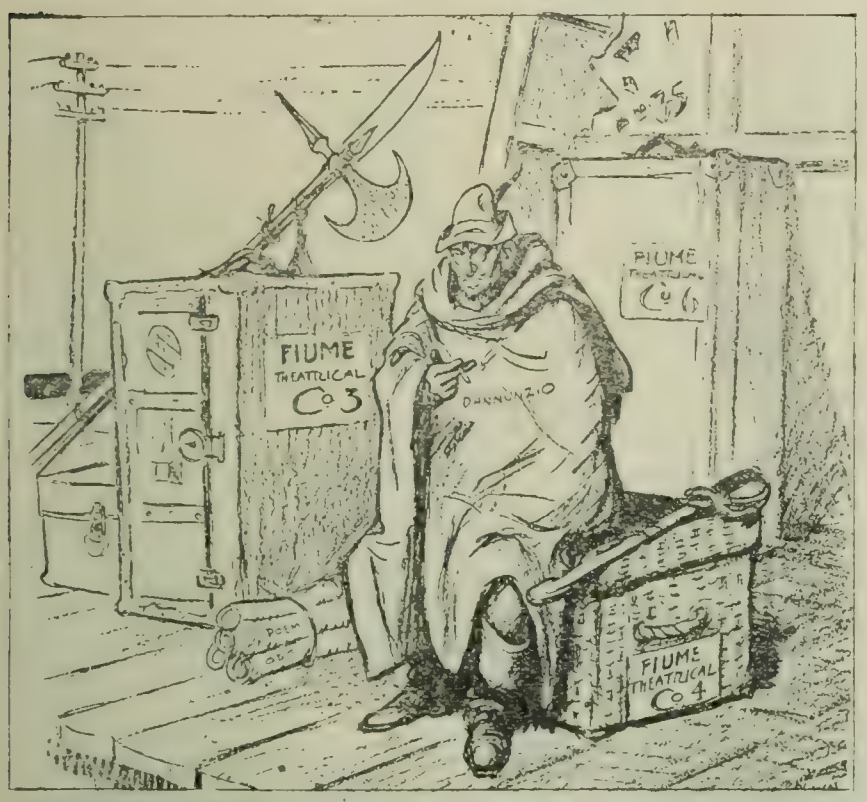

THE FALL OF FIUME

**D'Annunzio aspired to add to his Regency of the Quarnero and eventually to the Kingdom of Italy the Dalmatian coast even beyond the Pact of London line, as well as all the lands around Fiume. By the Treaty of Rapallo, Fiume is independent, tho "snuggled up" close to the new Italian frontier; Dalmatia goes to Yugoslavia except for the Italian city of Zara; and territories near Fiume, such as Sussak and Veglia, are also left to the Yugoslavs**

But the dissolution of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 completely altered the situation. The Serbs, Croatians and Slovanes of Austria and Hungary proclaimed their union with the Serbs of Serbia and Montenegro in one great Yugoslav nation. As Serbia and Montenegro were numbered among the Allies, this meant that the eastern boundary of Italy would no longer lie between Italy and the hostile nation of Austria-Hungary but between Italy and a friendly and allied Power. On this basis the Yugoslavs demanded that the eastern coast of the Adriatic, including not only Fiume and Dalmatia, but Istria, Triest and Gorizia, be ceded to them. On the other hand the Italians of Fiume equally refused to recognize the Pact of London and demanded that on the principle of "self determination" the city be joined to Italy. The Italian

Government tried to combine two inconsistent lines of argument. It demanded Dalmatia on the ground of the Pact of 1915 and Fiume on the ground of nationality.

President Wilson proposed a compromize based on the principle of nationality. He suggested that Triest and western Istria, where there was an Italian majority, go to Italy, and that eastern Istria and Dalmatia, overwhelmingly Slavic, go to Yugoslavia. Fiume could be made an independent free city under the protection of the League of Nations. The British and French supported President Wilson's plan in principle and labored hard to frame some compromize plan which the Italians would accept. Many months of fruitless negotiation, much diplomatic friction between Italy and her allies, d'Annunzio's attempt to seize the disputed regions by main force, several cabinet changes in Italy, and general unrest and disquiet thruout the world resulted from the refusal of Italy to accept any




*Kirby in New York World*

Stranded

of the proposed compromizes. But by negotiation with the Yugoslavs a solution was reached which at least averted an Italian-Yugoslav war even if it did not altogether satisfy the rights of nationality or the claims of either party. By the Treaty of Rapallo, Italy gained all that President Wilson had offered and in addition certain islands in the Adriatic and an extension of her eastern frontier over the Slavs of eastern Istria to the borders of Fiume. Fiume became an independent city, but not under the protection of the League of Nations and in immediate contact with the new Italian boundary. Italy abandoned her claims to Dalmatia except for the city of Zara, which is, like Fiume, an Italian town with a Slavic hinterland. Having once accepted the Treaty of Rapallo the Italian Government felt bound to enforce it in good faith and did so in spite of the opposition of d'Annunzio and his volunteer legions. Had d'Annunzio acquiesced in the decision of his Government he would have left the name of a great Italian patriot, for he made a good record in the war against Austria, and his later raid against the Yugoslavs, tho illegal and menacing to the peace of the world, was of service to Italy in preventing the Yugoslavs from gaining control of Fiume.

## Kansas Court Imposes Living Wage

GOVERNOR Allen has always boasted that the Kansas Industrial Court was a two-edged weapon, and that it was as much designed to protect the rights of the worker as those of the employer. Hitherto the public has associated it chiefly with the suppression of strikes. But in a recent decision the Court laid down the principle that even during hard times the employer must to the best of his ability maintain an adequate wage for skilled workmen in his employ:

> A very important question connected with the matter before us is its effect upon labor. The people of Kansas have solemnly declared by legislative act that workers engaged in this industry shall at all times receive a fair wage and have healthful and moral surroundings. In the reduction of the hours of operation, therefore, the millers should be very careful and solicitous concerning the matter of labor. Skilled and faithful employees should be given such treatment as will enable them during the period of limited production to support themselves and their families.
>
> The evidence before us shows that in the Topeka mills skilled men in the milling business are being paid a monthly wage, and therefore are drawing pay whether the mill is running or not. So far as it is possible to do so, this rule should be recognized in all the mills in the state, for it is necessary in the promotion of the general welfare that skilled and faithful workers should always be available for these essential industries which so vitally affect the living conditions of the people.

## Wilson Upholds Clayton Act

"ARTICLE Ten" seems fated to be a cause of strife between President Wilson and Congress. A few months ago it was Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Now the trouble is over Section 10 of the Clayton Act of 1914. A bill passed Congress to postpone the coming into effect of this provision, which prohibits railroads from purchasing without open bid or advertisement from concerns in which their officers and directors are interested. It is a part of the code of laws directed against "interlocking directorates." President Wilson returned the bill to Congress on December 30 without his signature.

In his veto message the President pointed out that the Clayton Act became law on October 15, 1914, and that the railroads were originally granted a period of two years before Section 10 came into effect "so that no inconvenience or confusion might result from the enforcement of its provisions." But later extensions of time were granted and "in all, over six years have elapsed since this enactment was put upon the statute books, so that all interests concerned have had long and ample notice of the obligations it imposes." He thought that there was no longer any excuse for legislation once more postponing the operation of the law against interlocking directorates between railroads and manufacturers of railroad supplies. He admitted that many persons believed that the Clayton Act should be modified to be in harmony with the Transportation Act of last year, but added:

> When it is considered that the Congress is now in session and can readily adopt suitable amendments if they shall be found to be necessary, such reasons for further delay appear to me to be inadequate. The soundness of the principle embodied in Section 10 seems generally to be admitted. The wholesome effects which its application was intended to produce should not longer be withheld from the public and from the common carriers immediately concerned, for whose protection it was particularly designed.

## Labor and the Clayton Act

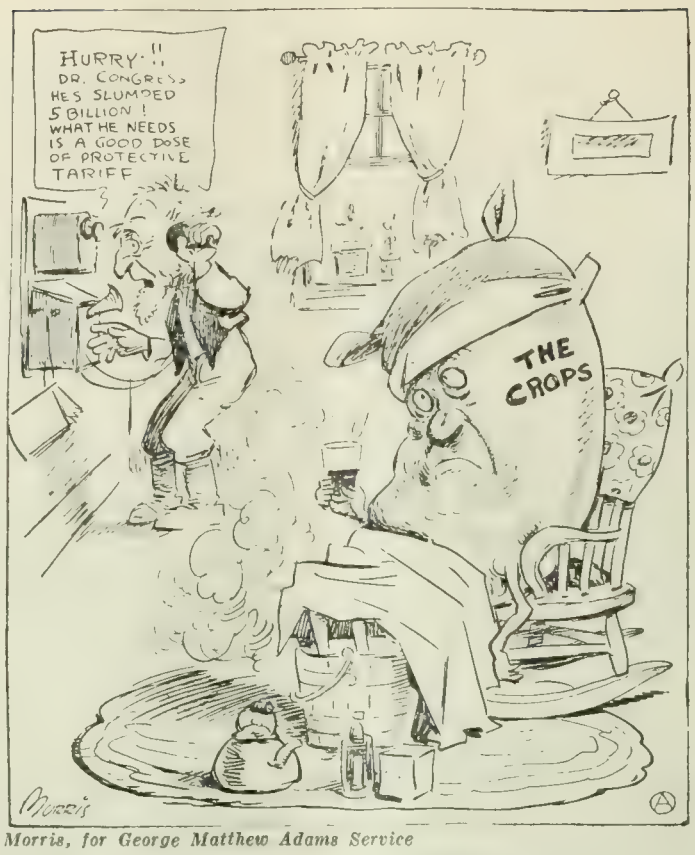
THE Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the Clayton Act does not make trades unions immune from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, provided that they depart from "normal and legitimate objects and engage in an actual combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade." The issue arose in connection with an appeal brought by the Duplex Printing Press Company of Michigan for an injunction against representatives of the International Association of Machinists, restraining them from conducting a boycott against the factory products of the Duplex company. In the District Court and Circuit Court of Appeals it was held that the provisions of the Clayton Act, and especially Section 20, which restricts the granting of injunctions in industrial

disputes "concerning terms or conditions of employment," were a bar against the suit brought by the Duplex company. The action of the Supreme Court reverses this decision and deprives the labor unions of the immunity which they believed the law had granted them.

The majority opinion, delivered by Justice Pitney, held that Section 6 of the Clayton Act, declaring that trades unions were not conspiracies in restraint of trade, applied only to their normal and legitimate purposes and could not "be taken as authorizing any activity otherwise unlawful." As to Section 20 the court held:

> There is nothing here to justify defendants or the organizations they represent in using either threats or persuasion to bring about strikes or a cessation of work on the part of employees of complainant's customers, or of the trucking company employed by the customers, with the object of compelling such customers to withdraw or refrain from commercial relations with complainant, and of thereby constraining complainant to yield the matter in dispute. To instigate a sympathetic strike in aid of a secondary boycott cannot be deemed "peaceful and lawful" persuasion.

Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Clarke dissented from the opinion of the rest of the Supreme Court. In a minority opinion delivered by Justice Brandeis it was held that the action of the International Association of Machinists was not a secondary boycott, but simply "an instance of a strike of those who have a common interest to protect themselves by preventing use of products which part of them have tried to prevent manufacture of by a strike." It was pointed out that manufacturers had pursued a similar policy in refusing to sell to customers who in their own business employed exclusively union labor (for an instance of this see "Steel and the Open Shop" in The Independent of January 1, 1921), and that what was permitted to the manufacturer should be permitted to the trades union. It was also urged that the Machinists' Association had not used or instigated violence.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**The well-known disease of "slumpitis"**

# War Finance Corporation Vetoed

UNDAUNTED by political reverses, President Wilson continues to exercize his veto power as vigorously as ever. Immediately after the newspapers had been filled with his conflict with Congress over the law suspending the operation of Clause 10 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, they had to record another conflict over the bill reviving the War Finance Corporation. This measure was popular with Congressmen representing rural constituencies because it was expected to stimulate the export trade in foodstuffs and thus halt the rapid decline in agricultural commodity prices. President Wilson believes that this hope is delusive.

In his veto message he said:

> I am in full sympathy with every sound proposal to promote foreign trade along sound business lines. I am not convinced that the method proposed is wise, that the benefits, if any, would offset the evils which would result, or that the same or larger advantages cannot be secured without resort to Government intervention. . . .
>
> Large Government credits were extended during the war to certain European governments associated with us in the struggle. These ceased several months after the armistice, except for commitments already made. They should not now be resumed, either directly or indirectly. The recent Brussels conference, composed of experts from many European countries and from other nations, itself expressed the opinion that further credits should not be accorded directly by governments. I do not believe that they should be accorded indirectly. . . .
>
> For many months there has been a demand that war agencies should be abolished and that there should be less Government interference with business. I have sympathized with this view, and believe that it is applicable to foreign trade as well as to domestic business. I am of the opinion that now, more than two years after the armistice, the nation should resume its usual business methods and return to its reliance on the initiative, intelligence and ability of its business leaders and financial institutions.

The Senate voted by 53 to 5 to override the President's veto. Senators Elkins of West Virginia, Keyes of New Hampshire, and Sutherland of West Virginia, Republicans; Gerry of Rhode Island, and Thomas of Colorado, Democrats, alone voted to sustain the President. The Democratic Senators deserted him almost in a body. Senators Penrose of Pennsylvania and Edge of New Jersey, both Republican, were paired and so could not vote on the question, but they spoke against the proposed measure. Thus the curious situation arose of a Presidential veto obtaining such little support as it found mainly from the ranks of the opposite party.

In the House of Representatives the case was similar. The bill was passed over President Wilson's veto by 250 votes to 66; forty-nine of the minority being Republicans. The southern Democrats voted as a unit to override the veto, as did most other representatives of agricultural constituencies irrespective of party.

# Hoover's Million Dollar Dinner

ON December 29 Mr. Herbert Hoover and General Pershing, representing the European Relief Council, entertained more than a thousand guests who had contributed upward of $1,000 apiece to the relief funds. Probably no banquet ever held in New York City cost more "per plate" than this; but in return for the $1,000 the only fare served was just what was being handed out to the starving children of central Europe—rice and bread and tin cups of cocoa. The real "feed" of the evening was for the more than 250,000 "invisible guests" who are being kept alive this winter by the contributions of the New Yorkers.

Mr. Hoover announced that benevolent persons in the United States had contributed or pledged thus far $11,210,000; about one-third of the sum which it is necessary to raise to carry on the American relief work thru the winter and thus save the lives of the 3,500,000 children in Austria, Poland and other countries who are threatened with starvation if the work should cease. As all the money raised goes directly for relief, overhead expenses being otherwise provided for, $10 is sufficient to keep a child alive till next summer's crops relieve the situation.

General Pershing made the most notable speech of the evening; containing a strong plea for disarmament. It is a striking difference between American civilization and that of some European countries—Germany especially—that most distinguished American generals and admirals have been anti-militarists. Pershing's message, like that of Grant, was "Let us have peace":

> It is a gloomy commentary upon world conditions that expenditures several times greater than ever before in peace times should be considered necessary, especially when the most rigid

economy in governmental administration is essential if we would avoid national bankruptcy. But we are only one of the many nations that contemplate taking upon themselves such an enormous burden, in addition to their tremendous war debts.

The world does not seem to learn from experience. It would appear that the lessons of the last six years should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down the earth armed to the teeth. But no one nation can reduce armaments unless all do. Isn't it, then, time for an awakening among enlightened peoples to the end that the leading powers may reach some rational agreement which would not only relieve the world of this terrible financial load, but which in itself would be a long step toward the prevention of war?

Ours is not an aggressive nation. We want no territory, and we have no designs on other people. If other nations have the same attitude, it seems unreasonable not to believe that all would be willing to prove it by consenting to limit armaments. Unless some such move be made, we may well ask ourselves whether civilization does really reach a point where it begins to destroy itself, and whether we are thus doomed to go headlong down thru destructive war to darkness and barbarism.

## Colby Comes Back

SECRETARY of State Colby has completed his visit of courtesy to South America and on January 4 he left Buenos Aires for the home trip. After his visit to Brazil he proceeded to Uruguay and Argentina. Uruguay is a country very friendly to the United States and one of the Latin American nations to follow our lead in declaring war against Germany. A most elaborate official reception took place at Montevideo, the Uruguayan capital, and the crowds were particularly enthusiastic. President Brum, who has traveled in the United States, was lavish in his praises of American institutions and ideals and their embodiment in President Wilson.

In Argentina Secretary Colby had a more delicate diplomatic task. Argentina has been friendly enough with the United States in a general way, but there exists some apprehension lest the proposed new agricultural tariff in the United States injure the Argentine export trade. Moreover, President Irigoyen, tho a reformer and idealist as well as a man of marked ability, is very jealous of preserving the national sovereignty and diplomatic independence of his country. He kept Argentina neutral during the Great War in spite of a strong popular movement to enter the war and thus avenge the gross perfidy of Germany's representative at Buenos Aires, who misused his official position to send out secret instructions to sink Argentine merchant ships "without a trace." President Irigoyen also withdrew Argentina from the League of Nations because the Assembly did not accept the amendments to the Covenant demanded by the Argentine delegates. His reception of Secretary Colby as the accredited representative of President Wilson was, however, most courteous.

In speeches and interviews in Buenos Aires, Secretary Colby dealt frankly with the questions in the minds of his auditors. He explained that the proposed tariff was not due to any desire on the part of the United States to gain economic advantage over foreign nations, but was simply a phase of economic readjustment after the war and that it was "unfair to charge the United States with hostility for a measure dealing with its internal policy, even tho it affects other nations." He said that the United States believed in "the entire and unqualified self-competence of the republics on the Western Hemisphere" to carry out their own domestic and foreign policy according to "the deliberate judgment of their governments and people" and therefore accepted Argentina's action with respect to the League of Nations "whether it coincided or not with our own opinion." He expressed the hope that the United States would ratify the treaty indemnifying the Republic of Colombia for the loss of Panama.



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**The so-called ambassador from Soviet Russia to the United States, Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, has been ordered deported after more than a year's residence in this country. The news that Mr. Martens was to be sent back to Russia caused the Moscow government to instruct him to "cancel and liquidate all orders placed with American firms"**

## Martens Packs His Grip

AFTER long tolerating the presence on American soil of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, so-called "ambassador" from Soviet Russia to the United States, the American Government suddenly decided to order him deported. The Soviet Government thereupon ordered him to return to Russia and sent him a message of sympathy, congratulating him on having "honorably and patiently endeavored to carry out the instructions received by you to establish friendly relations with the United States." He was further instructed from Moscow to "cancel and liquidate all orders placed with American firms."

Mr. Ohsol, commercial director of the Soviet bureau in the United States, announced that one result of the deportation of Ambassador Martens might be the cancellation of the contracts secured by Washington Baker Vanderlip. "In Russia," he said, "foreign trade is a governmental monopoly and can only be conducted thru the regularly appointed government representative." The deportation of Martens has caused some criticism in the United States among persons not in sympathy with Bolshevism on the ground that it is a blow to the revival of Russo-American trade. The Department of Labor defends the deportation on the ground that Martens attempted to carry on Bolshevist propaganda directed against the public security while he was in the United States. Secretary of Labor Wilson said that "there is nothing in our immigration law that requires the deportation of any alien because he believes in, teaches or advocates socialism, communism, syndicalism, a Soviet form of government, a dictatorship of the proletariat, abolition of property rights or any other change in our political or social structure, provided that he seeks to bring about such changes by peaceful and political methods," but that we would not permit "a military despotism in Russia" to "stir up insurrection among our alien residents" even tho "their efforts in that direction are so futile that they cause us but slight annoyance." He repudiated "the insulting intimation" that we would permit our institutions to be undermined and our liberties submerged for the sake of reaping profit from trade with Russia.

Rumors come that the peace faction of the Bolsheviki, dominated by Lenin, which has sought a truce by concessions to foreign capitalists, has suffered a political defeat, and the war party intends to embark on an offensive campaign against the whole non-Soviet world. A Bolshevik agent in any "capitalist" country would then be virtually an "enemy alien."

# A Little of Everything



## An Unknown Nobel Prizeman

At this season almost every year the Swedish Academy of Letters springs a surprize on the world by its award of the Nobel prize. This year it springs two, for the 1919 prize, held up last year, is awarded to Karl Spitteler, alias Felix Tandem, while the 1920 prize is awarded to Knut Hamsun, alias Pedersen. The latter, as we pointed out in The Independent of November 27, is little known and even less admired in the United States. The former is a still more unfamiliar name to American readers. Hamsun is a brutal realist. Spitteler is a Nietzschean satirist. Hamsun is over sixty and Spitteler is over seventy-five. Both did their best work long ago and how the Nobel committee can say that these two authors have "during the preceding year produced the greatest work in idealistic literature" of the entire world, as the will of Alfred Nobel distinctly specifies, is something that nobody except a Swedish academician can comprehend.

But we must not measure European celebrity by American ignorance. American ears are usually deaf to foreign fame and it was only after the Nobel awards had pointed them out that Tagore, Eucken and Lagerlöf had any considerable vogue in the United States. Hamsun and Spitteler are not without honor in their own country, altho the enthusiastic celebration of Spitteler's seventieth birthday in 1915 by the Swiss was due more to patriotic approval of his stand for neutrality against the pro-Germans than to appreciation of his literary genius.

Spitteler's name is to be found in *Wer ist's?* altho not in *Who's Who*, and it was in Germany that he first received recognition and renown. Even Nietzsche admired him and that can be said of but few of Nietzsche's contemporaries. Some of his works have been translated into French and gained for him the title of "the Swiss Flaubert." But altho his great work, "Prometheus und Epimetheus," appeared forty years ago, nobobdy has so far thought it worth while to put it into English. Doubtless this deficiency will be promptly remedied now that an American publisher can put "Nobel prizeman" under the name of the author.

These two volumes of philosophy were written in rhythmical prose, which Nietzsche afterwards imitated in his "Zarathustra." Two years later Spitteler attempted something still more ambitious, a versification of the story of creation in his "Extramundana." Then came a series of volumes in prose and verse largely biographical in material and idyllic or satiric in tone; "Butterflies," "Gustav," "Lieutenant Conrad," "The Young Misogynists," and "Imago." In 1910 appeared another ambitious book, *Olympischer Frühling*, "Olympian Spring," a fantastic combination of Greek mythology and modern life in thirty-three cantos of rimed couplets.

These more than a dozen volumes, some of them of laborious composition, were for the most part produced while he was earning a hard livelihood in teaching and journalism. After completing his university course at Heidelberg he went to Russia and stayed there for seven years. On his return to Switzerland he got a job as schoolmaster in a small town where he had to teach for thirty hours a week, devoting what mental energy he had left at the end of the day to literature. Later he worked on the *Baseler Grenzpost* and the *Züricher Zeitung*, until his rising reputation gave him a little ease and independence.



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KARL SPITTELER

**Who receives the Nobel Prize of 1919 for the greatest work of idealistic literature produced anywhere in the world**



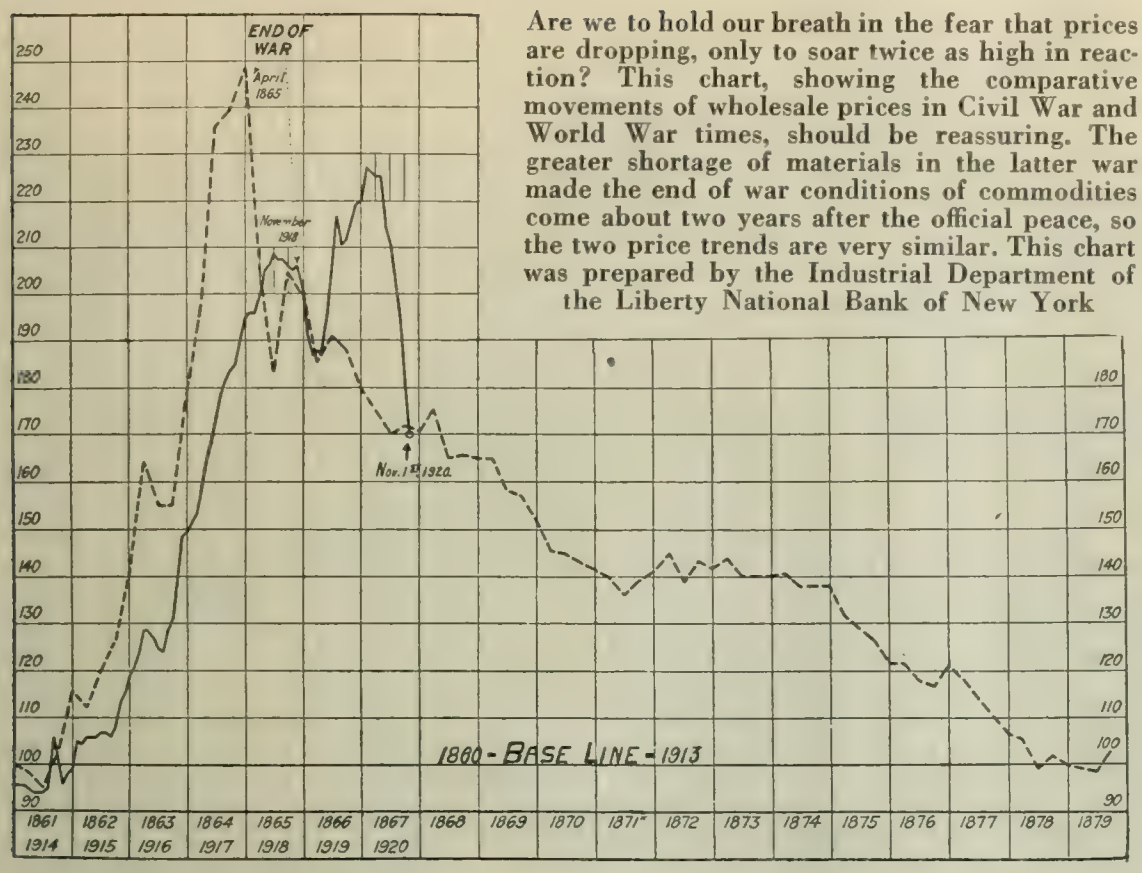
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**They are seventy years of age, but the same old pals! The war wiped out their savings and ruined their home, but these Rumanians met old Misfortune with a smile and kept digging. They will tell you that the American Red Cross helped them out of a "tight hole" the day they sent you this picture**

## Why We Die

The Census Bureau's annual bulletin on mortality statistics for the registration area of the United States shows a most gratifying improvement in the public health. During 1919 only 1,096,436 deaths were recorded, representing a rate of 12.9 per thousand, or the lowest death rate on record. In 1918 the rate was eighteen per thousand, but of course that year was wholly exceptional not only because of the war but even more on account of the great influenza epidemic. The registration area, for which accurate statistics of causes of death are kept, now includes four-fifths of the population of the United States; a few southern and western states are still outside it.

Heart disease leads in the causes of death. More than a tenth of all deaths are traced to organic disease of the heart; or, to put it another way, out of every 100,000 persons who were alive on January 1, 1919, 131 were dead of heart failure before January 1, 1920. Tuberculosis was a close second, accounting for 9.8 per cent of all deaths or 125 deaths to each 100,000 of the population. Then follow in order pneumonia, influenza, Bright's disease and cancer. These six causes alone were responsible for more than half of all deaths. Evidently of all the hundreds of causes from which we may




**Are we to hold our breath in the fear that prices are dropping, only to soar twice as high in reaction? This chart, showing the comparative movements of wholesale prices in Civil War and World War times, should be reassuring. The greater shortage of materials in the latter war made the end of war conditions of commodities come about two years after the official peace, so the two price trends are very similar. This chart was prepared by the Industrial Department of the Liberty National Bank of New York**

die there are only a few which are dangerous enough to be worth worrying about. Smallpox, for instance, which used to be the most dreaded of scourges now kills annually barely four persons in a million. You run a greater statistical risk of committing suicide than of dying of typhoid fever. A few decades of scientific research and public hygiene have practically cut the death rate in two the world over, and the time may come when there will be no causes of death worth mentioning save accidents and old age.

## Real Glory for the Eagle

Every now and then something happens which makes us glad to remember that we are Americans. The State Department has received from Lieutenant-Colonel Reder of the former Austro-Hungarian army a tribute such as an enemy prisoner of war has rarely paid to his captors in the whole course of human history. By the devoted kindness, energetic initiative and soldierly efficiency of Colonel C. H. Morrow of the 27th Infantry, his officers and men, nearly 2000 enemy prisoners of war in the Siberian prison camp of Krasnaja Rjetschka were restored to life, health and sanity. When the American Expeditionary force took charge of the camp in 1918 there were already 1800 men bed-ridden with influenza and both food and medicines were lacking. Of course, the Americans cleaned up the camp, tended the sick and brought in supplies. That was to be expected. But listen to Colonel Reder's account of what followed:

After having thus saved the lives of the prisoners, the noble, generous and wise American commander, Colonel Morrow, set about making these lives worth living. Workshops of all sorts were arranged, schools founded, a library, a theater, baths, a coffee house, were built and grounds for every kind of sports were laid out. Funds were provided by the Americans. The prisoners were happy to do the work. If I tried to describe all that was accomplished in our camp under American protection I should have to write a book. At some future period I may be induced to do so, and every page of the as yet unwritten book will be bright with deeds of American kindness and good sense, glowing with the warmth of our gratitude.

Here I only wish to quote the words spoken to me at parting by a foreign visitor, after having looked over our camp: "I have seen camps of war prisoners all over the world," he said, "but not one so beautiful, so well organized, conducted and provided for."

After all those weary years we felt raised to the dignity of manhood again, and we began to love the life to which we had been restored. And, now we have returned to our dear ones at home, we should like all the world to know that we owe our lives, our health and happiness, our power for good in this world, to the noble American officers of the 27th Foot Regiment, to the great American nation.

## Jack Straws

Strikes in New York State during 1920 cost 10,608,483 days.

***

Golf is now a recognized sport at the University of Wisconsin.

***

The latest idea is to turn the wood waste from veneer factories into news print.

***

The United States is exporting automobiles at the rate of a million dollars worth a day.

***

The new King of Siam declares that he will have only one wife; his predecessor had 300.

***

Automobiles killed 3808 persons in the United States last year, according to the census bureau.

***

During the last twenty years the United States has exported 650,000 automobiles to foreign countries.

***

The Y. W. C. A. in Japan has recently opened a hostess house in Yokohama for English and American girls.

***

Youngstown, Ohio, has the highest relative death rate from automobile accidents of any city in the United States.

***

The University of Wisconsin has 7004 students enrolled this year, which constitutes the largest student body in the institution's history.



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This looks like the "happy hunting ground" where good birds go when they die. But it is even better than that; it is a great crowd of gulls, terns and pelican flying at the Clear Lake Bird Reservation in California, one of the seventy-five bird and game reservations, administered by the Biological Survey and under Government protection, located in suitable places all over the country

# The New Negro

(*Continued from page 60*)

"Th' nayger has manny fine qualities —he is joyous, light-hearted, and aisily lynched." The new negro has determined to change all that. Says the Kansas City *Call:* "The white man will learn in time that he has in this new type of negro a foeman worthy of his steel. If we are driven to defend our lives, our homes, our rights, let us do it man-fashion. How better can we die than in defending our lives, our homes, our rights from the attacks of white men obsessed with the idea that this world was made for Cæsar and his queens?"

I once heard Booker Washington say, "The negro can afford to be wronged; the white man can't afford to wrong him." Patience was the watchword—then. It is seldom the watchword now. Entirely typical of widespread negro sentiment today is this from the *Crisis:*

"For three centuries we have suffered and cowered. No race ever gave passive resistance and submission to evil longer, more piteous trial. Today we raise the terrible weapon of self-defense. When the murderer comes, he shall no longer strike us in the back. When the armed lynchers gather, we too must gather armed. When the mob moves, we propose to meet it with bricks and clubs and guns. If the United States is to be a land of law, we would live humbly and peaceably in it; if it is to be a land of mobs and lynchers, we might as well die today as tomorrow."

So, likewise, the New York *Age:* "Every day we are told to keep quiet. Only a fool will keep quiet when he is being robbed of his birthright. Only a coward will lie down and whine under the lash if he too can give back the lash. America hates, lynches and enslaves us, not because we are black, but because we are weak. A strong, united negro race will not be mistreated. It is always strength over weakness, might over right." Meanwhile a colored preacher writer in the Cleveland *Gazette:* "Don't start anything, but when something is started make it hot for them and finish it."

These quotations and most of the foregoing excerpts are taken from "The Voice of the Negro," a brilliant compilation by Robert T. Kerlin, professor of English at the Virginia Military Institute. Other sources yield information as to certain vagaries attending the evolution of the new negro. A "left wing" confesses: "We would be glad to see a Bolshevik government substituted in the South for your Bourbon, reactionary, vote-stolen, misrepresentative Democratic régime. Negroes perform most of the service in the South. Under the Soviet system, their right to vote would be based upon their service and not upon race or color." Another faction has its dream of world empire. One day last summer Marcus Garvey, in green and purple robes, presided at a gigantic mass meeting of negroes in Madison Square Garden; object, the federation of 400,000,000 negroes (the figures are his) to abolish the government of blacks by whites the world over.

Such tendencies, tho by no means broadly typical of the new negro, at least bespeak a great restlessness, a deep and perhaps gravely ominous determination to find, somehow, somewhere, a way out. The race has come to itself. It is learning to unite. It is no longer afraid. All thru its press throbs the spirit of self-reliance and of daring, and its press not only reflects the mood and temper of the new negro, it creates them. The Ku Klux Klan will perhaps show acumen if, before taking active measures, it begins a careful, patient study of that press.

"The colored people are going to their own papers in these days for the news and for their guidance in thinking," says Professor Kerlin. "These papers are coming to them from a score of northern cities—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland; they are coming to them from the great border cities—Baltimore, Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis; they are coming to them from every southern city. Wherever in all the land there is a considerable negro population there is a negro newspaper. Little Rock has four, Louisville five, Indianapolis six, New York City ten; the state of Georgia has nine, Mississippi nineteen, Illinois eleven, California seven. To these must be added the publications of churches, societies and schools. And all classes of these contain articles on racial strife, outcries against wrongs and persecutions.

"The negro seems to have newly discovered his fourth estate. Mighty as the pulpit has been with him, the press now seems to be foremost. His newspaper is the voice of the negro. We have too frequently heard foolish vaunts about 'knowing the negro,' the context of such boasting invariably convicting the speaker of dangerous conceit and the harsh spirit of suppression; those who would honestly seek to know him must read his papers."

Observe. These are the words of a distinguished southerner. But the negro problem long ago ceased to be merely a southern problem. It is national, and there are indications that the Ku Klux problem will be so too.

*New York City*

# Time Charts vs. Good Cheer

(*Continued from page 61*)

thing like shortcoming as a technician. The technical side of the work is foundational. On it rests all else. But it is the peculiar function of the superintendent, thru these meetings and thru personal contacts with the workmen themselves, to build and maintain a high *esprit de corps*, to keep the machinery of production, including the human element, well coördinated, running at high speed without friction.

Once a week the same group holds a meeting to take up pure labor questions, such as welfare, accidents, discipline. This is a non-technical meeting for the discussion of human relations, and thru it the superintendent aims to build up his sub-executives as managers of men—and at the same time keep himself informed and fit.

The foremen do not fire. That is left for the superintendent. A workman was caught manipulating his time card. They pay both hour and piece rates, the latter for the higher and better-paying types of work. This workman so made out his time card that it showed a less number of hour-rate jobs and larger number of piece-rate jobs than he had actually performed. Of course he was detected. He was called before the superintendent and given a lecture on stealing, lying, and cheating. He was told that he would be given another chance and no more. The men in the shop were given to understand that this man was on probation, and he went back to work, with a hearty slap on the shoulder from the superintendent.

A little later he was again detected in the same trick. This time he was called in, reminded of his former offense, and the warning then given him, and discharged. Notice of his discharge and the reason for it were given the men. Appeals from the discharged worker's family failed to move the superintendent. "He had his chance, he was warned, and if I did not stick to my word the whole organization would go to pieces." This was final.

Where is the union all this time? There isn't any, officially. Altho this company, in one of its four plants, operates a shop closed against union men, because of the aggressive attitude of certain unions. Here in Philadelphia it finds the unions less objectionable. It operates an open shop, making no discrimination between union and non-union men.

The management here takes the position that men cannot at all times be loyal to both their employers and their union, and in the past has put it up to the men on just this basis. A group of workers came and expressed the desire to organize.

"Why?" asked the management. Well, the men did not exactly know, but they thought they wanted a union.

"Suppose the union officials out of town order you to strike, even tho



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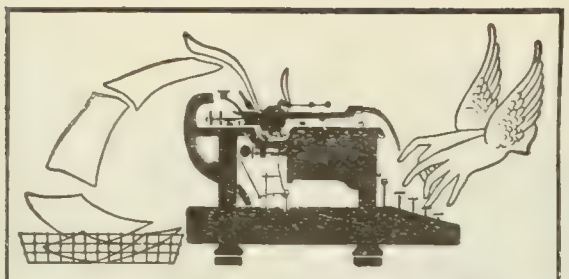
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you have no grievance against this management? What would you do?" asked the manager.

The men protested that they would stick to the company.

"And be disloyal to your union?" said the manager. "If you are disloyal to your union, how can we be sure you will not be disloyal to us? Be union men, if you must, but you are thru here." The men were surprized, but saw the point. The matter was dropped.

The less aggressive policy of the unions in Philadelphia may be explained by the fact that the men are well paid. The general labor situation is better than elsewhere, wages having kept pace with the cost of living. Wages in this plant run as high as $3,000 per annum for ordinary skilled workers, $1,800 being a common wage, and many of the workers come to the plant in their own Fords.

The interest of the management in its workers as humans is undoubtedly a factor in the healthy situation in this plant. Effort is being made constantly to evoke a more earnest interest in the business and this interest is rewarded. Absentee ownership is recognized as an evil, and conscious effort is being made to retain control of the plant within the ranks of those actively engaged in it. They are planning to divide profits with their employees on a stock-participation basis. This, briefly, is the plan:

They have a property capitalized at six and a half million dollars. The physical value of the property is at least nine million dollars. The reason for this is that there never has been any water in the stock. They have always paid not to exceed 8 per cent on the investment. The result is that they have a big property account which is far in excess of their capitalization. This they have accomplished by putting profits back into the business instead of out as dividends.

The general manager does not barricade himself in a private office with a screen of clerks and secretaries. He sits in a large office with several hundred executives and clerks. He has a kind of horseshoe desk on a platform at one end of the room and everybody can tell whether he is on the job or not. He is accessible.

How far an executive may wisely go in this policy of slapping shoulders and calling men by their first names is an open question. The president of the company is concerned over it. At another plant of this company there is a superintendent who is anything but a human nature expert. He cannot bring himself to be familiar with his workers, to speak to them as he goes thru the plant. He is a keen technician, his eyes miss little, he is a splendid organizer of technical details, he is fair and just, but he is not a good fellow with the men. Yet his plant runs smoothly, and production is maintained. He avoids the suspicion that he is trying to slip something over by smooth talk, and if there is less of fellowship in his reign, there is better discipline, and a general conviction that the men will get a square deal.

The two experiments are going on; the management is watching. The verdict is not yet declared.

*Madison, Wisconsin*

# The Plain Truth About Germany

(*Continued from page 63*)

German Government, like the mass of the German people, sees that it is necessary to meet the essential conditions of the Treaty of Versailles. So, at least, the present writer is absolutely convinced. Of course, there is much bitterness of feeling concerning some of the items in the bill for reparation—notably such as the demand for the surrender of milch cows. In view of the shortage of milk, which could only be obtained upon prescription for infants, this is a perfectly understandable feeling. Even this demand the Germans would probably meet with fairly good grace and without much open resentment if its fulfilment were postponed for, say, a year, until they had a chance to build up their herds. Not only are the Germans reconciled to the fact that they must meet the conditions imposed upon them, what is perhaps more important is the fact that, given reasonable coöperation, there can be no doubt of their ability to pay. No one could linger in the small towns and villages, especially of the agricultural districts, and question this. Such a journey is a splendid antidote to Keynes' book. It is probable that, given reasonable encouragement and coöperation, Germany will be able to pay not less than three billion gold marks per year toward the total sum of reparation.

Thoughtful Germans recognize quite clearly the inexorable fact that Germany must pay a tremendously heavy price for the wrong done to Belgium and France. However much they may dislike the prospect, they recognize the inevitability of reparation. There is neither reason nor morality in the propaganda which has for its aim the cancellation of this obligation. No one who has gone thru the devastated regions of France and contrasted the desolation and ruin with German conditions can entertain any doubt upon this point. It is quite easy to understand the French point of view. At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that fear and hatred distort the mental vision. The vision of France is so distorted that she does not clearly perceive even her own interests. One of the foremost statesmen of France, defending French policy in a discussion with the present writer, expressed the fact that without payment by Germany it will be impossible for France to recover. This is obviously true. To restore the devastated towns and villages of France will require an expenditure of not less than 150,000,000,000 francs. Of this sum 25,000,000,000

francs has already been expended. In view of existing conditions, including the already heavy taxation, it is unthinkable that France can, within any reasonable period, furnish the whole of this sum. It is obvious that Germany should be required to make substantial contribution to the cost of this reconstruction. If for any reason Germany does not so contribute, France must suffer prolonged and perhaps permanent and irretrievable disaster. It is precisely here that the economist finds the strongest argument for a rational policy of coöperation looking to the economic recovery of Germany. It is certain that unless and until Germany is so assisted she will be unable to pay the French claims. In other words, the bankruptcy and ruin of Germany will surely involve the bankruptcy and ruin of France. Even as a matter of self-preservation, therefore, French policy ought to be directed toward the speedy restoration of Germany's economic life.

German militarism is dead. There is not the slightest reason for believing that the restoration of the old military régime is contemplated by any considerable section of the German people, or that it could be successfully accomplished if it were so contemplated. Of course, there are still some elements of the old military régime left, and some of these are quite vociferous. Nevertheless it is certain that the great mass of the German people hates and abhors the very thought of a restoration of militarism. Genuine as the fear of France may be that such a restoration will take place, therefore, it is quite unjustified by any available evidence. So far as one could discover, the reduction of the allied Army of Occupation by 50 or even 75 per cent. would be entirely safe, jeopardizing no interest whatever. Bearing in mind the fact that the cost to Germany of the Army of Occupation this year will approximate twenty billion marks, the importance and significance of such a reduction can be easily understood. Germany's deficit for the present fiscal year had been estimated at twenty-seven billion marks, or thereabout; as a matter of fact, it will exceed fifty billions. The figures are fantastic. They stagger and frighten the Germans. Suppose the cost of the Army of Occupation were reduced by 50 per cent., that would lessen the expenditure, and therefore the deficit, by ten billions. This, in turn, would have the effect of raising the value of the mark and thereby lessening the compulsion of the Government to keep on printing new supplies of depreciated paper currency. At the present time it is quite apparent that until the value of the mark is substantially raised the condition of Germany must remain perilous, not to herself only, but to all Europe. The value of the mark cannot be appreciably raised until the Government stops its printing presses and this the Government cannot do unless and until raw materials for German industries can be had and arbitrary and unnecessary financial burdens, such as the superfluous charges for the Army of Occupation, are removed. In other words, the solution of Germany's problem requires something more than the good faith and efficiency of the German Government and the German people; namely, the intelligent coöperation with these of the governments and peoples of the other great nations. And unless that coöperation is forthcoming, Germany will inevitably drift to Bolshevism and economic disaster and in her own ruin accomplish the ruin of her neighbors.

Having crushed German militarism and thereby laid the foundations for the safety of democracy, we must complete the victory and ensure the safety and stability of democratic civilization. This we can only do by coöperating with the democratic elements in Germany, aiding them to reconstruction of the broken fabric of her economic and cultural life. This is no time for destructive hate. France, who so long cherished the hope of revenge, does not as yet see, what will be clear enough to her statesmen a few years hence, that the safety of her own economic life is dependent upon Germany's rapid and healthful restoration. Perhaps it is because of the Germans' recognition of America's detachment, and their hope from it, that the visitor to Germany finds so much friendship for America and none of the bitterness which might have been anticipated. All the more pity, therefore, that as a result of stupid and selfish and short-sighted politics, we are still technically at war with Germany and find ourselves hampered by that fact in dealing with her statesmen. Quite regardless of the fact that no peace treaty has been signed with Germany, and in spite of the anomalous state of our relations consequent thereupon, the Secretary of State, or the President, should at once begin to try to reach an understanding with the Government of Germany, her business men and the leaders of her public opinion.

It would be a step forward to send immediately a small commission, consisting of two or three able financiers, together with others of high character and standing representing other constructive points of view, to confer with the Germans, make a survey of Germany's resources and needs and agree upon the outlines of a program. With such a program based upon an intelligent understanding of the actual resources and needs of Germany the United States would be in a position to lay before our late Allies the broad lines of a policy which would assure the fulfilment of the essential terms of the Treaty of Versailles and, at the same time, ensure Europe against a disastrous drift of the hopeless and desperate masses of Germany to Bolshevism and destruction. I do not ask for the exemption of Germany from the penalties imposed upon her by the Peace Treaty, but only for a recognition of the simple fact that, even as blood cannot be drawn from a stone, Germany crushed will never be able to pay at all.

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Literary Editor of The Independent

Associate in the School of Journalism, Columbia University

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

I. The New Negro.

1. Who were the Ku Klux Klan? Write a sketch about them, in which you give actual facts about their motives and deeds and what in general they accomplished, and also your sense of whatever picturesqueness you find in their story. (If you have seen "The Birth of a Nation" you will be wise to balance what you got out of that with some new material.) Bring your essay up to date by discussing what differences changed conditions would make between a Ku Klux then and now.
2. It is a commonplace to say that the negro has a gift for language. Pick out passages in Dr. Hartt's quotations that you think to be characteristic, and define what it is that makes them so. Compare them with the kind of writing you find on the editorial page of any newspaper you pick up.
3. Write in any form suitable to the material some personal experience that you are interested to remember in the light of Dr. Hartt's article.

II. Time Charts Versus Good Cheer.

1. Industry is not the only field which presents the choice and problem that Mr. Commons describes in his two last paragraphs. Can you think of any other situation, in the school, or church, or home, where it is a question which works best,—slap-on-the-back good fellowship, or keen, just, impersonal efficiency? If you can do so from personal experience, write character sketches of two people, in more or less the same position, who represent the two types of executive.

III. An Unknown Nobel Prizeman.

1. Distinguish between the following kinds of writing: idealistic, satiric, realistic, romantic. Give examples in each case. Altho by a strict use of terms Spitteler and Hamsun, as a satirist and a realist, are disqualified for a prize for idealistic literature, can you conceive of ways in which the *effect* of their writing on the reading world should be an aroused idealism sufficient to make them, as writers, eligible for the prize after all?
2. Here is an abstract question to think over. Satiric and idealistic writing are always thought of as at opposite poles from each other. But can you satirize a thing for being what it is unless you have an ideal of how it ought to be? And on the other hand, if you are idealist enough to feel how a thing ought to be, must you not be critical, in satiric mood as well as any other, of the way it is? Is it possible that the satirist and the idealist have considerable in common in temperament and attitude of mind, and are simply attacking from different angles? Notice, in this connection, the collection of titles of Spitteler's works, which are described as "idyllic or satiric in tone."
3. Find out something about Nietzsche, Tagore, Eucken, Flaubert. What are "cantos"?

IV. Michelson's Eye.

1. Study Dr. Slosson's explanation of the principle of the interferometer until it is clear to you, and then, just for a problem in expository writing, see if you can explain it in your own words, accompanying your explanation, if you like, with diagrams.

V. Background Folk in Your Novel.

1. Choose one novel by Scott or Dickens or a contemporary, and one modern novel as different as possible in its concentration upon a few carefully chosen characters and scenes, and write a comparative study of the two. "Nocturne," by Frank Swinnerton, is a very good modern novel for the purpose, as well as a book to read for its own sake, if you have not.
2. Perhaps when Mr. Slosson calls the heroes and heroines of Scott and Dickens lifeless and stilted, you feel that he slanders one of your favorite book characters. If so, write an essay in the victim's defense.
3. Do you think it possible for a book to have the virtue of rich background that Mr. Slosson describes, and at the same time to have clear, strong and intelligible plot, and human and convincing principal characters? Can you think of any books of which all these things are true? Consider in this connection novels by Jane Austen, George Meredith, Arnold Bennett, St. John G. Ervine, H. G. Wells.

### History, Civics and Economics

I. The Race Question—The New Negro. The Blot on the Flag.

1. What was "Reconstruction"? Find out what you can about this period in American history and the part played by the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations.
2. In what respects does Mr. Hartt find the "new negro" different from the old? What causes for the change does he mention? Can you think of any others?
3. "The negro problem long ago ceased to be merely a southern problem." Why?

II. Industrial Policy—Time Charts versus Good Cheer.

1. What do the following phrases mean to you: (a) "efficiency," (b) "scientific management," (c) "Taylor system," (d) "motion study," (e) "functional foremen"? What general tendency in modern American industry lies back of these terms?
2. How did the Link-Belt Company modify the "scientific management" system in the field of labor policy?
3. What do you think of the plan of having a superintendent for general labor management and shop policy, leaving technical problems of production to subordinate foremen?
4. Why does the Link-Belt Company oppose trades unionism? Do you think, in its circumstances, this policy is justified?

III. German Conditions—The Plain Truth About Germany. Disarming Germany.

1. Why is the United States still in a "state of war" with Germany? What in Mr. Spargo's opinion are the practical disadvantages of this condition?
2. Explain how it is that it may be necessary to extend credits to a nation in order to obtain indemnities from it. Compare it with the case of a private individual threatened with bankruptcy to whom his creditors loan money in order that he may maintain his business and thus be able eventually to pay the whole of his debt.
3. What did the Treaty of Versailles require from Germany with respect to disarmament?
4. Why are the French more concerned than other nations about the rigid enforcement of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty? What violations do they allege?
5. Suppose that you were on an arbitral tribunal which had to decide whether or not the Germans were maintaining a military force under pretense that they were police. What tests would you use to distinguish a real police from a reserve military force?

IV. Law and Industry—Wilson Upholds Clayton Act. War Finance Corporation Vetoed. Labor and the Clayton Act. Kansas Court Imposes Living Wage.

1. What is the Clayton Act? Under what President was it enacted?
2. What is the Sherman Anti-Trust law? When was it enacted?
3. What are "interlocking directorates"? Why did President Wilson object to them? Why was he opposed to further delay in enforcing the prohibition of interlocking directorates between the railroad companies and manufacturing and supply companies?
4. What is a "boycott"? What are the objections to permitting it?
5. In what respects does the decision of the Supreme Court regarding the Clayton Act limit, or seem to limit, the rights and privileges of the labor unions?
6. Do you think that President Wilson was justified in vetoing the bill reviving the War Finance Corporation? Note carefully his arguments as given in the veto message.
7. This week deals with two vetoes of Acts of Congress by the President. What does the Constitution say about the veto power? How may Congress override a veto? Has the Governor of your state a veto on bills passed by the legislature?
8. Choose any one of the following four topics for debate: (a) Resolved, that the laws against interlocking directorates should be immediately put into effect; (b) Resolved, that trades unions should be exempted from all prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust law; (c) Resolved that the War Finance Corporation should be revived to aid the American export trade; (d) Resolved, that a constitutional amendment be adopted depriving the President of the right to veto Acts of Congress.
9. What principle was laid down by the Kansas Industrial Court?

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## Pebbles

A horse can bite with all his might
But he can't bite with his mane.
—*Harvey's Weekly.*

I used to think I knew I knew,
But now, I must confess,
The more I know I know I know,
I know I know the less.
—*Judge.*

"Mary, Mary, slightly airy,
How do the fashions go?"
"Piled up hair and shoulders bare
And vertebrae all in a row."
—*Puppet.*

Ned—Darling, say the words that will make me the happiest man in the world.

Edna—Shall I really?

Ned—Oh, if you only would.

Edna—Well, then, stay single.—*Sun Dodger.*

"After being my fiancee for five years she breaks the engagement and send back the ring."

"Well, that engagement ring has doubled in value. Wouldn't wonder if you couldn't get a better girl with it."—*London Opinion.*

"You must have plenty of nerve," said Colonel Lookout. "The idea of stealing my chickens and then trying to sell them to me!"

"Why cunnel, I thought you'd pay a better price for chickens you'd raised yourself," returned Johnson. "You'd know what you're buying."—*New York Globe.*

"Eloise, don't you think you can ever care for me?"

"I'm afraid not, Charles."

"Then I'm going out and hang myself."

"Better not do it around here."

"Why?"

"Father says he doesn't want any young man hanging around the house."—*Nebraska Awgwan.*

The Worthy Bishop (examining class of small boys on the Catechism)—Now, can anyone tell me the two elements necessary to Baptism?

A Small Youth—Yessir. Water and——

The Worthy Bishop (indulgently)—Water, and what else?

(A silence.)

A Still Smaller Voice—Please, sir, a baby!—*Blighty.*

Sitting on a veranda of her suburban home, one afternoon, a woman chanced to notice that a young man who was digging post holes nearby was working bareheaded in the broiling sun. Immediately she rose and procured an old straw hat that belonged to her husband. "Young man," she said, going to where the youth was plying the spade, "you mustn't work without a hat. Take this one."

"Thank you very much," responded the youth, "but really I don't need it."

"That's silly," retorted the woman. "If you work long in the sun bareheaded it will bake your brains out."

"Haven't any," was the prompt rejoinder. "If I had brains I wouldn't be digging post holes."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

## Remarkable Remarks

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I hate to see a woman of my age drinking.

GEORGE ADE—Any relative done in crayon always looks diseased.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB—I believe in the aristocracy of accomplishment.

R. J. CALDWELL—Reactionary employers make radical labor leaders always.

GABRIEL D'ANNUNZIO—Honors, position, decorations are nothing to me.

LADY ASTOR, M.P.—That women are cats has been a rather favorite male belief for many years.

PROF. ARTHUR GORDON WEBSTER—A college is looked upon as a country club somewhat marred by attendance at recitations.

SENATOR HARDING—I would rather have the counsel of the Senate than of the political bosses of any party in America.

LADY ASQUITH—The idea that Americans are hustling and quick seems all wrong to me—hustling possibly, but quick not.

GEN. TASKER M. BLISS—Disarmament is the only means of preserving the world from bankruptcy and civilization from ruin

E. W. HOWE—Every time I see a picture of Uncle Sam I am provoked because I believe him to be the greatest ass in history.

TENOR RICARDO MARTIN—Femininism is in the saddle, mollycoddleism is in the air, hypocrisy reigns triumphant, and we Americans are careering in a mad flight for the old ladies' home.

## The News Editor Drops Into Poetry

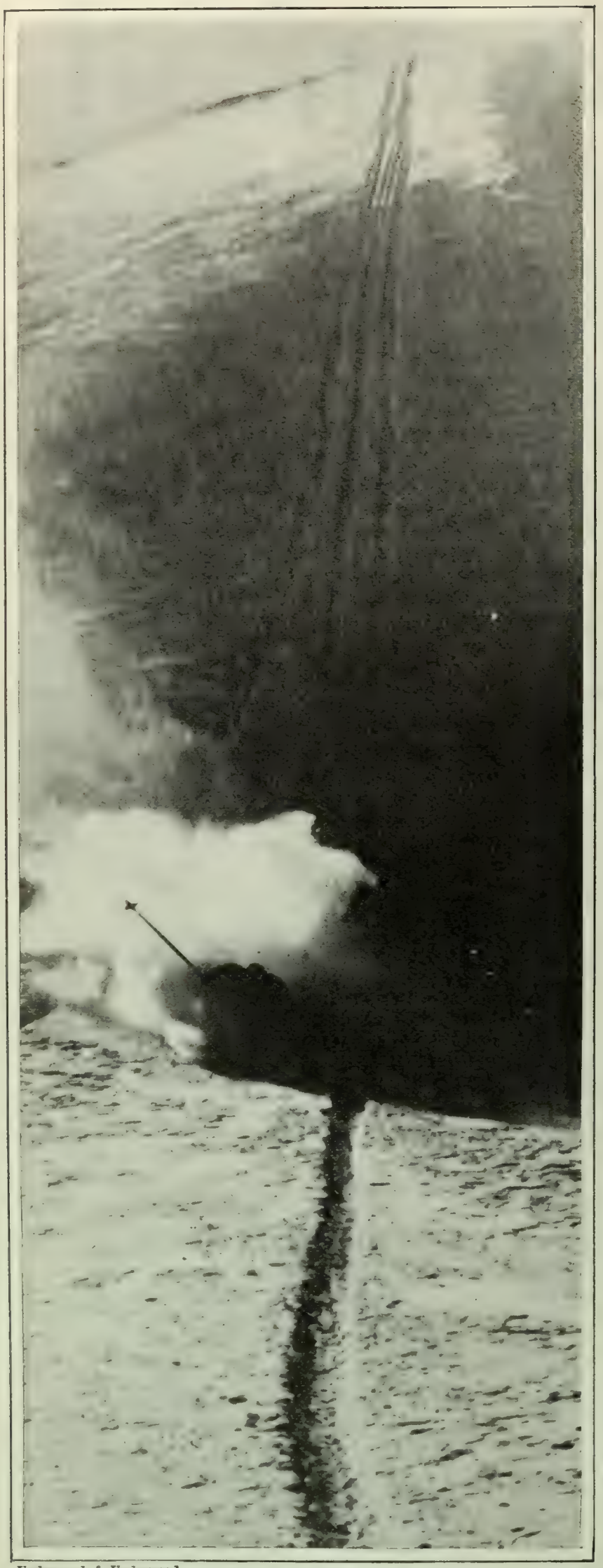
When Mexico is quiet and Fiume gone to sleep,
And the Pacific *is* pacific along its vasty deep,
And Armenia is free again and plenty has to eat,
And no one is a-worried by the growing Nippon fleet,
And Harding ceases to confer and Congress stills its noise,
And Puritanic agencies do not menace Sunday's joys,
And no one talks of mandates or spheres of influence,
And even politicians begin to common sense,
And there are no more direful strikes or bomb plots of the Reds,
And Bolshevists no longer lurk beneath our peaceful beds,
And Ireland has Home Rule at last and ceases to raise riot,
And the world sinks down to a millenium of quiet,
Why then I'll run short of copy for "The Story of the Week,"
But till then I can do it without having far to seek.

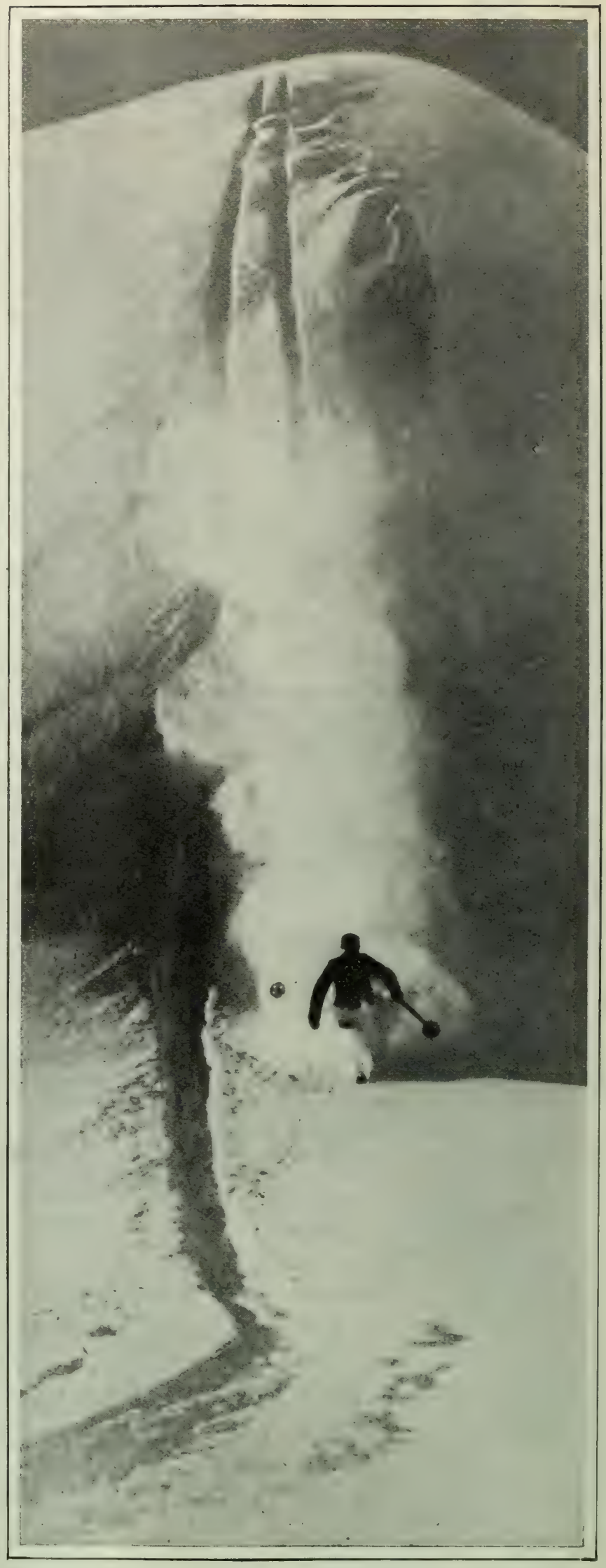



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*Underwood & Underwood*

## Facilis Decensus?

**It's not so easy on skiis; these photographs show a particularly perilous descent in the Swiss Alps, near Adelboden. But the theory of the sport is "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again"**

The Independent
January 22, 1921

# The Sorrows of Miranda and Me

## A Story of Two Americans Who Took a "Pleasure" Trip to Europe

By Helen Ring Robinson

Former State Senator in Colorado

MIRANDA likes to be comfortable, while I like to be liked. So we are both glad to be back from our European trip.

Of course, if we had gone overseas in order to do good, as many women have gone, and we could have managed it without doing a lot of harm, we should keep our chins up and say nothing about our sorrows.

But we went merely "for pleasure"—poor, innocent, middle-aged lambs—and that word "pleasure," in connection with European travel, sounds to us now like cacklings from a mad-house. So Miranda and I, hoping we may serve as warnings to other pleasure seekers, are frankly advising our friends that, if they want to be comfortable, they may choose the New York subway for traveling purposes, and if they want to be liked—as Americans—they may go to Mexico! But let them keep away from Italy and France and other European countries for at least a year or two.

When we are asked for the particulars of our sorrows, Miranda tells about the decrepit railroad systems that hobble across Europe, with engines and cars breaking down nonchalantly, every once in a while, four miles from a sandwich. Or she tells some truths about the bread—especially the bread of Prague.

When I'm in the mood, which isn't often—the memory is too poignant—I speak of that evening in Northern France or that other sundown in Middle Europe when I choked, horribly, with the fog. And as I watched its smothering folds I seemed to see that it was no ordinary fog but an exhalation from the thousand times a thousand lies and fears and hates that have been spilled over the lands for six shuddering years. From open abysses of pain. From the secret infamies of diplomats. And from the graves of millions of mangled men who cannot sleep. No wonder.

Miranda takes up the story here to tell how she spent a quarter of her waking hours: feeing hotel clerks to tell her where to get her American passport viséd; or struggling in consular offices and police prefectures collecting visas for entering a country or staying in it or getting out of it; or else inching her way in a long, dreary, disheveled queue of travelers, thru a suffocating shed, to show her collection of visés to some frontier official.

She is rather wonderful in her language when she gets on the subject of visas and frontiers. All American travelers are, for that matter. Or nearly all. I recall one notable exception. Colonel House of Texas stood just ahead of us, for two hours and a quarter, one clammy August night, in a scrambled crowd of people tossed into a Dutch frontier shed. All around him were weeping men and swearing women yet he maintained his historic silence. It was, however, as Miranda observed, the sort of silence that needed to be expurgated.

This passport system seems justified under present European conditions. The different nations are trying to keep "Red" propagandists out. Hence the passport barbed-wire. They are endeavoring to keep capital in, while the owners of that capital are often trying to smuggle it out to escape heavy taxes. Hence the barrage of frontier inspectors. And there are other kinds of smuggling, other evils which they try to check with the poison gas of their regulations.



**"The hardships of travel did not disturb me so much as the fact that nobody likes Americans any more," says Mrs. Robinson in describing her recent visit to Europe**

A distinguished Internationalist, now living in Switzerland, assured me, however, that back of all this visa grogginess is the stark fact that no government feels strong enough today to dismiss its army of spy-hunters and other hang-overs from the war. So places have been made for them to pillage travelers at national frontiers.

However that may be, the entire system is so smothered in futilities and idiocies and dishonesties that only the innocent cannot escape them.

For all the inspectors who clutter her frontiers and for all the laws against it, the silver coins of France have all been drained into Switzerland, where, under the varying exchange conditions, they have brought two or three times their current French value. During our weeks in France Miranda and I had to take most of our small change in sticky postage stamps, tho the Government was struggling to supply the place of

the vanished silver coinage with paper franc and two-franc and half-franc notes and the counterfeiters were also lending a hand.

But, tho the inspectors have been unable to cope with this silver smuggling, they proved very alert in coping with Miranda's gold.

Unlike the average woman, Miranda has a self-starter. And she is generally able to give herself all the advice she needs. Before she sailed for Europe, however, her brother-in-law was so impressive about her "carrying a little American gold for emergencies" (in-laws are likely to be queer!) that she took some along with her.

She never heard that it was "forbidden" to take gold out of France till our train for Geneva reached the French border, and, with our fellow passengers, we were given the Third Degree. "Yes," she had some gold, she answered her inquisitor, "ninety dollars in American gold." Here in her hand-bag.

"Ha-a-a!" The wise inspector blew thru his teeth. If she confessed to gold in her hand-bag it followed she must have other gold in more intimate hiding-places. So a female inspector haled her away and pawed her.

Then it took Miranda two vigorous hours to get French currency in exchange for her "confiscated" $90 in gold And at that she received only ten francs for a dollar tho the rate of exchange that day was thirteen.

Meanwhile, the train with our sleeping reservations had gone on and we had to make the rest of our journey in a way train—third class.

"Bleeding France!" murmured Miranda as she dozed off to sleep in a corner of the car. "Yes, France surely knows how to bleed!"

As for the notion that "Red" propagandists can be kept out of a country by the present passport system—"Pouf-f-f!" says Miranda.

There is little doubt that Lenin himself could make a safe journey from Moscow to London with a passport made out to Prof. Joshua Podgrass of Iowa and plenty of the right kinds of money.

One day, in an inquiring mood, Miranda and I made a little test of that question, at a certain border said to be the most difficult in Europe.

We were just out of Switzerland.

Switzerland, by the way, is making a very good thing out of the passport industry. Your passport must be viséd expensively to enter the country and still more expensively to leave it, while each separate canton requires a police visé if you stay there more than [*Continued on page 101*

# Don't You Care Whether School Keeps or Not?

## A Message from the United States Government to the American People

### By Philander P. Claxton

United States Commissioner of Education

WE have come to a crisis in education in the United States. For a long time we have been vaguely conscious that all was not right with our public schools, without knowing just what was wrong. Now we have come to a place where the ways part, where we must know what is wrong and what is right and choose between them. Upon the choice we make now depends the future welfare of our children and the nation.

"The teacher is the school." We are compelled at the outset, therefore, to face the fact that what is wrong with our schools is caused by something wrong with our teachers. We are not getting men and women of the same character and ability as in the past to serve in our public schools. There is, we say, a shortage of good teachers. The reason for this shortage we need not go far to seek. There would be a shortage of good engineers, also, if for engineers there was a shortage of good pay.

It is true that the salaries of American school teachers, outside the academies and private schools, have never been large. Still, the pay for beginners, under our traditional policy, has been comparatively good in the past. Inexperienced men and women coming into the schools without any professional or technical preparation received practically the same pay as those with years of successful teaching experience. This policy, while obviously unjust, had one merit. It attracted to our schools as teachers men and women of unusual native ability and strong character, eager to do the best they could as educators while saving money to start themselves in business, or home making, or to enable them to prepare themselves for other professions.

We are able today to point to men and women leading in all walks of life who for longer or shorter periods in the past have served as educators of American children. In Congress there are scores of former school teachers and there is one in the White House. We nominated two former teachers, and recently elected one to be the next President of the United States. Unfortunately, most of these teachers remained in the public schools only until they had begun to gain some little comprehension of their task and some little skill as educators. Had we made conditions such that men and women of this stamp would have remained as teachers in the schools, there would be nothing wrong with our school system today. However short their periods of service as teachers, it was good for our children to come in contact with these men and women. They lacked preparation and experience, but their characters afforded helpful inspiration.

It is a different kind of teacher we are getting as beginners in our public schools today. The time has come when the kind of men and women we have had as teachers in the past can make more money—money to be used later as capital to start in business or for professional preparation—in a hundred occupations outside the schools. A few such may teach while waiting to find themselves, but the vast majority will seek other more attractive and more remunerative employment elsewhere.

From this time forward, unless we move intelligently to meet the present crisis, we may expect our children to be taught by unprepared and inexperienced teachers of mediocre ability, while they wait for the maturity that is required for employment in the minor and more common occupations, and by the left-overs of such men and women who have failed to find more attractive employment elsewhere, but have not wholly failed as teachers. There is a shortage even of teachers of this sort.

Are these the kind of men and women we want to pre-

pare American children for life—for making a living, for the duties and responsibilities of democratic citizenship? Or do we want another type—men and women of better native ability, stronger character and more thoro educational and professional preparation?

There can be no question as to the kind of teachers we want. The question is how to get them. We should understand that we will never again be able to get the same kind of teachers for the same reasons as the past. Now our schools must compete for these men and women with other, and in many ways more attractive occupations. We have got to pay more for our teachers in the future—more than teachers in the public schools have ever been paid in the past. Temporary increases in pay to meet the increased cost of living will not do. We must put teachers' wages on a new basis and give such a guarantee of continued good wages in the years to come as will induce young men and women to accept teaching as a permanent profession and take the time and spend the money necessary to prepare for it as a life business.

The present crisis in education was not swiftly developed. It has been a long time in the making. We cannot expect to unmake it over night. Nothing we can do today would fill our schools with the kind of teachers we want tomorrow. We shall have done well if we have made the change in ten years, but we should not, for that reason, delay applying the remedy.

What may be considered adequate pay for such teachers as we would have in our public schools? The answer is not difficult. Such pay as may be necessary to get them and to keep them in the schools. Their wages should be fully as high as the wages paid to men and women of equal native ability, education, special preparation and experience, doing other work requiring as much time, energy and devotion and involving approximately as much responsibility.

The average wealth production of the adult worker in this country is in the neighborhood of $1,250 a year. It seems evident, on this basis, that our teachers should receive on an average not less than $2,000 a year. Some increases have been given during the last two years, but in 1918 the salaries of our teachers, including high school teachers and principals, averaged $635. In some states salaries were higher and in others lower, but $635 was the average. One state paid its teachers in the rural elementary schools less than it spent to feed and clothe the prisoners in its jails.

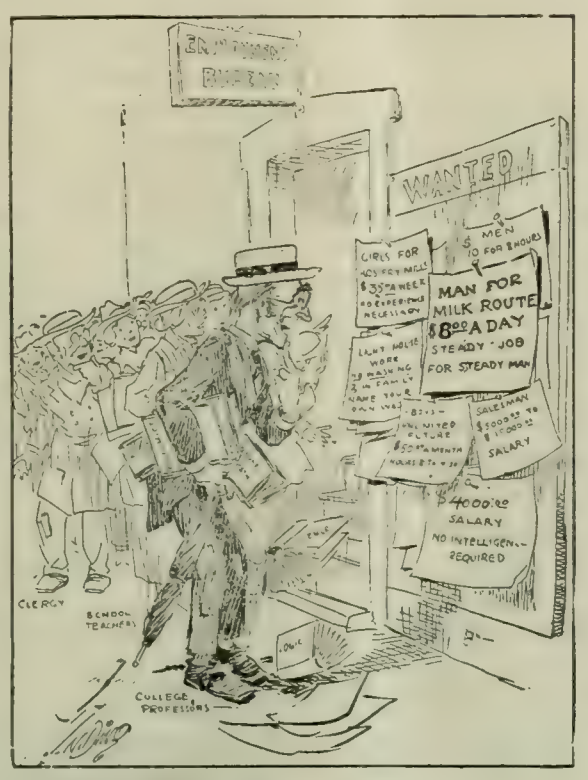
Altho our traditional policy has served us well in the past, the time has come to stop placing the beginner in teaching on a financial footing practically equal with that of the experienced educator. It is essential that some hope of financial advancement be held out, if we are to get the right kind of teachers in the future. If our average wage for teachers were $2,000, we might start beginners at $1,250 or less, thus making it possible to hold out the promise of salaries ranging from $2,000 to $5,000 for educators of proven ability.

Another thing we should do. That is to give increased financial support to the state normal schools—the institutions in which young men and women are trained for the teaching profession. At present the normal schools are supplying only about 20 per cent of our new teachers. The others come into the schools with little or no technical training for their work. We are now spending some $20,000,000 a year for the support of our normal schools. We should spend three or four times that amount.

Can we afford these increased expenditures? I have no doubt of it. Expenditures on education should never be counted as expenses. They are investments. No people has ever grown poor by spending to make themselves more efficient thru education. There are only three factors in the production of national wealth. They are natural resources, native ability, and acquired ability. The first two are unchanging. They cannot be increased. Only the third, acquired ability, which is education, is capable of enlargement. As a people we can afford, therefore, to increase our appropriations for education until the increase in cost becomes greater than the increase in productive power that comes thru education. No people has yet found that limit.

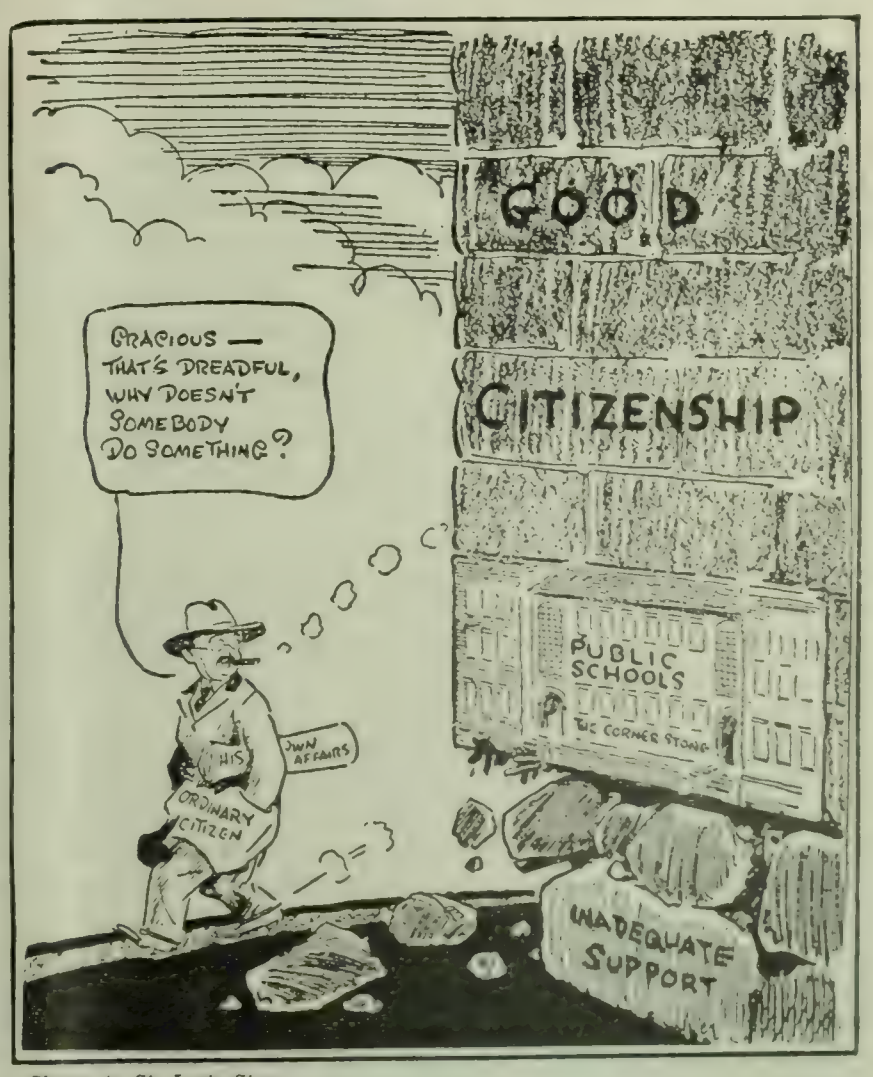
With such proper and useful economies as can easily be put into effect, the total number of teachers in the public schools within the next five or ten years need not exceed 750,000. To pay 750,000 teachers an average wage of $2,000 would take appropriations of a billion and a half of dollars. Add another billion—a generous estimate—for expenses aside from teachers' salaries, and we reach a total of $2,500,000,000 to be spent for education—a sum only $390,000,000 more than we spent last year for tobacco.

Education is primarily a function of the states and local communities and they would have to bear the major portion of the expense, but the nation also has a stake in education and the Federal Government can afford to coöperate on a generous scale. There should be set aside in the Federal treasury for distribution among the [*Continued on page 101*




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**Why teachers leave school**




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

**The crumbling foundation**

# Helping Harding

## The Independent Readers' Vote for the New Cabinet Officers

THE Independent Cabinet Contest has been something of a problem to handle because of the independence of mind shown by our readers. Not only have ten or a dozen men been nominated for the same office, but sometimes the same man has been slated for half a dozen different offices and it was necessary to collect his scattered strength and "bunch" it on one department in order to arrive at a definite assignment of offices. For example, Herbert Hoover was mentioned for Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor; and ex-Governor Lowden of Illinois for Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, and Secretary of Commerce! The popular sentiment seems to be that such men are important for statesmanlike counsel and general administrative efficiency rather than for special knowledge of any one department of the Government's work. And, after all, it has been the practice of nearly every President to shift cabinet members from one department to another when a vacancy has been created.

The premier office in the Cabinet was easy to fill. Our readers seem by a large majority to be of the opinion that the next Secretary of State should be Elihu Root of New York. The only concentration of votes was on his name; scattering votes going to twelve other candidates: Senator Lodge, Herbert Hoover, ex-Governor Lowden, ex-Senator Weeks, William J. Bryan (the vote of a school class), Myron T. Herrick of Ohio, David Jayne Hill, Senator Knox, Frank H. Simonds of the New York *Tribune*, ex-President Taft, Oscar Straus and Herbert Gibbons.

By an almost equally large majority the Treasury portfolio went to Frank Vanderlip, the distinguished financier, tho ex-Governor Lowden polled a respectable vote and some support was accorded to Otto Kahn, William G. McAdoo, ex-Senator Weeks, Mr. Hoover, Darwin P. Kingsley, H. P. Davison, ex-Senator Burton of Ohio and Mr. Dawes of Illinois. The abilities of every one of these men are well known to the financial world.

For Secretary of War General Wood led by so wide a margin that no one else was really "in the running." Scattering votes went to General Pershing, ex-President Taft, Daniel Willard, Congressman Julius Kahn of California and Senator Chamberlain of Oregon.

The Attorney Generalship went to ex-Justice Hughes by a most emphatic vote. Others who were mentioned by our readers were ex-President Taft, ex-Governor Whitman, Senator Knox, former Attorney General Wickersham, Samuel Untermyer, Francis J. Heney, Brand Whitlock and Mr. Daugherty, who managed Senator Harding's pre-convention campaign.

The four offices mentioned above were easily filled because of the strong trend to a particular man in each case. But this was not the case with the rest of the Cabinet. Will Hays, the Republican leader in the campaign, obtained a plurality of votes for Postmaster-General, but Julius Rosenwald and ex-Governor Lowden ran him close. Votes were also cast for ex-Governor Milliken of Maine, Walter E. Edge, Herschell Jones of the Minneapolis *Journal*, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Hitchcock and William Allen White.

For the Navy, sentiment was almost equally divided between Admiral Sims and ex-Senator John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, but the civilian had a little the better of it. Other names mentioned were Admiral Benson, Secretary Daniels, ex-Governor Lowden, General Goethals, Charles Schwab, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Senator Norris.

Herbert Hoover polled a very heavy vote for Secretary of the Interior; more than for any other office, tho he was mentioned for so many. Gifford Pinchot and James R. Garfield also had a strong following. Scattering votes went to General Wood, ex-Governor Lowden, Elwood Mead of California and Clifford Gregory, editor of the *Prairie Farmer*.

The most popular name for Secretary of Agriculture was that of Henry Wallace of Iowa. Several votes each were cast for Secretary Meredith, the present incumbent, Senator-elect Ladd of North Dakota, Senator Capper of Kansas and Mr. Hoover. Others mentioned were Luther Burbank, President Waters of the Kansas Agricultural College, Mr. Harvey Sconce of Illinois, Mr. Creager of Texas and Luther Bailey.

For Secretary of Commerce Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, one of the principal contenders for the Republican nomination last year, tied with Mr. Hoover. But since Hoover had already found a berth in the Interior Department, where most of our readers preferred to place him, we gave the Illinois Governor the Commerce portfolio. Julius Rosenwald came next, and other votes went to Louis Swift, the meat packer, Senator New of Indiana, Frank Vanderlip, Charles Schwab, Judge Bingham, Senator Capper and Governor Parker of Louisiana.

Mr. Hoover led in the vote for Secretary of Labor, but being already placed was "disqualified." That left Samuel Gompers to contend for the honor with Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Those who think that the next Cabinet must be exclusively Republican can substitute young Roosevelt's name for that of Mr. Gompers in the Cabinet line-up. Many other names were mentioned: Judge Gary, Glenn Plumb of the famous "Plumb plan," Governor Allen of Kansas, Henry Ford, John Spargo, Bishop McConnell of Pennsylvania, John F. Burke of Pennsylvania, John Leitch, John Fitch and Marsden Scott.

Not many suggestions were made for new Cabinet offices. One correspondent suggested a Department of Public Works, under General Goethals; another a Department of Public Welfare under Julia Lathrop or Jane Addams; for the Department of Education, Dr. Finley, President Burton of Michigan and Dr. Eliot were mentioned; for a Department of Public Health, Dr. Woods Hutchinson; for a Department of Social Progress, Dr. Devine. The ubiquitous Mr. Hoover was suggested by one reader as head of the Federal Detective Bureau.

One of our readers, whose letter [*Continued on page 103*

### The Next Cabinet

As Our Readers Would Have It

| | |
|---|---|
| Secretary of State | Elihu Root |
| Secretary of the Treasury | Frank Vanderlip |
| Secretary of War | Leonard Wood |
| Attorney-General | Charles E. Hughes |
| Postmaster-General | Will Hays |
| Secretary of the Navy | John W. Weeks |
| Secretary of the Interior | Herbert Hoover |
| Secretary of Agriculture | Henry Wallace |
| Secretary of Commerce | Frank O. Lowden |
| Secretary of Labor | Samuel Gompers |

# The New Prosperity

## By Talcott Williams

THE men at the top are so relieved that the country, as a whole, has avoided a smash of credits that they predict "prosperity" for 1921. This is the note of big producers, manufacturers, bankers and managers. Also of the big names that write about "business" and times, good and bad.

But this "prosperity" is not the prosperity of the boom. It is the slow, steady, steep uplift of hard work, lower prices, revised wages and for a small share, one in forty or so—two and a half per cent—a gap in wages.

Prices are lower, moving toward 1914. This is hard on those who own big stocks of goods for sale, raw material bought but not made up, and the farmer holding stocks of wheat, corn and grains generally, cotton, tobacco, fruit, winter truck and so on. All are struggling to shift this loss on other shoulders. They will fail. These men had their profits from 1914 to 1920. The vast mass of consumers will get their profit now. Not at once. The wholesale drop in prices takes three to nine months to reach the price tags on goods on the retail counter. It takes as long for cheap wheat to bring cheap bread or cheap cotton, wool or silk to reach the prices of cottons, silks or woolens.

Wages in some factories have fallen, but far less than in raw materials or the coming fall in food. The general average of wages remains high. This is particularly true of iron, steel, railroads, building. These trades constitute collectively nearly a third of our national wage fund and are profiting by the fall in prices. The farmer, a producer of food and raw materials, feels the pressure most now. In the end he will profit by intensive cultivation, a shift of labor from cities to the field and a fall in fertilizers, labor costs and agricultural implements. This is the kind of time when the small man thinks out new plans, new economies and new markets and becomes, from these times of economy saving and pressure, several sizes larger than a small man can in a "boom," which helps the big man. Low raw materials and new methods give new men a chance.

This is the time for investments, for buying at the bottom. Not in twenty years to come will it be so possible to make safe investments yielding 8 per cent and more. Which investments? Go to your own home banker. Get advice from the man who knows you and with whom you are going to live and do business. Do not take the advice of "circulars" and men who feel no responsibility for you. Now is the time to put to a new and more profitable use, hoarded sums, even savings bank accounts; but leave part. Divide risks.

Under pressure, the nation itself is reinvesting in honest management. Railroad abuses and "trust" abuses brought the reforming legislation of 1906. The panic of 1907 brought in due course the Trade Commission, the regulation of prices and the Federal Reserve Bank Act.

Two great lines of robbery are being laid bare. Capitalists and railroads made undue profits, 1880 to 1892, and paid for it, 1893 to 1897, in losses and laws regulating them. Capitalists and trusts made money unduly from 1897 to 1906 and were regulated in the next decade. The public, capital and corporations both profited by this regulation and the publicity which accompanied it. In the end, capital, labor, corporations, investors and the country at large all profited. See us now! The one country with no present fear of a smash.

The combinations of the past were between capital and corporations. The combinations now are between corporate capital and labor, organized and unorganized. Railroad labor is high and the burden of paying these high wages you and I, the unorganized passenger and shipper, are meeting on every ticket and all freight. Iron and steel wages, profits and prices are high and Henry Ford shuts down for cheaper times. Coal wages are high and the consumer is paying also in exorbitant profits, now clearly proved. Rents are high in cities because labor in building, combinations in cement, brick, structural steel and capital engaged in building, "erecting," have made scandalous profits and gathered in the plunder of trade piracy, personal and corporate.

This must stop. It will stop. In banks we have found that the right path is not government ownership, but private banks government controlled, paying extra profits into the public treasury, edged and watched by criminal laws. Thirty years ago banking was secret. Its operations today are open. The railroads have no secrets as they once did. Their shortcomings are visible and will therefore be reformed. Labor agreements are to deal with wage disputes.

The coal trade must have no secrets and undue profits must be criminal. Cement, brick, structural steel, lumber, all building material and all building operations must carry on under public accounts, as the railroads do. So must the trusts. The Steel Trust, Sugar, Wool, Oil, Paper and other "integrated industries" must do public business, under prescribed accounts and profits must be regulated as are railroad rates. The wages of organized labor must be brought to just standards, compared with other labor.

This is coming. The organized, whether in labor or in capital, must not be permitted to crowd on the unorganized many. This dry season of thrift, of saving, of profitable investments, of falling prices, of pressure for economy, must bring these reforms.

The jail sentence of the profiteer must be the seed of future honest dealing. Do you remember when Sing Sing had a corridor of bankers? It has none now.

## Waste Land

THE earth is not so big as Betelgeuse and it is a pity that so much of what there is of it is waste space from the standpoint of civilization. Most of the earth is water, a large part of it is desert, quite a slice is ice, and far too much of it is Russian. If the immense spaces and marvelous natural resources of Russia and Siberia were owned by sane and competent self-governing communities such as inhabit the United States and western Europe the wealth of the world would be doubled. Bolshevism would be more tolerable if it did not take up so much room.

## Is Education "Charity"?

ECONOMY takes queer shapes. At a meeting of the Real Estate Board of New York City, representing all the realty interests of New York, a report was submitted for the abandonment of the College of the City of New York as a public institution on the ground that "obviously it was impossible for the city to furnish free tuition to all college aspirants" and that many who attended City College "were fully able to pay for their own education and should not expect the city to provide for them."

This incident shows how wide is the gulf between the point of view of many New Yorkers and that of the nation at large. The poorest western state maintains a university affording "free tuition to all college aspirants," and so far from being shocked that some students "arrived at the college in limousines and could be seen walking the campus wearing the most expensive fur overcoats," is very proud if it can induce the rich people of the community to educate

their sons at home free of charge instead of sending them to eastern colleges. New York has gotten over its old idea that elementary instruction is either a luxury for the rich or a charity to the poor, but it still clings to that idea as regards higher education. America outside New York thinks rather that it is the duty of the public to offer free to everyone instruction all the way up the educational ladder from the A B C's to the Ph. D's.

## Venizelos

"As once the nobler Athens went with Aristides into banishment."

# S. P. Q. A.

## By William Brand

THE old Roman formula, Senatus Populusque Romanus, the Senate and the Roman people, is witness of the prestige enjoyed by the chief deliberative body of the ancient world. We might speak with equal reason of the "Senate and the American people"; for our Senate, like the Roman, claims equal weight and dignity with the whole body of the nation. It has almost eclipsed the House of Representatives and has either controlled or contended on equal terms with every President. By refusing to sanction appointments not to its liking it has obtained virtual control of the distribution of party patronage. By refusing to ratify treaties not to its liking it has obtained, if not a "grasp" of foreign affairs, at any rate a "strangle hold" upon them. Thru the voice of Penrose of Penrosesylvania it warns the incoming Administration that the next Secretary of State must not attempt to guide the foreign policy of the nation. By its privilege of unlimited debate, only partly curtailed after a notorious filibuster in 1917, it has decade after decade talked to death the laws it did not favor. By its power to amend revenue laws it has come to assume the power to rewrite them altogether; thus making of no importance the constitutional privilege of the House of Representatives in the matter of initiating financial measures.

No wonder there has been talk of a "Senate oligarchy" and a deep suspicion on the part of thinking men of all that is done by this proud Council of State. It used to be thought that the system of indirect election contributed to the independent and almost arrogant attitude of the Senate. But today the Senate is elected by the same electorate which chooses the House and yet abates naught of its ancient prestige. If anyone doubts that the Senate bulks larger in the public mind—and the public prints—than the House, let him try to make from memory a list of twenty Senators and twenty Representatives. Since there are 435 Representatives and only ninety-six Senators it should be much easier to list a score of Representatives, but such is not the case. Most people would think they were doing well to remember the name of the Speaker of the House, the majority and minority floor leaders, and the Representative from their home district. But he would have followed the day's news very carelessly who could not name and locate by state at least a fourth or fifth of the whole Senate.

The Senator feels that he is an individual; the Representative that he is a member of his party caucus. This difference may be due to the smaller size of the Senate, which gives greater weight to the individual vote; or to the custom of unrestricted debate; or to the longer term of office, giving greater security of tenure from the anger of the political bosses or the people; or to the extensive constitutional powers and great historic traditions of the Senate. Whatever the cause, the effect is evident. When a bill is before Congress people inquire what "the Republicans" or "the Democrats" are going to do with it in the House. But when it reaches the Senate they anxiously speculate: "How does Senator Jones stand?", "Will Senator Smith bolt?", "Has Senator White patched up his quarrel with the Administration yet?" In this, we think, lies the greatest strength of the Senate and the best reason for its continued existence. It is a true deliberative body—tho often much too deliberate—and it always contains, in addition to the "regular party men," a number of angular individualities; men who may be fools or cranks or oligarchs, but who at any rate are not mere party units. Debates in the Senate, tho hardly up to the standard of the golden age of American oratory when Clay and Webster and Calhoun held the floor, are usually on a much higher level than those in the House; the *Congressional Record* bearing witness to this fact.

Perhaps the strangest fact about the Senate is that its leaders commonly come not from the great centers of wealth and population, but from small and "backwoods" states. Theoretically this ought not to be so. Since the representation of every state in the Senate is equal there is a much wider range of available political material in the populous states. Among the 10,000,000 people of New York it should be more than a hundred times as easy to find a great statesman as among the 77,000 people of Nevada. But even the "Old Guard" finds its leaders among such men as Smoot of Utah, Warren of Wyoming and the late Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island. Many rank Williams of Mississippi and Chamberlain of Oregon the ablest Democratic Senators during President Wilson's entire administration. Borah of Idaho dominates the "irreconcilables," while Senators from the East meekly follow his lead. Cummins of Iowa is called on when a railroad bill is needed. Think of lucky little North Dakota, which is practically one monotonous wheat field, represented in the next Senate by McCumber, the only Republican Senator with brains and backbone enough to vote for the unamended Covenant of the League, and Dr. Ladd, a distinguished scientist and a political reformer of national reputation! Can New York with all its teeming millions and varied industries find on its own rolls any recent Senator, save Elihu Root, of equal rank in statesmanship? The most populous states in the Union are, in order, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Massachusetts, Michigan, California, Missouri, New Jersey and Indiana. Except, perhaps, for Knox of Pennsylvania and Johnson of California, able tho somewhat sinister figures, is there one name of real leadership among their representatives in the Senate? Yet they include more than half the population of the United States.

THE American Senate is an experiment. There is nothing quite like it in Europe, for other upper houses, whether they are hereditary aristocracies like the British House of Lords or elected bodies like the Senates of the European republics, always play second fiddle to the "popular chamber." With the old German *Bundesrat* went the last independently powerful upper house in Europe, and since it represented the princes rather than the people, it was no true parallel to the American Senate. It may be said that the American Senate has been in large part a successful experiment: it has provided the one true open forum for political discussion in our Government, it has attracted many men of talent and once in a great while a man of genius. But even with direct election it has been somewhat less responsive to the popular will than either the President or the House, and in its excessive emphasis on its privileges and dignities it has often forgotten the needs of the nation and the world. Its power over appointments has been used to distribute political patronage rather than to check inefficient administration, and its foreign policy has been almost uniformly marked by a timid and reactionary spirit. The Senate is still on trial and should cultivate humility rather than pride of office.

# The Successful Sunday School

## By Shailer Mathews

FOR the last few years there has been more or less uneasiness in the relations of the representatives of the denominational Sunday school publications and the International Sunday School Association. This latter body has an honorable history and has rendered great services to the church. To it is due in no small measure the success of Sunday schools under the system of uniform lessons and at present it has to to a considerable extent adjusted itself to the movement for graded lessons. At present, however, it represents individuals rather than denominations and it has found itself increasingly lacking the authority which the representatives of the Sunday school boards possess. They, on the other hand, have chafed under the assumption of control of Sunday school policies which the International Sunday School Association has inherited.

A succession of tentative adjustments has culminated in an agreement of union of the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations (composed of editors and representatives of denominational publishing houses) and the International Sunday School Association looking toward a third organization, the name of which is now under discussion. This new organization, according to its representatives, will undertake to administer all community inter-denominational coöperative efforts in religious education thruout the country.

It is apparent that the new organization is a union of irreconcilable forces. Denominational and inter-denominational organizations cannot successfully be joined. The one interest is not compatible with the other. In the present instance such an organization will undoubtedly mean the end of the International Sunday School Association, at least as an effective agency. The Sunday School Council has back of it denominational power and will practically control the new organization.

If the new program stopped here such a result would not occasion widespread mourning among the leaders in religious education. The period of inter-denominational (or better, non-denominational) bodies in church work has practically closed. We are entering upon a period of progress under coöperative denominationalism.

But the proposed union body has other ambitions. One of its representatives has said that there should be a complete system of American religious education extending from the cradle to the university. If certain influences triumph, the new organization will administer that system. Such an ambition is so alluring that there is danger lest efficient denominational coöperation in Sunday school work be lost in an attempt to control all community agencies of religious education. It would be a sad mistake for the Sunday school to disappear behind psychology and community service. The Sunday school has a distinct field which it should cultivate. Its denominational leaders as represented in the Sunday School Council are wide awake, intelligent, and in sympathy with the best educational development. While possibly too closely associated with the publishing interests of the denominations, they know their field and have never dreamed of pedagogical Utopias. For them to abandon this policy at the present time would be disastrous. The field of religious education is too full of scientific problems, too lacking in trained psychologists, too much exposed to the amateur reformer with an educational vocabulary, to be "administered" in any wholesale fashion. Sunday school leaders are remaking the Sunday school world. They should not be persuaded to attempt to administer religious education in the large. Furthermore, coöperation in religious education is too important and too far advanced along correct lines to be even ostensibly and partially controlled by an institution that no longer represents the really constructive forces in church life.

In the Federal Council lies the possibility for practical coöperation of the churches in religious education. In the Religious Education Association lies the opportunity for scientific investigation of the educational aspects of religion. To combine these two types of interest in a third organization for the sake of preserving the International Sunday School Association would work injury to both. Let the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations add to itself members not connected with publishing houses, and then coöperate with, or even become, the Religious Education Commission of the Federal Council. It will thus fit more efficiently into the coöperative denominationalism it now represents. Let the Religious Education Association become the body of investigators and supporters of further investigation in the field of religious education. Let the International Sunday School Association be supplementary to these bodies if it be longer needed. Let each community push week-day religious instruction thru local church federations. In this way religious education will become a specialized agency of the churches, and the need of placating the least intelligent Sunday schools will not handicap scientific study of methods and curriculum.

## Building Scandals

We can now believe the old legend that the first city was built by Cain.

# The Devil's Advocate

## By Preston Slosson

IT is often charged against school and college debating that it puts students in the position of arguing for the "wrong side" 50 per cent of the time. But that is really its chief value. It is very well to have positive convictions, but an educated man should know not only that other people are in the wrong, but *why* they are in the wrong. And to do this it is necessary to study with all possible patience the brief of the devil's advocate. If many people have opinions which seem absurd or sympathies which seem perverse there is some reason for it. They may be in the wrong, but there is some alloy of rightness in that wrong which gives it strength.

The liberally educated man may be a protectionist or a free trader, but he ought to be able to make a good stump speech on either side. His political philosophy may be democratic or aristocratic, but he should know why Burke and Plato were aristocrats and Jefferson and Mill were Democrats. He should know why most art critics admire Raphael, and also why Ruskin didn't. He should have an impersonal appreciation of all great literature, even tho he may have a personal liking only for certain kinds of work. If he is a pacifist, he should be a pacifist of the type of William James, who prefaced his immortal essay on "The Moral Equivalent of War" by a sympathetic exposition of the militaristic point of view. If he is an internationalist he should try to capture and comprehend the national patriotism which moves other men. He cannot share the animosities which divide French and Germans, Irish and English, Russians and Poles, Bulgarians and Greeks, but he should know something about the historic background which explains these antagonisms and not dismiss them with a flippant phrase about "these Europeans always scrapping with each other."

History does not succeed as a means to a liberal education unless the student is made to see that people in distant lands and ancient times were just as human and sensible as twentieth century Americans. What seems quaint, eccentric or even monstrous can be translated into

contemporary terms and it becomes explicable enough. Nobody now believes in witchcraft; but the cult of the Ouija board, the Coney Island fortune teller, the fashionable Fifth Avenue Yogis and Swamis and Mahatmas show that the old love of the miraculous and supernatural abides with us still. We no longer talk about "predestination," but "determinism" means the same thing and is still a good philosophical term. If the Westminster Catechism were stripped of its old-fashioned phrasing and put forth in modern philosophical language as the latest wrinkle in metaphysical speculation it might become as fashionable as the theories of Bergson or Freud. The arid Latin treatises of the Scholastics of the medieval universities cover in great part the same ground as the doctors' dissertations of the modern universities; a good part of the Mosaic laws reappear in modern sanitary codes, especially for hot climates; even the taboos of the savage have much the same justification as the customs and conventions of our "best society."

An extreme example best serves to illustrate a principle. There can be no question of real sympathy on the part of a modern American, Catholic or Protestant, with the religious persecutions which disgraced Europe in the sixteenth century. They seem to us both indefensible and incomprehensible. Indefensible they were; but they are only incomprehensible because we think of them in modern terms. We have been so accustomed to consider the church as a private religious club that punishment of heresy seems to us an inexplicable outburst of fanaticism, as if the Masons should throw the Odd Fellows into jail or a law be enacted for the capital punishment of members of the Browning Society. But the heretic was not punished merely as a misbeliever, or else all heathen peoples within the reach of Christian armies would have been put to death. The heretic was considered rather as a traitor, a man who had deserted the banner of Christendom and threatened with schism the great World State of the Catholic Church. Religious persecution was political rather than philosophical in origin. And since in the sixteenth century political love and hate centered more about creed and less about nationality than today we must imagine our patriotic emotions all carried over into the war of the churches. When the Spanish inquisitors condemned heretics to be burned at the stake they felt toward them as Americans feel toward Benedict Arnold.

There is a forcible vernacular phrase which expresses the inmost mind of every human being when he comes across the wrong-headedness of the other fellow: "How did you get that way?" It is the business of a liberal education to answer that question and explain how and why the Bolsheviki, the Sinn Feiners, the Prussians, the Puritans, the Mexicans, the pragmatists, the Hegelians, the classicists, the romanticists, the realists, the impressionists and all the other sects, parties and divisions of humanity "got that way."

## Abolish the Passport

FOR the first time in its history the State Department is on a paying basis. An obscure Texas Congressman tacked on to the last appropriation bill an amendment providing a $10 charge to be made for passports and passport visés, and that no one could enter or leave the country without a passport. So far the State Department has taken in from passport fees about $11,000,000, and the Department wants the provision made permanent.

Congress, however, should abolish the whole system. The passport abominations that have thrived so during and since the war are a disgrace to civilized states, and the sooner we get back to the pre-war days of free travel the better, State Department profits to the contrary notwithstanding.

# The Responsibility for Peace

## By Franklin H. Giddings

AFTER all the international jockeying since the armistice the responsibility for the peace of the world rests where it did before, and it will continue to rest there. Whatever happens to the League of Nations created at Versailles and now functioning, or whatever happens to any similar or dissimilar federation that may hereafter be created, *de facto* war will diminish or increase from this time on, according to what happens to the sentiments and in the conduct of one group of peoples, some of whom have subscribed to the League and are now participating in its activities, and one of whom holds aloof. Responsibility for the peace of the world rests with and upon the English speaking peoples. It rests with the United States, Great Britain and Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

This assertion is no reflection upon other peoples or disparagement of them. It is only a frank recognition of obvious facts. The English speaking peoples of the world lead the nations in industry and commerce. They finance governments and corporate enterprizes. They control international communication. Collectively they are the dominant sea power. Imperfect and often corrupt as their political systems and activities are, the rest of the world envies them. Better than other political systems and activities they satisfy popular aspirations. United in a good understanding and in a disposition to coöperate in keeping the peace and promoting civilization, the English speaking peoples have nothing to fear from any quarter and all other nations will take good care to keep within the limits of international law and to fulfil treaty obligations.

The preservation of such an understanding rests with the United States and England. So long as the relations of these powers are cordial the world is as safe as it is humanly possible to make it.

Deliberate attack upon Anglo-American friendship is criminal, and men who lend themselves to that business need expect nothing but unsparing condemnation from those who sincerely desire world peace and understand the conditions upon which it depends.

Misunderstanding the American spirit of fair play and abusing their liberty, a few of the more hot-headed England haters in this country have been "going the limit" and are beginning to get "what was coming to them" by way of denunciation and contempt. It is fortunate that no attempt has been made to shut their mouths, and there is no present danger that so foolish a policy will be followed. No punishment that the law could inflict could equal in remorselessness the pressure that public opinion is beginning to apply, and will certainly extend and intensify. The rebuke administered to one Harry Boland by Oswald Garrison Villard, whose friendliness to Ireland none questions, is the sort of thing that needs only to be repeated as often as offense is committed to make any other disposition of the matter unnecessary. Boland is reported to have said that if British warfare in Ireland does not stop the Irish should start a "race vendetta in America, take an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth and tear down anything English in America." Writing to the misguided speaker Mr. Villard said:

> Do not make any mistake; American interest in self-determination for Ireland does not imply hostility to England. Those of us here who have been most warmly urging an early solution of the Irish trouble do so primarily because we are interested in keeping the peace between England and the United States.

It would not be possible to put the matter more sanely or more strongly. Not only every American whose blood is mainly English, but quite as certainly every right-thinking American whose blood is mainly Irish will indorse Mr. Villard's words and rejoice in them.

# The Story of the Week

## Senator Harding Resigns

IT is now no longer possible to speak of "Senator" Harding. On January 9 he sent notice to the incoming Governor of Ohio, Harry Davis, that he had resigned his post in the Senate. Senator-elect Frank Willis, former Governor of Ohio, will fill out the unexpired term of Senator Harding until March 4 and will then continue in office by right of election.

Several weeks ago Governor Cox offered to appoint Senator-elect Willis in Senator Harding's place should the latter care to resign. This was intended as an act of courtesy to Governor Cox's successful rival for the Presidency, since Senator Harding had previously been reluctant to relinquish his Senate seat lest Governor Cox, a Democrat, appoint a Democratic Senator for the rest of his term of office. But even after Governor Cox's offer, Senator Harding decided not to resign until there was a new Governor in Ohio; since Senator-elect Willis preferred to take his appointment from the hands of the incoming Republican Governor instead of from Cox. The whole situation illustrates the complications which arise from the overlapping of the terms of Presidents, Senators and Governors for several months after national and state elections.

Another anomaly of the American constitutional system is illustrated in the phrase "President-elect" Harding. In common with the rest of the American press, The Independent has used the phrase "President-elect" ever since November 2, 1920. But all that technically happened on that date was the selection of Republican Presidential electors in most of the states and of Democratic electors in the rest. The Electoral College, meeting by states in the capital or some other designated place in each state, did not actually elect the next President and Vice-President until January 10, 1921, and the result will not be officially announced in Congress until February 9. It has been proposed that all the electors of the various states be invited to Washington at inauguration time. The meeting, of course, would have no legal significance, but it would be a novel and interesting addition to the social functions which attend the installation in office of a new President.

President-elect Harding has continued for many weeks his conferences at Marion as to the outlines of foreign and domestic policy which the new Administration is to pursue and the chief appointments which are to be made. The task of picking a Cabinet has been particularly burdensome, and in spite of his natural politeness and his desire to be on good terms with the party managers, Mr. Harding could not resist one outburst of displeasure at the "intrigue and untruth" of some office-seekers and their friends. In this, Mr. Harding is but repeating the experience of every American President, for it is the ingrained idea of a large part of the public that a President is before all else a sort of Santa Claus bearing gifts of patronage, and unfortunately there are not gifts enough to go around among all "deserving Democrats" or "deserving Republicans."




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**"Oh, Uncle, dear Uncle, come home with me now, The clock in the steeple strikes twelve—"**

## Back to Jefferson

PRESIDENT-Elect Harding has put his foot down firmly on the projected elaborate and expensive inauguration. For some time plans have been under way to make March 4, 1921, a red letter day in the social history of the capital. There was to be a grand parade with a large military escort, an inaugural ball, grandstands erected for viewing stands and other features familiar to such occasions. Both branches of Congress voted a $50,000 appropriation to meet expenses in connection with the inaugural ceremony and it was freely predicted that other appropriations would be asked for and authorized.

But now all plans must be revised. In a letter to Senator Knox, Mr. Harding stated that he desired "the simplest inaugural program consistent with the actual requirements in taking the oath of office and the utterance of befitting address." To Mr. McLean, chairman of the inaugural committee, he wrote:

> If it is becoming to express my preference, I wish you and your committee to know that the impression of extravagant expenditure and excessive cost would make me a very unhappy participant. I know full well that the Government outlay is relatively small and that the larger expenditure comes from the generous contributions of District citizenship, but it is timely and wholesome to practice the utter denial of public expenditure where there is no real necessity, and it will be a wholesome example of economy and thrift if we save the many, many thousands which the inaugural celebration will call from the private purse of those attending.

Senator Borah of Idaho and Senator Norris of Nebraska sharply criticized the heavy appropriations asked of Congress. They pointed out that the new Administration was vowed to economy and that there was widespread unemployment and hardship in many parts of the United States, not to mention the starvation conditions in the Old World. To spend lavishly on mere display under such circumstances would bring reproach on the incoming Administration at its very inception. Senator Sherman of Illinois alleged that hotel keepers were seizing the opportunity afforded by the inaugural parade to boost their rates to extortionate figures, hoping to reach a golden harvest from visitors to Washington. Similar protests were heard in the House of Representatives. President-elect Harding's action shows that he is in substantial agreement with the "Jeffersonian simplicity" faction in Congress. Indeed, he has never been accused of a desire for ostentation or display and his appeal for the simplest possible inauguration is typical of the man.

It has been decided that the oath of office will be administered to President Harding and the inaugural address delivered on the east porch of the Capitol.

# Coal

AN investigation committee headed by Senator Calder of New York has been investigating the problem of high coal prices. Much testimony has been taken from various parts of the country in the hope of solving the riddle of continuing high prices in this essential commodity while other prices have passed their crest and are tending downward. It was asserted by Fuel Administrator Hultman of Massachusetts that coal could be sold in New England for $9.50 a ton with reasonable profits, but consumers were actually compelled to pay $15 a ton, even for very inferior grades. It was charged that the War Department bought coal at $11 a ton which could have been obtained for $3.50 to $4 a ton. The Senate Commission on Reconstruction has turned over the evidence thus far gathered to the Attorney General as a basis for prosecutions under the Lever Act.

Senator Calder, in presenting the report of the commission, declared that he was convinced that the private interests now in control of the production and distribution of coal "are actually unable to prevent a continuance or a repetition of the present deplorable situation, and that it is the duty of the Government to take such reasonable and practical steps as it may to remedy the evil." He recommended that all coal operators, wholesalers, jobbers and retailers be compelled by law to furnish periodic statements of amount and prices of coal produced or handled by them.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

Stalled!

# Looking Into Cuba

THE recent Cuban Presidential election has had its expected aftermath of a legal contest and once again Uncle Sam has been forced to appear on the scene as moderator. President Wilson sent Major General Enoch Crowder to Cuba on the battleship "Minnesota" to find out the actual condition of affairs in the island republic. This action is authorized under the famous "Platt amendment," which grants to the United States the right to intervene whenever necessary for preserving orderly government. President Menocal received the guest with all courtesy.

On the face of the returns, Dr. Alfredo Zayas was chosen President in the November election. The partizans of his chief opponent, Jose Miguel Gomez, have contested the result in so many districts that the courts are clogged with cases and there is some fear that an electoral contest will still be pending when the term of President Menocal expires. The existing Administration holds that foreign intervention is scarcely necessary, since the election was—for Cuba—an orderly one, the vote cast amounted to more than four-fifths of the registered voters, and the courts are impartially considering all contested cases that have been brought before them. But some instances of fraud have been uncovered, and the Liberal party, supporting Gomez, does not trust the Menocal Administration and regards it as unduly friendly to Dr. Alfredo Zayas.

Another point which the United States Government is looking into is the financial condition of Cuba. The fall in the price of sugar has caused acute distress and induced the Cuban Government to declare a temporary moratorium. The official announcement from the White House regarding General Crowder's mission refers in these terms to the economic factor in the Cuban situation:

> General Crowder goes to Cuba to confer with President Menocal regarding conditions in Cuba. The moratorium and financial crisis in Cuba continue, the solution of which appears the more difficult on account of the unsettled Presidential election. A continuation of the present situation would prove most detrimental to the prosperity of Cuba and harmful to the relations between the United States and Cuba.

# Clouds on the Pacific

NEGOTIATIONS between the United States and Japan to find a solution for the situation created by the California anti-alien land laws are still under way. A test case has already arisen. The Secretary of State of California has rejected papers submitted to his office for filing by a land corporation on the ground that the company was partly controlled by Japanese. A crisis of similar nature is approaching in Canada where the provincial government of British Columbia is planning a legislative program similar to that of California. There is no Canadian law forbidding Japanese immigration, but it has been restricted by a "gentlemen's agreement" similar to that existing between Japan and the United States. The people of British Columbia, like the people of California, feel that this protection is inadequate and desire to replace the indefinite security of a diplomatic understanding by the positive prohibitions of law and treaty.

It is not certain how far British Columbia will be permitted to carry anti-Japanese legislation by the Dominion Government. There is much talk of a certain informal entente among Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States to stand together in restricting Oriental immigration, but this is complicated by the fact that Canada, Australia and New Zealand are part of the British Empire, which is an ally of Japan; and it does not look well for part of the domains of one ally to discriminate too pointedly against the citizens of the other. Mark Sheldon, Australian High Commissioner, declares that "Australia will join enthusiastically in effecting any arrangement or combination to prevent indiscriminate Japanese immigration" and that all of the British Dominions "will be supporters of any arrangement that will make for the solution of the problem."

The Borah resolution for a triple agreement on the limitation of naval armament by the United States, Japan and Great Britain has provoked much comment, on the whole favorable, in the press of all three countries. In answer to the objection raised by some Americans that Japan and Great Britain are allies and the United States must therefore maintain a fleet in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, the London *Times* points out that so far as the United States is concerned the alliance between Japan and Great Britain does not hold at all:

> Not only is it not true that our treaty stipulations with Japan bind us to join her in war against the United States, but we deliberately varied those stipulations in 1919 for the express purpose of excluding the possibility of incurring this liability. The provision in the subsisting treaty is explicit. It declares that should either party to the document make a treaty of general arbitration with a third power such party should not be bound by the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance to go to war with such third party. . . . So anxious was the British Government to make its attitude in the contingency of any eventual controversy between Japan and the United States clear, that upon




*Wahl in Sacramento Bee*

SITTING TIGHT

**A Californian view of the alien land law and of the Japanese protest against it**

the signature of this Peace Commission treaty (1914) it proceeded immediately to notify Japan that it would regard it as a general treaty of arbitration within the meaning of the exemption clause in the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

## Texas versus Japan

IN the lower Rio Grande valley, at Harlingen and Brownsville, some Japanese who had bought land and planned to settle were informed by local business organizations that their settlement would not be tolerated, and they were ordered to move on to avoid trouble. No violence was offered on either side and the Japanese agreed not to settle. The San Benito Chamber of Commerce, representing about a thousand farmers and business men, has sent a delegate to the state capital to urge the Texas legislature to grant "such legal protection against Japanese colonization as California has secured thru the recently enacted alien land law." In the meantime Japanese immigrants from California will be kept from buying land in the state under the terms of an old law forbidding alien non-residents to own land in Texas, and apparently considering the would-be immigrants as "non-resident." The local American Legion has promised the Japanese settlers of Harlingen legal aid in attempting to recover the money they paid for their Texas lands, on condition that they waive their right to settle within the state.

Trivial as the incident was in itself, it may have far-reaching importance. In the first place, it shows that Japanese cannot find in other states the welcome denied them in California. In any state where they make or plan wholesale agricultural settlements a demand arises for laws similar to those in California denying them the right to take up land. In the second place, it means that Texas and other western states, apprehensive that Japanese now living in California will move into their own commonwealths, will not only enact unfriendly local legislation but will join California in demanding general exclusion laws against Oriental immigration from the national Government.

## Politics in the Wheat Belt

IS the Farmers' Non-Partizan League going to become a greater force than ever in American politics or follow Populism into the shades of the past? At the present time there is a strong effort being made to put a halt to the political and economic experiments of the League in North Dakota, its home and center, and also an effort to carry the message of the League into other farming states where it has not yet taken root. When the North Dakota legislature met this January the balance of parties was very close in both branches. In the House of Representatives a coalition of anti-League Democrats and Republicans named the Speaker by a small margin over the Non-Partizan League candidate. In the Senate the Non-Partizan League held a majority of but one vote. With the legislature thus divided against itself it is not probable that the League can do much to extend its program, but it should be able to check hostile legislation, especially since it still controls the Governorship.

One of the principal difficulties confronting the Non-Partizan League is the financial situation in North Dakota. North Dakota is a wheat state and the recent sharp decline in farm commodity prices has wrecked several small banks and the State Bank of North Dakota was seriously embarrassed. The Bank of North Dakota has found great difficulty in placing its authorized bond issue. Financial authorities contend that it is not conducted on sound business lines and are loath to place confidence in it.

Mr. Townley, organizer of the Non-Partizan League, has decided to devote himself for the present to carrying on intensive propaganda in states adjacent to North Dakota, especially Nebraska and Kansas, and to turn over to other hands the work in the state itself. In Kansas former service men and local branches of the American Legion have been organizing to oppose the extension of the Non-Partizan League's activities on the ground that Mr. Townley and some of his associates were not sufficiently patriotic during the Great War. Governor Allen of Kansas issued a public statement asserting that "Townley and his tribe" had discouraged national effort during the war and that now they were attempting to exploit the agricultural depression "for the purpose of creating a class warfare which will benefit no one."

## Unemployment in England

GREAT Britain like the United States is suffering from the after-war depression which inevitably follows the inflated values of "war prosperity." The advantages are now all on the side of the United States. In proportion to wealth we are less heavily indebted than the British, there is less disparity between pre-war and post-war costs of living, taxes bear less heavily, foreign credit is more favorable; in fact, the United States stands with respect to Great Britain very much as Great Britain stands with respect to the continent of Europe. Among other symptoms of hard times in both countries is unemployment, which is even more serious in Britain than here. In December, 1920, there were more than 590,000 British workmen registered at the employment exchanges as seeking work. This does not include the unregistered or those on part time. Two months earlier the registered unemployed numbered only 373,000. As the winter advances the amount of unemployment increases, and of course the cold weather adds greatly to the suffering of the people.

The British are not a people who take destitution quietly, like Chinese, nor a people who react to hard times in explosions of popular temper and revolutionary outbreaks, like many European nations. The unemployed have done nothing to break the peace, still less to overthrow the Government, but they have in many town taken "direct action" to relieve their condition. At Acton a crowd of five hundred unemployed seized the public baths and other unused public buildings and established emergency lodgings. The police did not disturb them. Unemployed men also seized the Westham Town Hall and reached an agreement with the Mayor as to the hours in which they were allowed to retain possession. In Norwich the unemployed by threats of "direct action" forced the "Poor Law Guardians," in charge of relief work, to increase taxes for poor relief.

The Government has proposed to devote funds to roads and other local improvements with a view to relieving the situation. Another proposal, which has met with some opposition on the part of the labor unions, is the introduction of part time on Government work in order that a greater number of men might be taken into public employ. The difficulty is that this would mean a corresponding decrease in wages for those already employed at full time.

## French Senate Elections

THE French Senate, like the American, is elected one-third at a time, altho the intervals between these elections are three years instead of two. On January 9 a French Senatorial election took place for one-third of the Departments. All the members of the Cabinet who were up for office were successful, except Henri Ricard, Minister of Agriculture. The Conservatives or "extreme right," a group of more or less royalist tendency, obtained only three seats in place of the eight previously representing these Departments. The radical parties were even more severely hit. The newly organized Communist party placed ten candidates in the field, but elected none. The moderate and conservative Republicans carried thirty-nine seats, the Radicals forty-three, the Republican Socialists eleven. In the last Senate the Radicals had fifty-four seats from these Departments; so the result is a severe blow to their party. Perhaps the most interesting single election to the Senate was that of ex-President Deschanel, who resigned the Presidency last year on account of ill health. Altho he had represented the Department of Eure-et-Loire in the Chamber of Deputies for thirty-five years before becoming President he very narrowly escaped defeat in the Senatorial election from the same Department. Apparently his brief and unfortunate experience as President did little to enhance his political reputation.

In spite of the generally favorable result of the Senate elections, the ministry of Premier Leygues was unable to retain office. On January 12 the Premier tried to secure a vote of confidence from the Chamber of Deputies, but was defeated by 463 votes to 125. A French ministry cannot govern in defiance of the wishes of the Chamber of Deputies, and Premier Leygues was therefore forced to place his resignation in the hands of President Millerand. The cause of the Cabinet overthrow was the fear that too much had been done to conciliate Germany and too little to secure the exaction of the reparations due to France. The general feeling of the Chamber was that the Treaty of Versailles should be more rigorously adhered to and greater pressure brought to bear on Germany to ensure compliance with its terms. Moreover, tho Premier Leygues had governed with prudence and success for several months, he was not one of the really prominent figures in modern French politics. Many of the politicians who envied him his place were men of wider popularity than himself. The strength of his ministry was the moral support given it by President Millerand, and when that prop was withdrawn it fell at the first push. Millerand has labored to magnify his office and make the President rather than the Premier the real executive of France, and he refused to sustain a ministry which was showing itself increasingly independent of his control.

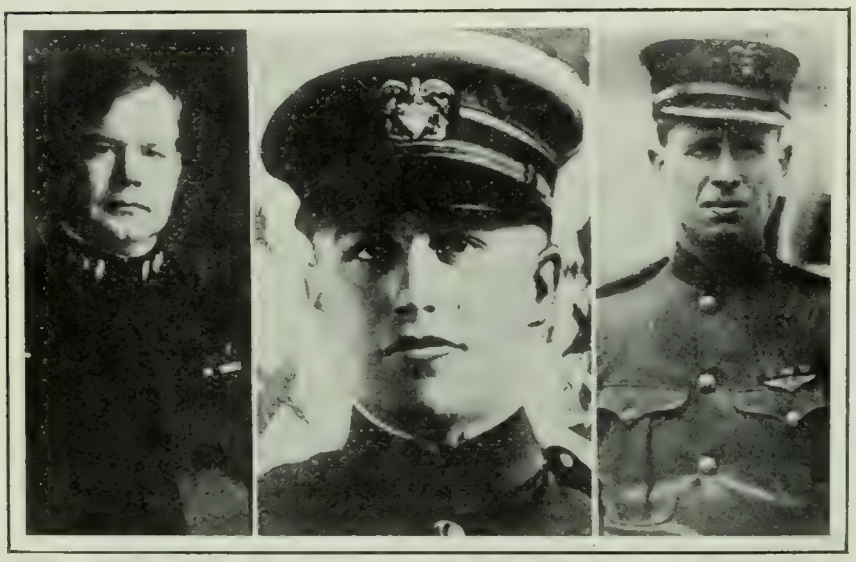
The French labor unions have repudiated the Communist party because they feared that the Moscow program, insisted on by the Communists, would subordinate their purely economic efforts to agitation for a political revolution. Two local Communist groups have been expelled by the Federation of Agricultural Laborers and this sentence of expulsion was later confirmed by the General Labor Federation, the chief body of organized labor in France. So far as the labor unions show political leanings at all, they will tend to support the reorganized Socialist party from which the Communists have seceded.




*Naval Official Photograph from Kadel & Herbert*

FARTHEST NORTH

**The balloon that carried Lieutenants Farrell, Kloor and Hinton, of the United States Navy, into the wilds of northern Canada, thereby establishing for itself a distance record of 852 miles in twenty-five hours and forcing the men to fight for their lives thru an unknown wilderness against hardships seldom equalled in fiction "thrillers" of adventure**



*Underwood & Underwood*

THREE MEN IN A BALLOON

**These are the aviators who narrowly escaped with their lives in a record-breaking flight in a United States Navy balloon which left Long Island on December 13 and was next heard of on December 27, after having drifted over northern Canada to a perilous landing in the wilderness near Moose Factory, on Hudson Bay. The three men struggled along in the wilderness for four days thru the snow until they reached the Moose Factory settlement; and after a brief chance to recover from their exhaustion they had to make a long, hard journey of two weeks' traveling by dogsled south to Mattice, Ontario. So desperate was their danger during the days when they were given up as lost that they were forced to use for food the carrier pigeons—their only link with the rest of the world. In the center of this photograph is Lieutenant Kloor, commander of the balloon. An untoward quarrel between the other two men marred the reception given the aviators to welcome them back to safety. Lieutenant Farrell (left), an officer of twenty-six years' naval service, bitterly denounced Lieutenant Hinton (right), one of the heroes of the NC 4's transatlantic flight, for having permitted publication of a letter to his wife in which he said that Farrell had nearly died of exhaustion during their four-day struggle thru the wilderness, that the other men had had to carry him, and that he had begged them to kill him and use his body for food. "It is silly and absurd," was Farrell's comment when he heard the story, "He has double-crossed me." Farrell even lost his temper to the extent of striking Hinton in the face, and newspapermen had to pull them apart. Secretary Daniels has authorized an investigation into the circumstances of the expedition**

## The Russian Question

AFTER many vain attempts to overthrow the Bolshevist Government by means of volunteer armies of royalist or conservative sympathy organized under former Cossack generals, a new start is being made in another direction. The members of the old Constituent Assembly of

1917, and other leaders in the provisional Government which followed the revolution of March, 1917, and held office until ousted by Bolshevist conspiracy later in the year, met in Paris on January 8 at the summons of Alexander Kerensky. Of course many former members of the Constituent Assembly have lost their lives in the course of the civil war, or confused succession of civil wars—which devastated Russia ever after the Bolsheviki assumed power. Others are in hiding in Russia or scattered over the face of the earth. But the Paris assemblage is the nearest approach to what remains of constitutional representation of the Russian people. Two factions are mainly represented. The anti-Bolshevist Socialists, such as Alexander Kerensky, Nicholas Avskentieff, Catherine Breshkovskaya, and the President of the Assembly, Victor Tchernoff, form one group. They are not less radical than the Bolsheviki in their ultimate program, but they prefer to reach Socialism thru democratic majority rule rather than by the dictatorship of a class and they also disapproved of the foreign policy of the Bolsheviki in making a separate peace with Germany. The Constitutional Democrats, represented by Paul Milukoff and other experienced statesmen, are more conservative. They desire a form of government based on representative institutions and recognizing the existence of private property; a government, in short, much like that of the United States.

The manifesto issued by the initiators of the Paris anti-Bolshevist conference states the aims and purposes of the delegates:

> Bolshevism and the system of military dictatorship have made and are making possible the violation of the life interests of the Russian state. This must end. Republican, Democratic Russia, to which the March revolution gave birth, must speak again. But while this Russia is deprived of organs of state, it can be represented abroad only by the members of the all-Russian Constituent Assembly. It is their duty to rise in the defense of Russia, for the people themselves in electing them have placed upon their shoulders the solemn responsibility to stand guard over their interests and the interests of the state.
>
> We therefore consider it essential to call immediately a conference of members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly to devise ways and means for the defense of the honor, the self-respect and patrimony of Russia before the peoples of the entire world until such time when the people of Russia, by their own action and free will, will restore and recognize a legally constituted Russian state.

Divided counsels are perplexing the Bolshevists themselves. It appears that at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December, Premier Lenin defended his policy of opening up peaceful trade relations with English and American capitalists. He urged the need of a breathing space in the course of the world revolution in order to give Russia a chance to recover from the wounds of foreign and civil war and reëstablish the national industries. More radical leaders, including Bukharin, Radek and Zinovieff, insisted on an immediate renewal of war with the Baltic States, beginning with the smallest and weakest, Esthonia and Latvia, and then proceeding to the overthrow of Finland, Lithuania and Poland. Rumania in the south is also threatened by the concentration of a large army near her frontiers, and has made military preparations for her defense. The foreign missions in Riga, the chief city of Latvia, have asked their governments to send warships in the event that the diplomatic agencies and relief organizations in the country have to be recalled to save them from capture by the Bolsheviki. But reports are conflicting as to whether the views of the military party altogether prevailed at the All-Russian Congress and whether the apprehension of the border states may not be exaggerated. All Bolsheviki openly avow their intention of ultimately overthrowing the "bourgeois" governments which surround them by revolution from within aided by a Russian invasion, as they have in the past done in Finland, Ukrainia, Latvia, Armenia and the states of the Caucasus. But a general policy is one thing and a particular plot at a particular time is another. The Soviet Government is still negotiating with the British for a revival of Anglo-Russian trade, and this accords ill with the rumored plans for a renewal of war with nations which enjoy British protection.

Vague hints of internal disquiet come from Russia. For example, a Helsingfors dispatch states that in Petrograd the majority of factories at a recent local election went for Menshevik Socialist candidates instead of the Bolshevik candidates backed by the Government. Other reports tell of the wholesale execution of striking workingmen in the Petrograd factories and of raids by armed townsmen on the peasants to force them to give up hoarded grain. Bolshevism is spreading in Armenia, Asiatic Turkey and Persia, and threatens to ally itself with nationalist rebellion in India. The British Legation in Teheran, Persia, has ordered British women and children to leave the town because of the danger of a Bolshevist uprising or invasion. But in Georgia (one of the semi-independent states of the Caucasus) the local Government has crushed a Bolshevist uprising and expelled its adherents. General Ludendorff has again been offering Germany's aid in an all-European crusade against the Bolsheviki, but none of the former enemies of Germany has shown any disposition to encourage his advances. The truth is that France, the chief enemy of the Bolsheviki, is much more afraid of an armed Germany than of anything whatever that may happen in Russia.




*Zurich Nebelspalter*

**A change of masters does not mean freedom for the Russian bear**

## Austrian Difficulties

A new difficulty has arisen to trouble the most unhappy country in Europe. By the terms of the peace treaties imposed on Austria and on Hungary by the Allies a strip of land in western Hungary, mainly German in population, was to be transferred to Austria. Prolonged negotiations as to the transfer failed to reconcile the Hungarians to the diminution of their territory and some insubordinate Hungarian military leaders, such as Colonel Lehar, are threatening to imitate d'Annunzio and hold on to the disputed territory by main force even if their own Government should order it to be ceded. In that event the Allies will be forced to choose between using military force against the Hungarian insurgents or permitting the treaty provisions relating to western Hungary to go by the board, for Austria has not the strength to maintain her own rights by her own arms.

Austria, indeed, is less concerned over boundary questions than over the general question of her political and economic existence. The tiny little republic, once the center of the greatest European empire, now consists of little more than the city of Vienna and its Alpine hinterland; and these two parts of the country are in no way at harmony. Alpine Austria is rural, conservative, devoutly

Catholic, purely German. It would like to join the rest of Germany, either as one of the federal states or as a part of Bavaria, which it greatly resembles. Vorarlberg, in the extreme western part of the country, has made repeated efforts to become a canton of Switzerland. Vienna is now the empty shell of a city. Its children are kept alive by American and English charity. The people are cosmopolitan, less inclined to Germany than the other parts of Austria, but tending more and more to desire union as the only escape from sheer starvation and bankruptcy.

Since Austria is thus crumbling into decay as a political entity, the boundary controversy with Hungary loses some of its significance. The Allies, who bore little ill will toward Austria, awarded her the German districts of Hungary as partial compensation for the loss of a certain amount of German population to Italy, in the Tirol, and to Czechoslovakia, in Bohemia and Moravia. Moreover, Austria was



© Keystone View

**Dr. Michael Hainsch, the new president of "the most unhappy country in Europe," faces an almost hopeless task, for the Austrian republic is disintegrating thru economic weakness, and neither the people nor the Government has reserve strength enough to maintain it. Vienna depended on the agricultural districts, now part of independent Hungary, for the support of the city. The present Austria seems to be structurally unsound, and it is a grave question whether the wisdom of its rulers or the help of the Allies can keep it alive**

welcomed into the League of Nations, from which Germany is still sternly barred; and much has been done to lessen her economic sufferings. But the Allied policy (or to speak more accurately, the French policy, accepted by the other Allies on French insistence) of keeping Austria alive as an independent state appears to be hopeless. President Hainsch admits that the machinery of Government has broken down. The present rulers of the country are liberal and mild, and do the best they can in a desperate situation, and there has been very little tendency in Austria toward Bolshevism. But it is impossible to pay the officials of the Republic enough to live on; the money cannot be had except by printing it, and the reckless printing of money has already made the national currency worthless. The art treasures of the old royalty have to be sold abroad to meet current expenses. The industrial strength of the Empire, so far as it was not wasted in the course of the war, lay mostly in Bohemia, which is now part of the Czechoslovak Republic. The agricultural wealth of the country was greatest in Hungary, which is now also independent. Vienna was a center of administration, trade, amusement and the fine arts rather than a source of industrial wealth. It can no more exist as a great city after the disappearance of the Empire which sustained it than Washington, D. C., could retain its present wealth and population if the Union of American States were dissolved.

The Austrian Government has threatened to "retire from business" and turn over the rule to the Reparations Commission. The Austrians argue that since the Allies so drew the boundaries of the country that it could not sustain itself by its own resources, and forbade a union between Austria and Germany which would at least have distributed the economic burdens of Austria over the whole German population, that it was up to the Allies themselves to find a solution. Austria is in the position of a bankrupt whose business can only be reëstablished by action of its creditors.

## A Stowaway from Cork

LORD Mayor Daniel O'Callaghan of Cork arrived at Newport News as a "stowaway" and without a passport. He was released on parole until the Departments of State and of Labor could pass on his case and decide whether or not he was legally admissible to the country under the circumstances. The question is a rather embarrassing one to the Administration as it would be against the traditions of the country to refuse asylum to a political refugee, but to make an exception to the immigration and passport laws in his favor would be an arbitrary act and bear the appearance of yielding to political pressure.

Within a twelvemonth Cork has lost three Lord Mayors. Lord Mayor MacCurtain was assassinated by some unknown person. His successor, Lord Mayor MacSwiney, committed suicide by starving himself in prison. Lord Mayor O'Callaghan is an exile in America. All three mayors were Sinn Fein in politics.

The area of martial law has been extended in Ireland. Counties Clare, Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny were added in January to December's list of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary and Kerry. Thus the greater part of southern Ireland is now under military rule; no very favorable auspices for the establishment of the new Home Rule machinery of government. The Ulster Parliament is already assured of success, as the Ulster Unionists have agreed not to obstruct the operation of the new law, but to take part in the elections. The prospects of the Parliament for the rest of Ireland are decidedly more dubious. If the Sinn Feiners can prevent elections from being held they can suspend the operation of Home Rule in southern Ireland, but in that case they doom southern Ireland to "crown colony" rule. If they abstain from taking part in the elections, but permit them to be held, candidates of the old Nationalist party would be elected and would rule Ireland outside Ulster. So the Sinn Feiners have planned, or so it is reported, to contest the elections and rely on the sympathy of Ireland with their cause to give them a majority of seats in the Parliament of southern Ireland. Then they would refuse to make use of the offices they had secured, since they do not recognize the legality of the Home Rule law or of any other law enacted for Ireland by a British Parliament. Similar tactics were pursued in the elections to Parliament two years ago. Sinn Fein members were elected for many Irish constituents in the British Parliament, but once elected they refused to take office and met instead as a separate and revolutionary body, the Dail Eireann.

Official reports show that during 1920 Sinn Feiners killed 182 police and wounded 263; killed 54 soldiers and wounded 122; killed 43 civilians and wounded 103; destroyed 68 court houses and 530 barracks, and made hundreds of raids on mails, revenue offices, coast guard stations, lighthouses and other official buildings. On the other hand, the American Commission for Irish Independence alleges "more than 53,000 separate outrages" by the British from 1916 to 1921. Most of these "outrages" were mere searches for concealed weapons, but in a more serious class are such items as 262 murders, 102 towns set afire, and 42 creameries and manufacturing plants destroyed. Dishonors are about even.

# A Little of Everything



## The Gasoline of Tomorrow

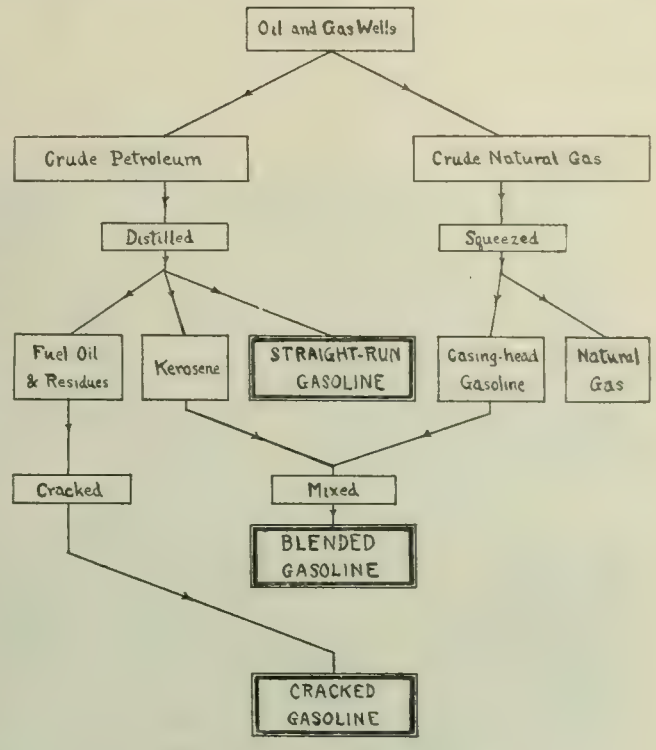
The call today is for gasoline—and more gasoline! Every automobile, motor truck, farm tractor and aeroplane, even the humble flivver, cannot run without it. One of the basic necessities of war, it is equally essential in peace. It ranks in importance with the telephone and the daily newspaper.

The only source of gasoline is petroleum or crude oil, and our petroleum supply is limited. According to our Government geologists, if our consumption of petroleum is maintained at its present rate, our known domestic supply will be exhausted within twenty years, and we shall be forced to depend on foreign sources of supply. Even now the production is not keeping pace with the demand. The production of petroleum in the United States in 1917 was 329,000,000 barrels; in 1919 it was 376,000,000, an increase of 17 per cent. During the same period the number of automobiles in use increased from 4,800,000 to 7,600,000, or 58 per cent. This condition accounts for the strenuous efforts that are being made to increase the yield of gasoline from our present supply of crude oil.

There are fashions in gasoline just as there are in hats. The gasoline of yesterday was "straight run"; that of today is "blended"; while the gasoline of tomorrow will be "cracked." These three kinds of gasoline differ from one another both as to quality and as to method of manufacture.

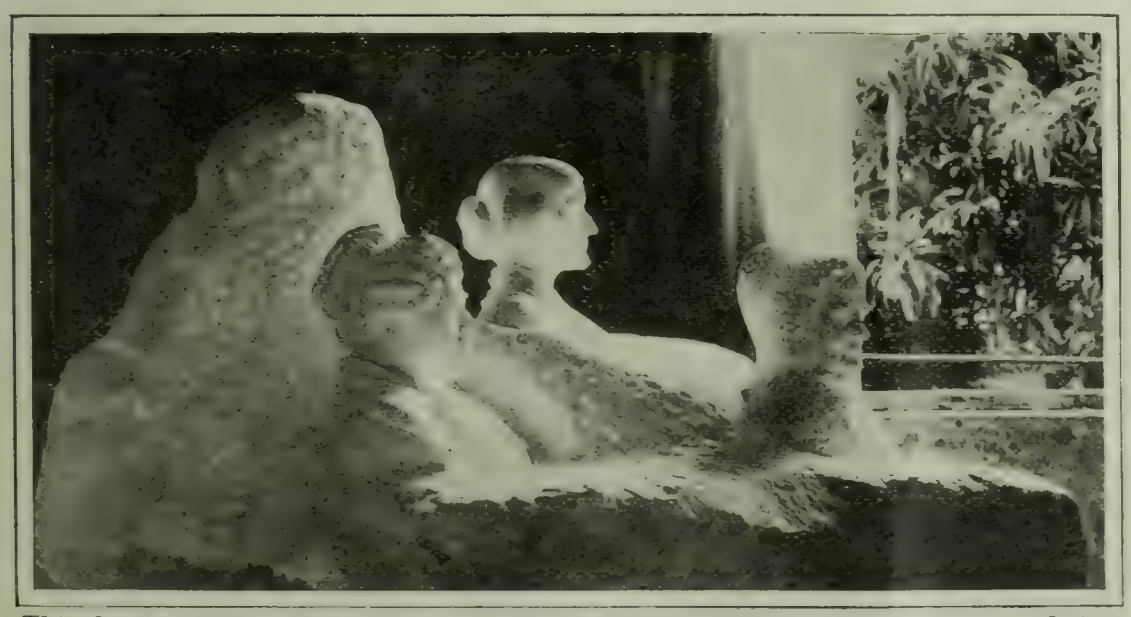
Blended gasoline is essentially a mixture of kerosene with "casing-head gasoline." Kerosene is produced by the straight distillation of petroleum, and is the next product to come off after the light naphtha. It is somewhat similar to gasoline, but it has no "life," or, in other words, it is not volatile. Because of this fact it cannot be used in the ordinary automobile motor, as it will not vaporize in the carburetor. "Casing-head gasoline" is obtained from natural gas either by compressing and cooling, that is, "squeezing," or by "scrubbing" the gas with a heavy oil and then distilling. It gets its name from the fact that the natural gas is drawn from the head of the casing of the well. Its production is increasing rapidly, and in a short time practically every cubic foot of natural gas will have been "squeezed" or "scrubbed" before it is sold to the consumer. Casing-head gasoline is extremely volatile, or, as the oil men say, it is "wold." When it is mixed or blended with kerosene in the proper proportions, it gives to the kerosene the necessary "life," and a fairly satisfactory motor fuel is obtained. This blended gasoline is now produced in large quantities, and is sold for the most part as "motor gas" for trucks and tractors.

Cracked gasoline is obtained by cracking heavy petroleum oils. It is not obtained by "extracting more gasoline from the crude oil," as some of our newspaper experts would have us believe. Extracting implies that the gasoline is actually present in the heavy oil that is cracked, but such is not the case. All of the gasoline in the crude oil has already been removed by distillation before the cracking process is applied. Cracking involves a chemical change, the production of new materials which are not present in the starting material. A chemist might define oil cracking as "the pyrogenetic or catalytic decomposition of complex hydrocarbons." For the man in the street, however, oil cracking means the breaking down of heavy oils into light oils by means of heat.




**The Gasoline Family Tree**

The yields of cracked gasoline are from 20 to 40 per cent of the heavy oil used. The fact must not be overlooked that these yields of gasoline are obtained from heavy oils and oil residues which contain no gasoline at all, and which would be entirely useless as motor fuel if it were not for the cracking processes. By the use of these processes our domestic supply of petroleum can be conserved, and furthermore, the oil imported in the future from foreign sources can be utilized more efficiently.



**This first great memorial statue to women for their service to women is now being completed by Adelaide Johnson in her studio at Carrara, Italy, and will be presented to the National Capitol by the Woman's Party at its convention in February. This view of the statue shows Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the left, Susan B. Anthony center, and Lucretia Mott right. These three were pioneers in the struggle not only for political freedom for women, but for the right of women to education in the universities, to a place in the professions, to the control of their property and wages after marriage, even to the privilege of speech from a public platform**

## How Collars Happened

About forty-three years ago next December is the anniversary of the death of the woman who is supposed to have founded the collar industry in Troy, New York.

As there are now more than 20,000 people engaged in making collars and cuffs there, and as more than nine-tenths of all such linen wear comes from Troy, the distinction of starting the business is considerable.

And to think that it was a woman!

It seems that Orlando Montague, a Troy shoe manufacturer, was scrupulously neat, and that his wife found the labor of washing his shirts burdensome. The shirts of the time had the collars and cuffs attached, as have some of the shirts today. To avoid washing the whole shirt when only the collar was soiled, Mrs. Montague made detachable linen bands tied round the neck with tapes. By this arrangement her husband could put on a clean collar every morning and every evening without compelling her to spend too much time over the wash-tub.

Her neighbors noticed, and followed her example, and the demand for such collars was so great that a Methodist minister, who kept a notion store in town, soon employed several women to make them, while he peddled them from house to house.

Mr. Montague saw that the business might be profitable, and opened a collar factory, where his wife's invention was developed and exploited. Unlike many inventors, Mrs. Montague profited by the prosperity that came to her husband thru his development of her discovery.



*Drawn by Erwin Christman for the American Museum of Natural History*

**A rural scene, two million years ago—several specimens of Moropus, the clawed horse, the Little Pair-Horned Rhinoceros, and the Giant Pig**

# A Horse with Claws

Seventeen skeletons of the so-called Clawed Horse of prehistoric times from the Agate Spring Fossil Quarry of western Nebraska have been placed in storage, for lack of exhibiting space, at the American Museum of Natural History, New York. One skeleton has been mounted very nearly complete, and a drawing of the creature as in life, with its several contemporaries, in natural environment, had been executed by Mr. Erwin Christman, under the direction of Professors H. F. Osborn and W. D. Matthew. An elaborate series of skeletons, with several thousand extra bones, are expected to give us fuller information concerning this odd creature, of which very little is positively known.

One established fact concerning Moropus is very impressive. He roamed over the plains of North America and parts of Europe, from Oregon to the Gulf of Mexico, from the latter part of the Eocene period, all thru the Oligocene, and well into the Miocene, a stretch of time estimated at fully 1,500,000 years. That is to say, his reign lasted from more than 4,000,000 years B. C., down to less than 3,000,000 years B. C. During that vast stretch of time, stunning to the imagination, he was one of the most dominant mammals on earth, and in sections and at times, the most dominant and commanding of all creatures. Such a condition necessarily predicates that he was most fitted to the environments of the several successive eras of all his contemporaries, most of which perished because of climatic and natural changes which he alone was enabled to negotiate. He evolved as king of mammals of his times, about four and a half million years after the last and dominant dinosaur, Rex tyrannosaurus, emperor of reptiles, had miserably perished from a fatal epidemic caused by toxic protozoan worms. A similar epidemic in the end undoubtedly got the best of the Moropus tribes, as it has of all of the tribes of varied animals that have become extinct. Man himself has probably been saved from such a fate only by the progress of medicine.

Moropus must be viewed as an attempt of nature to set up a horse out of a combination of skeletons and features of various types of formerly existing reptiles. It is true that the ancestor of the present horse, no larger than the skull of the modern horse, evolved at the same moment in the Oligocene. But the fact is transparent, that the Moropus type of animal was the only one fitted for the times, offensively to exist as a vegetarian, and defensively to exist by reason of his huge claws and the foot-pounds of striking force of his limbs, in battle with carnivores. Many of us have seen a stallion fight and know that its hoofs and powerful legs, and stout teeth must be reckoned with. It is obvious that Moropus, with longer, stouter fore legs, armed with huge claws, could use all his limbs, fore and aft, in battle with carnivores.

The varied skeletonic combinations of Moropus and deductions therefrom are described by Professors Osborn and Matthew, as follows:

The Moropus was a distant relative of the rhinoceros, the tapir, and the horse. It is about the size of a rhinoceros but very different in form; the head and neck are like those of the horse. The rounded back resembles that of a tapir, and the legs, altho massive like those of the rhinoceros, are much longer. The teeth and feet are very distinctive. The teeth show that the animal browsed on vegetation.

Moropus belongs with rhinoceroses, tapirs and horses to the order of Perissodactyls, or hoofed mammals with an odd number of toes on the hind foot. The ruminants, camels, pigs and hippopotamuses have an even number of toes, either two or four. Moropus has three toes. The feet with their great claws are more like those of ant eaters and similar digging mammals than any of the hoofed mammals to which Moropus really belongs. The front teeth, those of ruminants, and the grinding teeth —most like some of the extinct Paleotheres of Europe and the Titanotheres of America—show that Moropus was a browsing mammal, of possibly inoffensive habits—if left alone. The claws could have had only a limited use for digging. It is suggested that the claws were designed to aid in scraping away the sand in dry river beds or other suitable places to obtain drink.

There is good reason to believe that the Western plains, where he roamed, were more or less arid, with a scanty water supply in summer and seasons of drouth—more like the summer season of Central Africa today, without cold winters and deep snows.

## Licking Potato Gum

Every time a person licks a United States postage stamp he gets a taste of sweet potato. The gum on the stamps comes from that vegetable.

All of the gum used on the stamps is mixed at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, where the stamps are made. It is spread on the sheets after the stamps have been printed.

In a liquid form, the gum is forced up thru pipes from the basement, where it is made. These pipes lead to a series of machines consisting of rollers between which the sheets of stamps are fed one at a time. A fine spray of the liquid falls upon the rollers. The sheet with its wet coating of sweet potato mucilage passes from the rollers into a long horizontal flue filled with hot air. When it comes out at the other end of the flue the gum is dry.

There are two kinds of postage stamp mucilage. If you could see the packages of stamps as they come to the post office ready to be sold, you would find them labeled, according to season, "summer gum" or "winter gum." The former is much the harder of the two, and was devised some years ago to keep the stamps from getting sticky in warm, moist weather.

While our Uncle Sam tries to make the gum as harmless as possible he

does not advise making a meal off his sweet potato gum. The whole process of gum-making and applying is made as clean as possible, but there is yet another item to be considered. A sheet of postage stamps is handled a good many times before it even leaves the bureau where it is made. If you must lick any of your stamps, pick out those from the middle of the sheet. The corner ones have gone thru the fingers of half a dozen counters, not to mention the perforators and the separators and the rest.

## The Mind of the Mob

Really a mob has no mind. It has merely a mood. It acts on instinct, not according to reason. And the mob-mentality pervades not only a crowd of people gathered in one place, but any self-conscious class, carried away by the same enthusiasms. The French sociologist, Le Bon, was the first to attract atention to the fact that the psychological crowd was more emotional and less sensible than the individuals that compose it.

But social psychology has made great advances since Le Bon published his book on the crowd and now Everett Dean Martin of the Cooper Union Forum has undertaken a more thoro study in "The Behavior of Crowds," published by Harper's. The importance of the subject he shows in the following paragraph:

I know of nothing which today so menaces not only the values of civilization, but also—it is the same thing in other words, perhaps—the achievement of personality and true knowledge of self, as the growing habit of behaving as crowds.

Our society is becoming a veritable babel of gibbering crowds. Not only are mob outbreaks and riots increasing in number, but every interest, patriotic, religious, ethical, political, economic, easily degenerates into a confusion of propagandist tongues, into extravagant partizanship, and intemperance. Whatever be the ideal to which we would attain, we find the path of self-culture too slow; we must become army worms, eating our way to the goal by sheer force of numbers. The councils of democracy are conducted on about the psychological level of commercial advertising and with about the psychological level of commercial sincerity. While it cannot be said that the habit of crowd-making is peculiar to our times—other ages, too, have indulged in it—it does seem that the tendency to crowd-mindedness has greatly increased in recent years.

Whether it is temperance, or justice, or greater freedom, moral excellence or national glory, that we desire—whether we happen to be conservatives or radicals, reformers or liberals, we must become a cult, write our philosophy of life in flaming headlines, and sell our cause in the market. No matter if we meanwhile surrender every value for which we stand, we must strive to cajole the majority into imagining itself on our side. For only with the majority with us, whoever we are, can we live. It is numbers, not values, that count—quantity, not quality

Mr. Martin applies the new psychology of Freud and Adler to the problem and explains the peculiar actions of the mob as the automatic liberation of suppressed desires in symbolic action:

As crowd, we find ourselves moving in


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a fictitious system of ideas uncritically accepted as real—not as in dreams realizing our hidden wishes, merely in imagination, but also impelled to act them out in much the way that the psychoneurotic is impelled to act out the fixed ideas which are really the symbols of his suppressed wish. In other words, a crowd is a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together.

The crowd-mind or animus is, according to the author, always directed against someone. "The crowd hates in order that it may believe in itself." He finds this latent hostility manifest in the wild excitement of the spectators at competitive sports, as well as in lynchings and moral crusades.

## Kindlings

Japan extends the period of compulsory education from six to eight years.

***

A paper in New Zealand which published an article on Bolshevism has been fined.

***

Louisiana has set aside 224,000 acres of waste land as a sanctuary for wild birds.

***

Dr. Noguchi, of the Rockefeller Institute, has discovered a vaccine against yellow fever. The Central American countries are so convinced of its value that they are permitting travel without detention for quarantine of those who have been vaccinated.

***

The United States imported a million and a half carcasses of lamb from New Zealand during the first eight months of 1920.

***

Eight hundred and nine million, five hundred thousand coins of all values were minted last year; 512,500,000 of them being pennies.

***

Nantungchow is being advertised by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, following American boosting methods, as the "Model City" of China.

***

The Federal Commissioner of Education states that last year's shortage of teachers deprived more than 300,000 children in the United States of any schooling.

***

During the year 1919 it is estimated that the nation's industries lost more than 134,000,000 working days thru strikes and that the loss in wages was more than $800,000,000.

***

Two thousand three hundred and ninety former soldiers are taking advantage of the Wisconsin Soldier Bonus law to study correspondence courses in the University of Wisconsin.



**The Mount Rose Observatory in Nevada, 10,800 feet above sea level, where for ten years Nevada and California have been working in united effort to build up the science of snow surveying to a point where it may be possible for farmers and others interested to estimate the amount of the spring floods in advance, from a survey of the winter snowfall on the mountain tops**

## Surveying Snow

California and Nevada are going to find out some facts about snow. In a general way they already know a few, but the farmer wants to know why he should not use some of the water coming from distant snow-capped peaks for irrigating his semi-arid fields if he is going to share in the expense of dams to detain the floods from frozen sources.

But the farmer is not the only unit of society who has an interest in what can come out of the snow caps. The power companies furnishing electricity for lighting and industrial operations look with questioning and eager gaze toward the shimmering fields of the mysterious "white gold." Each season there rises the question as to what the mountain streams will bring in the way of destruction or blessing to humanity living and striving in the valleys.

So it came to pass that California put on her work clothes and built dual use reservoirs. These reservoirs must be kept sufficiently full for the use of the irrigationists and still they must be emptied in time so that an impending flood may be checked. It will be seen that all the success that these reservoirs would be able to lay claim to would necessarily evolve from accurate forecasts of the snow in the mountains, its extent and its behavior. Without the knowledge of these things the reservoirs had as well not been built.

The two states are coöperating now to study, comprehensively, the mountains situated within their boundaries, as one great system. At Mount Rose observatory in Nevada ten years have been devoted to the study of snow surveying and with the experiences gained here the coöperative plan will require many years to give to the people of the two states the greatest service. At key stations each month during the winter surveys will determine the monthly increase of the snow cover as well as the probable demand upon the capacity of the reservoirs. In order to determine the oscillation in the snow cover eastern and western outposts to the stations at the crest will be established in every basin. In April and May of each year a thoro survey will be made to determine the probable summer flow.



**A surveyor on skiis, sampling and testing the snow at the head of a creek**

The seasonal percentage of the winter snow cover of the high mountains is determined in these surveys and this percentage closely represents the summer flow of the streams fed by each particular source. In the high mountains where the snow lies level and unmelted from autumn to spring representative areas are found and annual measurements of courses which are long enough to assure an accurate average of the water content of the snow are laid out. The seasonal percentage of the season is computed from a standard developed by the average of the annual measurements for a number of years.

A thin, steel tube that can be extended to twenty feet in length is used in snow surveying. A milled cutter and adjustable wrench on which the user may stand makes it possible to drive this instrument thru snow, regardless of its depth or hardness. An aluminum spring balance with an adjustable index, to eliminate the weight of the sampler, makes it possible to obtain an immediate determination of the water content of the snow without making many difficult and long computations.

Thru the coöperation of these two states an important science will be developed and thru the years of experimental surveying will surely come into its fullest usefulness to man in his industrial and agricultural life. By robbing the snow fields of their horrifying question mark industry will be assured the pre-knowledge of power expectations and agriculturists will find a regulation of irrigational waters best suited to the development of their crops.

## Don't You Care Whether School Keeps or Not?

(*Continued from page 85*)

states for educational purposes next year at least $125,000,000. The amount should be increased from year to year until at the end of ten years $350,000,000 was being distributed. The money should be given only to those states willing to set up certain minimum standards assuring adequate educational facilities for all their children.

These expenditures are necessary. Will you, the people, make them? The wealth of the nation is yours, the children are yours, the schools are your agents, owned and supported by you for the education, the individual welfare of your children, for the public welfare, for civic righteousness and social purity, for the strength and safety of state and nation and for all that patriotism means. I have faith to believe that when you understand you will respond.

*Washington, D. C.*

## The Sorrows of Miranda and Me

(*Continued from page 84*)

twenty-four hours. And these police visas come high.

But about that passport test.

Miranda and I simply exchanged passports.

Now Miranda is an expensive looking lady and the photograph attached to her baby-blue American passport plainly shows it, while my passport photograph, said to be a remarkable likeness, reveals a Balshi-Victorian looking person. Moreover, there is considerable difference in our ages, which the passports disclose.

Yet when Miranda handed my incriminating passport to an inspector, with a tidily concealed hundred-franc note, she received it back promptly, scrawled with the proper purple passwords. I kept close to the end of the line and, being frugally minded, I merely slipped an official twenty francs with Miranda's passport. After some delay I, too, was passed thru, the inspector glancing at Miranda's expensive looking face on "my" passport and then at me, as he handed it back, with the air of recognizing, in my case, the justice of marked-down prices.

I asked a very distinguished woman, born in the United States but now a British subject, why America is so unpopular in Europe. She told me.

"Nobody loves a piker!"

"You call us that now, do you?" I answered. "Yet three years ago England was sending over shiploads of statesmen to tell Americans how great and noble they were."

"Of course," answered this woman of American birth. "We wanted your help. So, naturally, we fed you with the adjectives you feed yourselves."

"Let me tell you a story of Armistice Day. A bunch of American doughboys were singing, with a lot of swagger, 'And we won't go back till it's




# The Hindu Princess Whose Heart was Broken

She was sixteen years old, the daughter of an Indian Prince, and she had never before been outside her father's house alone. Yet—

Here she was, dressed in her brother's clothes, among the mango trees, wiping with her soft, dark hair, the feet of the man she loved, who lay desperately wounded. And when he recovered consciousness *he struck her in the face!*

"Daughter of a traitor!" he cried. "Infidel! At the very hour of my death you have desecrated my whole life!"

But, after all, he didn't die of his wounds and she didn't die—she lived with a broken heart! Read this story in the February

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***Contents of the February ASIA***

A CAMERA MAN IN BORNEO *By Martin Johnson*

Martin Johnson's first cruise into the Seven Seas was with Jack London on the *Snark*. Since then he has adventured much and far, making pictures of strange people in strange lands. Here is the story of how he filmed the wild men and animals of British North Borneo.

THROUGH THE OLEANDER *By Robert Hamilton Rucker*

With a vagabond caravan, the *sitt* (lady) and the master made a pilgrimage through the Egyptian desert. The master's record of the journey gives fascinating glimpses of the life of the people who live today in the shadow of the pyramids.

CHINESE SHALLOWS AND DEEPS *By John Foord*

A close-up of political and social conditions in the Celestial Republic as they are at this very hour. No man can afford to miss this illuminating study.

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Running a merry-go-round in Singapore, pursuing an escaped leopard in a crowded city, trapping a savage rhinoceros in Trengganu, coaxing reluctant tuskers on shipboard—these are some of the ins-and-outs of an animal-dealer's life.

THE EMPEROR AND THE SILK GODDESS *By L. Adams Beck*

A Chinese Humoresque—a golden story of rare beauty and charm.

THE HONORABLE PLACARDS CLUB *By Frederick Starr*

The story of an ancient society of Japan, told by the only foreigner who ever became a member of it.

JADE BUTTERFLIES *Poems By Louis Untermeyer*

AN AMERICAN IN ASIA *By Louis Graves*

VI. *Willard Straight in Far Eastern Finance*

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over, over there!' At which a group of English Tommies retorted, 'You didn't come over till 'twas over over here.'

"Oh, British men and women have not forgotten what America's coming in meant to us. But as we count our 800,000 dead soldiers we cannot be expected to relish America's brag about being the Saviour of Civilization.

"Especially when you insist on being a Saviour at Marked Down Prices! Basking in yourself and afraid to take any world responsibility."

"If by that you mean America has not yet joined the League of Nations," I began—

"The League is not the only thing you started over here and then pulled out of, as you must remember," she interrupted. And I remembered.

In Paris I asked a French journalist to tell me, frankly, why America seems to have no friends left in Europe.

"The trouble is basically economic," he said. "The different nations are, naturally, sensitive over the depreciation of their currency. And to the common man the value of that currency appears to be dictated daily by America.

"Here in France there are things behind that 'appearance.' The fact, for example, that during the first three years of war America sold France the munitions and other things she must have at monstrous prices. Blackmailing us with our agonies. Draining all our gold into America. And so helping to make our franc worth six American cents where it used to be worth twenty.

"Moreover—since you ask me to be frank—too many Americans have come over here to clean up France and show us how to manage our own business. We're fast getting rid of them but they talked too much while they were here. A people with the old rich civilization of France naturally resented their condescension and, quite unjustly, I grant, the resentment has been extended to Americans generally."

So, forcibly fed all the way with signs of the unpopularity of my native land, I came to Czechoslovakia.

Here, surely, I thought, America must have some friends. For was not America sponsor-in-baptism for the new republic?

In Prague, a great man, a public official, startled me by saying Europe does not dislike America half so much as America dislikes herself. I protested that the usual complaint is we admire ourselves too ardently.

Then he explained: "In our hearts we all know, over here, that the way America entered the War, made herself ready, and fought it thru was, indeed, 'the only miracle of modern times.' Yet ever since the armistice, America has been trying to prove—or so, at least, we read—thru a hundred Investigating Committees that all your wartime officials were bunglers. If an Italian says America was only a gesture in the War, what about the Americans who say she was only a dud?

"We know that when the fighting forces of Europe were in a grim deadlock, the idealism, the new vision that America brought into the fight gave the Allies a fighting cause which proved

invincible. But as soon as the war was won America began stamping on the face of her idealism, building a backfire against her own righteousness. The American spirit that might have had the leadership of the world slunk into the shadows, mumbling "America first." And much of what you see as bitterness against America is really disappointment with America. Selfish disappointment. Yes. Some of it. But noble disappointment, too."

"It's hardly fair," I protested, "to take our ravings seriously when all these months we have been suffering from the nervous disease called a presidential election."

"True," answered the Bohemian statesman. "I like that word 'ravings.' And some of the shrill things you have heard here in Europe are only 'ravings,' too. Remember that Europe is also suffering from a nervous breakdown and it is, naturally, more grave than yours——"

"Yes," said Miranda, "I guess there're a lot of unclean spirits to be cast out in America as in Europe."

The Bohemian looked at her approvingly.

I did, too.

*Denver*

## Helping Harding

(*Continued from page 86*)

is typical of many, suggests the general principles of efficiency on which the next Cabinet should be conducted:

It is the hope of the people that the new Chief Executive will not use these positions as political rewards. We do not want a soldier at the head of the Department of Agriculture or an editor for the Department of the Navy. Furthermore, the Cabinet needs to be reorganized. The division of the Department of the Interior would be a wise step. The various bureaus should be redistributed and put in the department where they naturally belong. Duplication of work should be eliminated. The Republicans have an excellent opportunity for making the Cabinet more efficient.

LAURENCE R. CAMPBELL

*Los Gatos, California*

On the other hand, we have a letter which is based on fear of the ordinary rather than hope of the extraordinary.

Sec. of State—A Knox. His name is immaterial.

Sec. of War—A German. Ditto.

Sec. of Interior—A keen Iowa Yankee.

Sec. of Treasury—A Wall Street string.

Sec. of Labor—An "open shop" man.

A penny to peanut wager on it!

And, finally, we have the inevitable punster:

Secretary of State—Prof. W. E. Chancellor.

Secretary of the Treasury—Congressman C. A. Mooney.

Secretary of War—George Gordon Battle, Esq.

Attorney-General—Prof. George Lawyer.

Postmaster-General—Louis F. Post.

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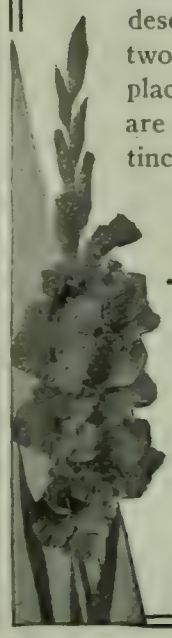
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

**I. The Sorrows of Miranda and Me.**

1. This is a very good example of the personal essay for study. It suggests the typical problem of how to combine informal, undidactic personal impressions with a point to be made and an argument to be carried thru. How successfully do you think Mrs. Robinson has met the problem? That is, do you think she has kept the personal, conversational tone consistently thruout, without letting a thesis run away with her, and at the same time without obscuring the definite points that she wishes to make?
2. Write character sketches of Miranda, and of "Me," in which you give everything you know about them—not simply what Mrs. Robinson gives you explicitly, but everything that she suggests and that you infer for yourself.

**II. Don't You Care Whether School Keeps or Not?**

1. ". . . by spending to make themselves more efficient thru education." What do you think Mr. Claxton means by "efficient" in this connection? What kind of efficiency do *you* think education should and ideally does make for?
2. Debate this question: Resolved, that schools of specialized training for after-school occupations should be provided to take the place of the general college training.

**III. S. P. Q. A.**

1. How, when, and where did the Roman people use the phrase, "Senatus Populusque Romanus"? See how many times, in books or pictures, you can find the phrase, or references to it, or the initials that stand for it.
2. Define the following: filibuster, oligarchy, caucus, hereditary aristocracies, "popular chamber," forum, political patronage, reactionary.

**IV. The Devil's Advocate.**

1. Without going to second hand criticism, or to digests of their work in the encyclopedia, see if you can decide for yourself by reading as much as possible of what each has written why Plato and Burke are called aristocrats in their philosophy, and Mill and Jefferson democrats. What is the difference between an aristocrat in this sense, and an aristocrat in the popular sense of old and good family? Can you think of any other ways in which a person can be an aristocrat?
2. Why do you think "most art critics admire Raphael"? Find out why Ruskin did not. Find out Ruskin's main esthetic principles, and write a paper comparing them with your own. What is the "pathetic fallacy"?
3. Find out enough about William James to give yourself a background of fact, and then just for pleasure read his letters, in the book if you can get hold of it, or if not in your library files of the *Atlantic Monthly* for the major part of the year 1920.
4. It will pay your historical interest to look up the Westminster Catechism, just to see what sort of theology was widely taught not so very long ago. If the idea strikes your fancy while you read it, try putting a passage into a modern paraphrase, in the manner of Mr. Slosson's translation of "predestination" into "determinism."
5. Discuss this sentence: "He should have an impersonal appreciation of all great literature, even tho he may have a personal liking for only certain kinds of work."
6. Notice how many times during one day you come to a standstill because you see two sides of a question so clearly that you cannot decide one way or the other. On the otner hand, you might make a list of all your pet prejudices, select the one that is the most fruitful subject of controversy, and debate it with yourself, meeting argument with argument. If you want to see one amusing way in which this has been done already, read "Dipsychus" by Arthur Hugh Clough.
7. Then, for a relief from so much open-mindedness, read "Imperfect Sympathies," by Charles Lamb, and after that see if you too can put your prejudices into delightful and acceptable form. But don't be any more imitative than you have to be.

**V. A Little of Everything.**

1. Find out what each of these three contributed to the cause of women's freedom—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott.

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. America's Foreign Relations—The Sorrows of Miranda and Me. Clouds on the Pacific. Texas versus Japan. A Stowaway from Cork. The Responsibility for Peace. Looking into Cuba.**

1. What reasons does Mrs. Robinson give for America's present unpopularity in certain European circles?
2. Why is the "franc worth six American cents where it used to be worth twenty"? Why should this fact irritate the French? What would be the effect on our trade relations if cases were reversed and the franc were worth sixty American cents?
3. What are the issues between Japan and the United States? How are they affected by the attitude of western states such as California and Texas toward Japanese settlement?
4. In a war with the United States would Japan have the British Empire as an ally by right of treaty or not? What would be the probable attitude of the British Dominions, Canada, Australia and New Zealand?
5. What bearing has the Irish question on Anglo-American relations? What does Professor Giddings say as to the danger of anti-British propaganda?
6. By what right may we intervene in Cuban affairs? Compare our relations to Cuba with our relations to the neighboring republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo.

**II. The New Administration — Helping Harding. Senator Harding Resigns Back to Jefferson.**

1. Notice the trend to "big men" in the Cabinet selected by the readers of The Independent. What are the advantages and disadvantages of an "all star" Cabinet as compared with a Cabinet of more ordinary and uniform timber?
2. If you belong to a school class or some debating or civics association hold a straw vote of the members as to who should be assigned to each office in the next Cabinet and compare your results with those in The Independent's symposium.
3. What has the constitution to say about the method of electing the President? What constitutional amendment relates to the subject?
4. What is the meaning of the phrase "back to Jefferson" as applied to President-elect Harding's desire for a simple ceremony of inauguration?

**III. Public Education—Don't You Care Whether School Keeps or Not? Is Education Charity?**

1. How does Commissioner Claxton explain the present shortage of teachers in the schools?
2. "Expenditures on education should never be counted as expenses. They are investments." Explain this statement.
3. Do you think that the Federal Government should appropriate funds to aid the educational systems of the states? This question can be made into a good topic for debate.

**IV. Economic Conditions—The New Prosperity. Coal. Unemployment in England.**

1. Compare the characteristics of a period of deflation and declining prices with the opposite characteristics of "boom" times.
2. Why is it that "the wholesale drop in prices takes three to nine months to reach the price tags on the retail counter"?
3. Why, in Mr. Williams's opinion, do the prices of coal and housing continue high? What has Senator Calder's committee found out about conditions in the coal industry?
4. Compare present conditions in England and in the United States.

**V. The Senate. S. P. Q. A.**

1. What does the constitution say about the powers, duties and method of selecting the Senate?
2. Do you agree that the Senate has become a more powerful and important body than the House of Representatives? If so, can you suggest any probable causes of this?
3. Do you think it is right or not that: (a) small states have equal representation with states from ten to a hundred times as populous in the Senate; (b) a two-thirds vote is necessary to ratify treaties; (c) the Senate control Presidential appointments to office; (d) the Senate is voted on only one-third at a time? There are good arguments on both sides for all these points.

# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

Including Harper's Weekly

Hamilton Holt
Editor

Edwin E. Slosson, Associate Editor — Hannah H. White, Managing Editor

Franklin H. Giddings — Norman Hapgood

Shailer Mathews — Talcott Williams

Preston Slosson — John Spargo

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## Pebbles

According to doctors, kissing has as much to do with infection as affection.—*Princeton Tiger.*

Henry Ford has reduced the price of flivvers again. His motto is a rattle for every child on earth.—*Brooklyn Eagle.*

Art Critic—Have you ever been done in oil?
Vanderlop—No; but I have in steel common.—*Panther.*

"What is heredity?"
"Something a father believes in until his son begins to act like a darn fool."—*American Legion Weekly.*

Jay—My girl lives out on Petticoat Avenue.
Kay—Where's that?
Jay—Near the outskirts.—*Octopus.*

The Buffalo Charity Organization Society recently received a gift of $1 with the following line:
"You are welcome to this. I can't buy anything with it."—*The Survey.*

Mary had a little lamp,
She filled it with benzine.
She went to light her little lamp,
She hasn't since benzine.
—*Brown Jug.*

They floated down the placid stream
Both seated in the stern
She placed her little hand in his
And he took hold of hern.
—*Puppet.*

The *Columbia Jester* records a strange but reasonable fatality. A patient, suffering from lumbago, called on a doctor. The doctor rubbed his back with alcohol. And the patient broke his neck trying to lick it off.

Mr. Henpeck—Wot's yer steak like terday?
The Sentimental Butcher—Tender as a woman's 'eart, Mr. 'Enpeck!
Mr. Henpeck—Oh, is it! Then I'll 'ave some tripe.—*London Sketch.*

There was a young lady from Guam,
Who said, "Now the sea is so caum,
I will swim for a lark."
But she met with a shark.
We will now sing the 99th psaum.
—*Scalper.*

"Now, Johnny, if your father got $4 for working eight hours a day, what would he get for working ten hours a day?"
"Six dollars."
"That's wrong, Johnny."
"No, 'taint. Pop always gets double pay for overtime."—*New Haven Register.*

It is Mr. Kelcey Allen's quaint notion that Victor Victor, one of the authors of "The Unwritten Chapter," might marry Miss Valli Valli. The honeymoon, obviously, from Walla Walla to Sing Sing, in a Pic Pic car. The wedding march from "Chin-Chin" or "Pom Pom," and the best man Garet Garrett. The wedding breakfast of chow-chow, sen-sen, and zu-zu. And as the bulbul sings its tweet-tweet, we, giving the pair a copy of "Dodo," whisper, above the shriek of the dum-dum bullet, "By-By!"—*New York Tribune.*

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## Remarkable Remarks

JAMES M. BECK—President Wilson is a good loser.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I truly love housekeeping.

REV. DAVID J. BURRELL—To the lawless all laws are blue.

NINA WILCOX PUTNAM—The best place in which to think is a beauty parlor.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB—Personal greed is a very transient factor in large business.

DON MARQUIS—Suggestion for a book plate: "He Steals Best Who Steals Last."

G. K. CHESTERTON—I am a journalist and so am vastly ignorant of many things.

SENATOR WILLIS—We've done enough for Europe without kissing her for the next 350 years.

PROF. LINDSAY ROGERS—Peanuts against lemons are too often the great issues in legislation.

DOROTHY DIX—The average married woman has to work harder than any business woman does.

DR. R. C. AUGUSTINE—If your blonde wife or sweetheart is too temperamental make her wear dark glasses.

PROF. WILLIAM A. MCKEEVER, of the University of Kansas—Turn from the selfish cigaret and come out on the side of Christ and Kansas.

H. G. WELLS—Probably it is the complexity of her speech and writing more than any other imaginable cause that has made China stay politically, socially, and individually a vast school of backward people, rather than the foremost power in the whole world.

SAMUEL GOMPERS—In the face of a torrent of votes for special privilege and reaction and time-serving that ran into the millions, the American labor movement, because of its non-partizan political policy, was able to prevent the reëlection of fifty members of Congress who had been unfaithful and hostile.

## Opening Nights

*Way Down East.* The usual Griffith picture, good story and spectacular effects, with rather more than the usual cheapness in the first half, and an incredibly thrilling rescue scene in the last half. (Forty-fourth Street Theater.)

*The Passing Show of 1921.* A medley of popular music, burlesques or current theatrical successes, extravagantly colorful sets, excellent dancing and humorous stunts, all assembled after the usual pattern that never fails to please a Winter Garden audience. (Winter Garden.)

*Tamura*, and *La Boutique Fantasque*. In a distinguished bill, the Neighborhood Playhouse gives a Japanese "Noh," or lyric drama, in the classical Japanese manner, with dramatic effectiveness and great beauty of color and design, and one of the fantasies of the Russian Ballet repertoire, charmingly re-created. (Neighborhood Playhouse.)



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The Independent
January 29, 1921

# The Five Cent Fare

## A Crucial Point in Our Problem of Public Utilities

By Delos F. Wilcox

Public Utility Expert and Technical Adviser of the Federal Electric Railways Commission

THE investment in public utilities in the United States is four or five times as great as the aggregate municipal debt of all American cities. The city dwellers are now paying twice as much for utility services as for municipal government. An increase of 50 per cent in all utility rates—and such an increase is considered by the companies as a very modest demand in these days—is equivalent to a doubling of the burdens of municipal taxation. For example, take street car fares. New York is still paying five cents while Boston is paying ten. The Boston fare applied to New York would add approximately $100,000,000 annually to the burden of the car riders, unless some of the people stopped riding, as they have done in Boston.

Before the European war the utility companies were everywhere fighting to prevent the *reduction* of rates. A good example is Cleveland, where the city had to struggle for ten years under the able leadership of Tom L. Johnson to get street car fares *down* to cost. But just the other day (November 19, 1920) Judge Fielder Sanders, City Street Railroad Commissioner of Cleveland, told the National Municipal League at Indianapolis that in the eight years from 1910 to 1918 the car riders of Cleveland saved more than $30,000,000 of what they would have paid for service if the old five-cent fare had been retained. Those savings put into a sinking fund would have purchased all the Cleveland Railway Company's property in September, 1918. Think of it! In eight years, the street railway system of a great city, one of the finest traction properties in the United States, could have been purchased out of earnings without an increase of fare above five cents.

Now, times have changed, and the companies everywhere favor service at cost because they think it means getting the rates *up* instead of pulling them *down*. Everyone knows that the public service corporations generally were hard hit by the war and that the continued high cost of labor and materials even after the cessation of hostilities on the Western front has prolonged the emergency to which they first appealed for rate increases. In times of peace, public utilities offered a strong attraction to men inflamed with the desire for profiteering. When the war came on, profiteering was much better in other lines, not subject to such close restriction upon rates. But the memory of past performances had left the public utility companies with a tremendous burden of public distrust and antagonism to contend with. Hence, the painful process of readjustment thru which the companies have been going since 1917.

However, thru a steady, consistent and persistent drive to sway public opinion in favor of radical rate increases, the companies are getting their ideas across. At first the public supposed that the high prices would last only a short time and that after the war economic conditions would rapidly get back to normal. But prices were higher in 1919 than in 1918 and did not reach their peak until nearly the middle of 1920. Meanwhile, it began to look as if the companies might be right in claiming that the new price conditions would be permanent and that, for example, a jump from a nickel to a dime in the street car fare, or from $1 to $2 in the gas rate, would be no more than proportionate to the increase in the cost of everything else. The public was fed upon figures showing the vital importance of the utilities from the community point of view, and the lesson was driven home by the practical inconveniences of service, limited in amount and often wretched in quality. The companies pressed the claim that they were too poor to give good service, and that unless promptly relieved they would have to quit altogether, and pull the entire structure of urban civilization down with them.

Out of these conditions an extremely dangerous situation has developed. In the absence of any well-defined policy of self-help, the public is coming to have a feeling of impotence and renewed dependence upon private capital and private management in the utility field. The cities admit the public necessity of utility service; in most cases they have no concrete plan for supplying the service thru public agencies; if the utility treasuries are empty, the Big Stick of litigation and regulation is powerless to produce service; the cities are baffled and see no way out except by ingloriously eating their own high words and letting the companies have whatever may be necessary to induce them to carry on.

The utilities are not slow to see their advantage. They feel that their darkest hour was just before dawn; that now they have the public on the run; and that by a long pull, a hard pull and a pull all together they will be able to snatch "victory" from defeat. General prices have been coming down recently, but in October, 1920, they were still 10 per cent higher than in October, 1918, when American effort in the great war was at its maximum. The utility companies are pushing the fight for increased rates, "ere the psychological time has passed," as one trade paper put it.

The Federal Electric Railways Commission recently brought out its report advocating relief for the street railways thru the adoption of service-at-cost and flexible fares. One of the members of the Commission was appointed as the representative of the American Electric Railway Association. He has since been elected president of the Asso-

ciation, largely because it was thought that his services as a member of the Federal Commission qualified him especially for leadership in the affairs of the industry. At the annual convention of the Association held at Atlantic City in October, 1920, he discussed the Commission's report which he himself had signed. It is significant to note the differences of emphasis in the report itself and in Mr. Gadsden's discussion of it before the electric railway men. The report points out that "no permanent solution of the electric railway question can be found in the absence of a finding of value for rate-making purposes." Mr. Gadsden, addressing the electric railway convention, states that the first thing to be done is to secure an accurate physical valuation of the property. So far they go along together. But the report states that "the rapid increase in the cost of labor, supplies and material during and subsequent to the war period, seems to have served as a peculiarly vivid indication that the original cost is a primary factor in finding value for rate-making purposes"; while Mr. Gadsden, addressing the electric railway men, says that *there never was a more propitious time than the present to do this* (secure a valuation), *for the appraisers are bound to be affected by present prices.* (See *Electric Railway Journal,* issue of October 16, 1920, page 804).

Thus we see that the conflict between the public and the public utilities has entered upon a new phase. The utilities in the aggregate represent a stupendous capitalization and, tho financially distressed, they are collecting much larger revenues than ever before. Their importance to the communities in which they operate is emphasized by the fact that the public pays so much for their services. They hope, thru the process of physical [*Continued on page 125*

# A Challenge to Colleges

## By Shailer Mathews

### Dean of the University of Chicago

THE inauguration of William J. Hutchins of Oberlin as president of Berea College has more than incidental significance. It is no small thing to succeed President Frost, the maker of an institution and co-maker of an epoch in the life of thousands of Americans who had built themselves a house by the side of history and had seen the world go by. Nor is it without significance that a college like Berea should have been able to catch for a moment the eyes of the world without recourse to football teams. President Hutchins and Berea stand for more than that unstable compound of athletics, dances and enforced class attendance, which too often passes as a college education. Berea is not a fashionable school. Its social philosophy is too catholic. It is not a school of research like some of our universities. It has other purposes than the high ambition to add to the sum of human learning.

Berea belongs to that all too small band of colleges which are set on manufacturing men and women unashamed to have ideals. Its spirit is that of sacrificial social service. It is a center of Christian Americanism. The country may well congratulate itself that Oberlin and Berea, both children of a common allegiance to avowed Christian ideals, are thus met in the new president.

The sincere words of appreciation for Berea spoken at the inauguration of President Hutchins are a tribute to an ideal as well as to an institution. This in itself is noteworthy. American educational methods need the tonic of Christian ideals. They are altogether too emphatic as to economic efficiency. Not that economic efficiency is undesirable, but life is more than a succession of jobs. The test of success is not to be found in salaries or titles.

But are we teaching young people to believe such statements are anything more than rhetorical? Are our colleges and universities seriously inculcating the principles of faith and hope and justice; the conviction that self-denial is the one antidote to the sensuous hedonism which is sweeping across the continent; that poorly paid service like that of the teacher and preacher is best paid in social results? If education in the first half of the nineteenth century was too transcendental is there no danger that in the first half of the twentieth century it shall be too practical?

An education seeking first of all to produce specialists and miscellaneous job finders will sooner or later lament its lack of teachers who believe they have a moral obligation to their pupils. No college teacher but knows the difficulty in expressing such an interest so long as institutions of learning are swamped with men and women who want "to go to college," but who care very little about an education. The task is there none the less. Our colleges now are a sort of reversed university extension. In the old days teachers went to the public; today the public is flooding our classrooms. Serious teaching or serious moral direction of eight, ten or fifteen thousand young people concentrated in college towns is all but impossible. Too many institutions have all but shouted "kamerad" to their difficulties.

But such bewilderment is only temporary. President Burton of Michigan is only one of many presidents of great institutions who have voiced their sense of new responsibilities and have called upon their faculty colleagues to take education again as a moral as well as a technical task. Colleges can't make boys and girls much better than their parents send them out from home, but they can at least help their students to a vision of new tasks and moral opportunities. If they can't make youths into saints they can at least help them to see that America must take life morally or be a danger to a new world-order in the making.

If every college should not be a Berea, it should have Berea's practical idealism.



**Prof. William J. Hutchins, formerly of Oberlin College, the new president of Berea College**

# Without Benefit of Jim Crow

## Some Texas Sidelights on the Negro Problem and the Attitude Toward It Up North

### By Chester T. Crowell

DAME Fortune played a good joke on me a few days ago. I was on an express train coming from Philadelphia to New York, when a man whose complexion suggested midnight seated himself beside me. I have been in the East a year, now, and this was the first time I had encountered the absence of the Jim Crow law. I made a hasty survey of the car to see if there might be another seat. There was not. I contemplated rising, but hesitated in view of the prospect of standing for two hours. Moreover my neighbor appeared clean and inoffensive. About that time the ton or two of New York Sunday newspapers on my lap slipped off onto the floor. My neighbor stooped and picked them up, replacing them on my lap. I thanked him. Two or three minutes later he asked if he might read a part not in use. In view of the quantity of Sunday newspapers I possessed at the moment I could not very well have refused without laughing at myself. He selected a section that struck his fancy and quietly settled down to reading. Twenty minutes later I drew a cigar from my pocket and fumbled for a match. It happened that at the identical moment he also placed a cigar in his mouth. He lighted his match without delay and silently offered to share it. I did, and thanked him again. Thus, silently, we sat for two hours until the train arrived in the Pennsylvania station. It was the first time in my life that I had shared a seat with a negro on such terms.

*"The New Negro," by Rollin Lynde Hartt, which was published in The Independent of January 15, presented some startling information on the changing attitude of the American negro since the war. But, on the other hand, perhaps the attitude of the whites is not so rigid as some agitators have assumed. Mr. Crowell's article gives the personal impressions of one deep-dyed Southerner who has lately moved up North*

Here was a sort of negro I had never met before. I could not sit down beside a negro in this fashion in Texas and share a newspaper and a match with him, regardless of law or custom. He would have talked an arm off me. He would have laughed and guffawed and in every way possible called attention to the fact that we were fraternizing. He would have behaved like a muddy hunting dog that bounces into your lap and tries to kiss you. Or, in a few rare instances, he would have been surly and unpleasant. He would have tried to make me give up the seat by pushing against me. Or he might have picked up the newspaper from the floor and calmly proceeded to read it without asking permission.

If the negroes in the South had behaved, as a rule, like the negro I met on the train between Philadelphia and New York there would not be a Jim Crow law. I well remember the days when there was none in Texas. It was very disagreeable, especially on the street cars. Often fights and riots resulted from the rowdyism of the negroes. Sometimes it was the rowdyism of a white man. In either event the public was best served by having a Jim Crow law. It is a great protection to the quiet negro who used to suffer the customary fate of the innocent bystander.

Before I had ever been North of Texas I used to wonder how the people of the North could tolerate the presence of negroes among them with no Jim Crow law. I was not thinking so much of race and color as of boorishness. In those days their color meant to me boorishness. They were a nuisance even in the second gallery of the theater, which is the only part they are admitted to in Texas. But when I thought of the negro in the North I was picturing an ill-clad, dirty, uncouth, loud-mouthed creature sitting in a Pullman dining car—and I wondered how the North tolerated it. The answer seems to be that, in the first place, one seldom sees a negro in the North or East, while, in the second place, the sort one sees are about the most inoffensive humans imaginable. If they are not they encounter a Northern mob spirit much more bitter than that of the South. All I have seen, however, are quiet.

And this has suggested a new mystery to me: why are the people of the North in such enthusiastic accord with what they consider the attitude of the South toward the negro? In order to make that question clear to you I must explain that it is my observation that the people of the North believe the very worst they have heard about the treatment of the negro in the South and they thoroly approve of it. They know nothing about the negro problem. They really know nothing about the attitude of the Southern whites toward the negro. They take it for granted that the negro is unmercifully abused, denied all semblance of justice, and summarily executed by the hundreds just for the sport of murder—and they approve of it. Of the scores and scores of men and women in all walks of life whom I have met in the East only one has yet said a word which runs counter to this statement. I gather the conclusion that if ever the Northern negroes find themselves in the spotlight as "a race problem" and have to appeal to the tender mercies of the people of the Northern and Eastern states they would do well to telegraph to Texas for help. I know there are persons who believe in equality of the races, but I have not met them. They must be a very small minority.

This amuses me tremendously because it is so utterly different from the public opinion which the South believes exists in the North. The South thinks the North has a mushy, sentimental, utterly impractical attitude toward the negro and misinterprets the South's best intended measures to make it possible for the two races to live side by side. There never has been a Southern mob that would not like to have placed the body of its victim on Boston Common and said: "There, damn you! Take that!" Every outburst of violence against a negro in the South has something of the nature of burning in effigy the Northern sentimentalists. In view of what I have heard and seen up here that fact becomes extremely amusing.

Recently I have read of city authorities in the East ordering all of the unemployed negroes to leave, and of another city where negroes were informed that they would not be permitted on the streets after a certain hour at night. Such orders would not be issued in the South. There are about thirty of the largest counties in Texas where no negroes are allowed at all, but we would scarcely import them into those counties and then order them out in such a summary manner. Those Texas counties get along with-

out negroes no matter how much they may sometimes be needed to gather the harvest.

Whether you like it or not Southern rule is consistent and based upon fact. The North asserts in party platforms the right of the negro to full equality—then tries to use him politically and snub him socially. To get his vote politicians tell him what his status is under the constitution, but they don't like to grant him personally the equality about which they rant. In the South the negro would be a venal voter and an ignorant voter. So it is better for all concerned that he should not vote—yet. The negro cannot trust his Northern "friend," but his Southern friend openly refuses to promise what he knows he ought not to concede. Gradually, very gradually, the number of negro voters in the South is increasing. But if the people of the North really believed what they say about the Southern negro's constitutional right to vote they would do something about it. The truth of the matter is they don't care a snap of their fingers. They simply like to talk—and to get the Northern negro's vote. The Southern white man holds their shifty policy of wordy evasion in the contempt it so richly deserves.

Race prejudice is sometimes used by dishonest and unfair men in the South to cheat the negro in business, as the sentimentalist charges, but in view of what happens to ignorant, white, tenant farmers this can scarcely be called an exclusively race problem. It is unscrupulous shrewdness cheating ignorance—a process that goes on all over the world, and has very little relation to color.

I wonder sometimes at the remarkable success of the South in making it possible for the two races to live side by side as cheerfully and successfully as they do. Consider, for a moment, that the vast majority of our ten millions of negroes are in a few Southern states; that they came as illiterate slaves and that they were given full citizenship without having earned it and without being in any degree ready for it. Consider that they are a majority of the population in some small part of every Southern state and that in a few places they are the majority of the population of very large parts of big states. Consider that they have not been permitted to exercize a political or economic importance in any wise comparable with their numbers and yet that on the whole they prosper, increase in numbers and land holdings, in education, in culture, and that in the vast majority of the cases they can depend upon a fair hearing before the courts. It is no fiction that Southern negroes are usually very happy people. I doubt if any other subject people has ever been treated so fairly and generously by the people of another race, in all the history of the world.

These things are worthy of thoughtful consideration along with mob law. Usually something more than the crime of an individual is back of a mob outbreak. I think it speaks volumes for the Southern whites that a mob outbreak so seldom becomes a race riot, while in the North it frequently does. The South has been not only very thoughtful, but at times self-sacrificing in an effort to make possible the peaceful occupation of the land by two races. Without the negro problem the South would not have been for prohibition. Nowhere else in this country had intoxicants been less objectionable than in the old Southern household, but the saloon and the negro needed separation.

Much of what the Northern sentimentalist says about repression of the negro in the South misses the real issues just as far as I missed my guess about the nature of the negro problem in the North. For instance, I have read able arguments against Southern anti-miscegenation laws. They are time wasted. There was approximately no intermarriage before that law was placed on the statute books and there would be approximately none today if it were removed. Something deeper than that law prevents intermarriage, altho it probably serves a useful purpose in the cases of persons of subnormal mentality and moral degenerates. The white population of the South is of a stock strongly conscious of race, color, nationality and tradition. It does not readily mix with anything else regardless of color lines.

It is my observation that the Southern white is very slow to accept any sort of stranger from another country into his drawing room. The South has never had much foreign immigration with the result that the vast majority of its population is pure white, native born for three or more generations. In Western Texas 98 per cent of the million and a half of population is native born, white, and I venture the guess that three-fourths of those people have never heard a word of a foreign language—unless someone read it out of a book. The other fourth lives near enough to the border to have heard Spanish spoken, but does not regard a Mexican as white.

When the United States entered the world war some West Texas ranch people of my acquaintance rode over to a very small Swedish settlement to inquire into the nationality of the people. If they were Germans the neighbors wanted to know it. What they were going to do about it I cannot guess. But the fact remains that that settlement had been there for ten years or more and most of the people of the county did not even know their nationality. They liked those people and respected them, but they let them very severely and strictly alone.

The flood of immigration into the North and East has greatly altered that stern race pride which now persists only in parts of the West and in the South. During my year in New York I have seen so much human trash and rubbish that I thoroly agree with those who refuse to consider the black man at the bottom of the human scale. I have seen animal life in New York that appeared capable of vast improvement by the infusion of the blood of the American negro. No wonder people here do not get the Southern point of view. For in Texas I have seen boys and girls who had never worn shoes, who could not read or write, who had worked in the fields from infancy and who had sunk to the very bottom, but they were beautiful, shapely, with eyes as blue as [*Continued on page 127*



© *Underwood & Underwood*

**"Here in New York I miss real 'niggahs,'" says Mr. Crowell. You don't see likable, lazy pickaninnies like these up North**



© *International*

**The balloonists' return to civilization after nearly a month of hardships and adventure in the Canadian north woods. Lieutenant Farrell is walking at the head of his dog team, just coming into Mattice at the end of the 200 mile trail south from Moose Factory**

# "Orders Received and Executed"

## An Aviator's Story of the Naval Balloon Flight Farthest North


## By E. L. Hazelton

### Retired Officer of the U. S. Navy


*U. S. Naval Air Station, Rockaway, L. I., N. Y.*

*December 13, 1920.* 1.30 P. M. U. S. Navy Free Balloon A-5598 left station; Lieutenant Louis A. Kloor, U. S. N. R. F., pilot; Lieutenants Stephen A. Farrell and Walter Hinton U. S. N— passengers.

*December 14, 1920.* U. S. Navy Free Balloon A-5598 landed twenty miles, North by East of Moose Factory, Ontario, Canada. Crew safe. Balloon lost.

*January 15, 1921.* Lieutenants Kloor, Farrell and Hinton reported on station.

WERE the log of the U. S. Naval Air Station at Rockaway to be consulted, the above casual items would probably be noted. No drama there—merely short concise recordings, characteristic of an efficient organization. Nothing unusual in the log of December 13—a free balloon leaves the station with a crew of three, in the ordinary schedule of routine at an air station. Not a line in the papers about its departure—nothing spectacular in connection with the flight. Nothing more to anticipate than a few hours in the air, some data collected, a landing, then back to the station; a drab incident in the line of duty! But out of a flight calling for hardly more than routine log entry there emerged, due to a tricky streak of adverse weather, a dramatic story of the North, so remarkable as to catch the world by the ears and place three practically unknown men in international limelight! A story with Sir Gilbert Parker backgrounds—frozen North, blizzards, snarling "huskies," sleds, Indian guides, shelter huts—all; a story of courage, privation and suffering; and blazoned thruout with emotional flares; tense expressions of tired, fagged bodies and brains.

Navy annals contain no more brilliant account of experiences in the line of duty than that of the three lieutenants from the time they landed that day in the wilds of Canada to the afternoon they arrived at Mattice after "mushing" two weeks over an unbroken trail two hundred miles in length. Leaving Rockaway, December 13, they landed the afternoon of the next day in the northern part of Canada and for four days wandered around in a wilderness of silence broken only by the weird whistle of a biting wind shrieking thru the tree tops.

While in the air, they had heard a dog barking and taking this as a sign they were near some habitation, they descended. But during those four days succeeding they found no further trace of life. On the fourth day an Indian trapper was seen, who, after much persuasion, consented to guide them to his hut and thence to Moose Factory, a short distance away. Practically without food during this period, the three air lieutenants suffered excruciating hunger pains as well as the torment of exposure and anxiety incident to ever-recurring thoughts of reaching civilization, before exhaustion should lay them down in the insidious langour of that intense northern cold. At the Hudson Bay Company's Post they rested until December 28, when, provided with dog sleds and Indian runners, the journey to the railroad at Mattice was begun.

Here they were met by representatives of the press who, for two weeks, had been hungrily waiting the accounts of their experiences to flash back to an anxious public. On January 14 Lieutenants Farrell, Hinton and Kloor reported to their station at Rockaway, having electrified a nation or two with the story of their adventure such as is given few men to experience when following their line of duty.

The press of the country undoubtedly made much more of the story than the facts warranted and precipitated the unpleasantness between Farrell and Hinton at Mattice, when Farrell struck Hinton because he thought Hinton had "double-crossed" him. It was all bait for these gentlemen of the press, who used it without reserve, in catching these three aviators for "copy" when their nerves were ragged and their bodies exhausted. The incident recalls similar ones in naval history; the famous Sampson-Schley controversy and the case of Admiral Dewey. In each one, after notable achievements, the frailty of human nature injected itself to splatter the brilliancy of the deeds.

Such a tale of adventure and daring started from the modest beginning of a planned flight from an air station for experimental purposes. All air stations of the Navy are equipped with free balloons for either the purpose of experimentation, with regard to [*Continued on page 126*

# The Assembly of the League

## By Hamilton Holt

IN The Independent of October 23 I gave our readers a rather full account of the work of the first nine months of the League of Nations. All things considered it was an extraordinary record. Since then the Assembly has met. It convened at Geneva on November 15 and continued in session thirty-five days. I have waited until the complete official reports were available before attempting to give a résumé of what was accomplished, for it was perfectly evident that the reports cabled daily to the American press were quite inadequate, when they were not bungled or actually distorted. These official reports have at last reached my desk. They are in the shape of a Provisional Verbatim Record of the thirty plenary sessions of the Assembly, an official Journal giving a complete abstract of the work of the entire Congress, the Proces-Verbaux (minutes) of the six sub-committees of the Assembly, and several hundred documents covering every conceivable subject of interest, super-interest and non-interest to the Assembly.

I have now gone over all this voluminous material with care, and I have no hesitation in saying, that considering that this was the first time nations ever met under a written constitution, that the session only lasted five weeks, that according to the Covenant the Assembly could not act except by unanimity and then only in an advisory capacity, the results accomplished were highly satisfactory and indicate that the League of Nations is not going to fail as its enemies have predicted, but is destined to grow in power and prestige until all nations enter its friendly circle and wars shall be no more.

What then did the Assembly do? In the first place forty nations sent delegates. These delegates sat together in thirty plenary sessions and held over fifty committee meetings. They approved all the work done by the various organs of the League in the first ten months of its existence. They admitted six new members, two of them recent enemies, Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxemburg, Costa Rica and Albania. Four other states, formerly part of the Russian Empire, namely, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Georgia, while not admitted, were nevertheless given immediate representation on the technical organizations of the League as a proof of the League's intention of admitting them at the earliest possible moment. Armenia was not admitted because of the tragic conditions prevailing in the Near East. But her unhappy plight was the subject of much stirring debate. Finally when for one reason or another practically every nation in the League found itself unable to assume a mandate over Armenia, the Assembly unanimously passed a resolution expressing the hope that

The efforts of the President of the United States energetically supported by the governments of Spain and Brazil and by the Council of the League will result in the preservation of the Armenian race and in securing for Armenia a stable government, exercizing authority thruout the whole of the Armenian state, as the boundaries thereof may be settled under the treaty of Sevres, so that the Assembly may be able to admit her into full membership in the League at its next meeting.

Belgium was given the honor of having the first president of the Assembly. Her distinguished diplomat and statesman, Paul Hymans, was unanimously elected to the office. M. Motta, President of Switzerland, was elected honorary president. Twelve vice-presidents were nominated, the first six by virtue of their presiding over one of the six sub-committees, and the remaining six being named at large. These twelve vice-presidents are to serve as a steering committee of the Assembly until its next meeting.

Naturally the first thing done was to adopt rules of procedure. Not only were many technical questions to be decided, but it was necessary to define the jurisdiction of the Assembly and especially to see that it did not interfere with the rights of the Council. Perhaps the most important rule adopted was the suggestion of the Scandinavian delegates that the Assembly meet automatically once a year on the first Monday in September. Another significant rule was that where the Council and the Assembly have concurrent jurisdiction neither one can interfere if the other has first taken cognizance of the matter.

The Covenant gives the Assembly the right to appoint the four non-permanent members of the Council, but does not specify how this is to be done. The matter was discussed from two main viewpoints. One group held that no Assembly could bind its successors. The other maintained that the spirit of the Covenant implied a fair division of political power and a definite rotation of office. After considerable deliberation it was decided to leave the question for a future meeting and Spain, Brazil, Belgium and China were elected for one year only. The first three non-permanent members were already on the Council. But China's substitution for Greece was a great diplomatic triumph for that brilliant young Chinese delegate, Dr. Koo, who now has obtained for his country a position in the League where, thru the unanimity principle prevailing on the Council, it can block any action proposed, especially in the interests of Japan.

The three Scandinavian kingdoms proposed amendments to the Covenant in respect to the annual meeting of the Assembly, the method of selection of the non-permanent members of the Council, the economic blockade and arbitration. Canada, whose delegates more than once startled the otherwise solemn sessions with some very frank and good American talk, actually proposed to eliminate from the Covenant the "nefarious" Article X. Argentina proposed that all sovereign states should be admitted on application. But the League had been in existence less than a year and it was thought better not to change the foundation stones until it was a little more evident how things were working out, and especially until the Harding administration had come into office and had time to submit its proposals. So, altho petulant Argentina left in a huff, the Council was asked to constitute a special Amendments Committee to study the whole question and submit a detailed report to the next meeting of the Assembly.

THE Assembly referred several other questions to the Council on which it wished further light or thought the Council had prior or more appropriate jurisdiction. It requested the Council to appoint committees (a) to study and report on the sixty-nine treaties that had already been registered with the secretariat with a view to settling some legal questions that had arisen; (b) to determine the moment when the economic blockade should come into operation, and especially the exact method of its application in particular cases, notably when a state not a member of the League is to be proceeded against; (c) to consider means for securing thruout the world greater publicity of the meetings of the Assembly and the Council, and in general the work of the League; (d) to investigate the work, efficiency, number, salaries and allowances of the secretariat; (e) to arrive at a more equitable system of allocating the expenses of the League among its members than the apportionment of the Unviersal Postal Union affords; and (f) to inquire into the deplorable deportation of women and children in Armenia, Asia Minor, and neighboring countries with a view to stopping that hideous practice. On this committee there must be one woman.

The Assembly appointed several committees of its own. Of these the technical committees on health, transit, and economics and finance were perhaps the most important. They were made autonomous in internal affairs, but under the supervision of the Assembly and the Council in all matters of policy.

The Office International d'Hygiene Publique in Paris was designated to form the nucleus of the League's Health Organization, which was charged with the coördination of the various health agencies in the world, the bringing of them into close coöperation with the International Labor Office, the Red Cross, etc., the hastening of concerted action in case of epidemics and the preparation of international health congresses. A medical Secretariat with a competent staff is to be installed at Geneva, all under the general direction of an expert committee.

Next month a General Conference on Freedom of Communications and Transit, it is expected, will be called at Barcelona, Spain. This conference will be charged with considering the whole transport problem and particularly with framing agreements necessitated by Article XXIII of the Covenant and the various conventions in existence in respect to international ports, waterways and railways. The Conference will act as a permanent advisory committee to the Assembly and Council and keep a watchful eye on all transit questions and arrange for future conferences.

The Permanent Advisory Economic and Financial Committee, which replaces the existing provisional committee, is given the broadest powers. It must consider ways and means to carry out immediately the recommendations agreed upon at the Brussels Conference. It must investigate any financial and economic problems submitted to it by the Council. It must prepare the agenda of the next International Conference, and summon it whenever the time seems opportune. The Assembly heartily endorsed the principles promulgated at Brussels and especially enjoined upon the members of the League the necessity of employing for the present all their national wealth in strictly productive channels.

Probably the most important single act of the Assembly was the adoption, with but slight modifications, of the Permanent Court of International Justice as originally prepared by Elihu Root and his confrères at The Hague, and amended by the Council at its Brussels session. As Britain, France and Japan are evidently not ready yet to grant the court any compulsory jurisdiction (the U. S. Senate took the same view when the Taft arbitration treaties were before them), the draft was modified to prevent a nation from being able to hale another into court. But this was too reactionary for most of the lesser powers, so a compromize was effected whereby the nations so desiring could declare in advance what subjects they were willing to arbitrate and compulsory arbitration followed between those making the same declaration. But the great Court—the Court that when it comes into existence Elihu Burritt said would constitute "the highest Court of Appeals this side of the Bar of Eternal Justice"—is now finally approved. The States subscribe to it as it stands and both members of the League and non-members have the right and privilege of seeking its august arbitrament.

The Assembly felt the "cosmic urge" for disarmament now prevalent thruout the world. But as the Technical Armament Commission appointed by the Council at its San Sebastian meeting had hardly had time to organize, and as America and Germany were outside the League, and as Russia was in chaos and wars and rumors of wars were rife thruout the four corners of the globe, it was evidently time to "festina lente." The Assembly approached the issue from the viewpoint that progress must be effected in three successive stages. First, there must be a general agreement among the members of the League not to increase their present armaments. Second, there must be a general agreement for proportional and simultaneous reduction in armaments or in existing military budgets. Third, there can then be such complete disarmament as will not jeopardize national security. Two concrete steps further were taken. A recommendation was adopted by thirty votes to seven asking the Council (a) to submit to the member states the question of the advisability of their not increasing their military budgets for the next two years and (b) to add to the present Technical Military Commission a temporary committee of political, social and economic experts, it being recognized that the problem of disarmament is by no means exclusively, perhaps not even chiefly, a military one. In regard to the private manufacture of munitions and the possibility of the large stocks of war implements accumulated during the war getting into the less civilized zones of Asia and Africa, the Council was asked to initiate an immediate investigation into these dangers, and especially to urge upon all governments the immediate approval of the Convention of St. Germain for the control in trade in arms and ammunition, which has not yet been ratified.

NO more pitiable condition exists outside of Armenia than in Poland, where one of the worst epidemics of typhus in history has been raging for over two years. The Assembly heartily approved the work already accomplished under the auspices of the Council, and as showing the spirit animating its members a large sum of money was contributed by the various governments to fight the scourge. Canada was the banner giver, making her donation equal to that of England and France, while China "came across" with $10,000 and even ex-enemy Bulgaria contributed her mite. What is more, President Hymans was empowered to nominate a committee of three delegates to raise funds for fighting epidemics thruout Central Europe, acting in cooperation with the Public International Hygiene Office, the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies.

The Secretariat was requested to send a questionnaire to all governments asking what measures they have taken to combat the world wide evil of the traffic in women and children. The governments signatory to the congresses of 1904 and 1910 are to be immediately urged to put those beneficent conventions into operation. An international conference will be held prior to the next meeting of the Assembly to coördinate the replies to the questionnaire and to prepare a program for united action.

The Netherlands government which was charged by the opium conferences at The Hague in 1912, 1913, and 1914 with taking the initiative in the international war on opium has transferred her responsibility to the shoulders of the League. The Assembly therefore called upon the Secretariat to collect all available data on the production, distribution and consumption of opium and appointed a committee of three to sift the information and to report to the Council three months before the next meeting of the Assembly.

The Assembly adopted a budget of 21,000,000 gold francs. This included 7,000,000 gold francs for the Labor Office. If America had been a member of the League our quota would have been about $220,000, which is about one tenth of one per cent of what we spent on military preparation before the war, and about two thousandths of one per cent of what we spent on armaments during a single year of the war.

Finally the Assembly refused to approve of Italy's proposal for an impartial international distribution of raw materials, it declined Senator La Fontaine's plea for the establishment of an international university at Brussels, and it was unwilling to record itself as favoring Esperanto as the international language.

No one, I think, can have read thru the debates that took

place in the plenary sessions of the Assembly and in the sub-committees without being impressed with the very high order of parliamentary discussion achieved, and with the evident desire of all the delegates to do the utmost possible to establish the League on a firm foundation, and to work out the confronting international problems in a spirit of helpfulness, unselfishness and fair play. There was no outpouring of partizan "bunk," no descending to personalities and misrepresentation that so often occur in even the best regulated and most otherwise exemplary of national deliberative bodies. Japan, for instance, refused to raise the issue of race equality and Bolivia decided not to press for settlement her long standing dispute with Chile in order that no untoward event in the early stages of the League might precipitate differences and destroy harmony that was evidently being reached on other matters.

Comparing the first meeting of the Assembly with the first meeting of the United States Congress which was scheduled to take place in the City of New York on March 4, 1789, one finds the odds in favor of the Assembly. At Geneva every delegate was in his seat when the Conference opened, while a dozen other nations seeking admission to the League had their representatives present. On the date set at New York, however, but five of the thirteen states appeared. Of the twenty-two Senators elected only nine answered the roll call and of the Representatives only thirteen out of the fifty-nine were present. It was not until April 5 that a quorum of both houses appeared, and thus inaugurated the first session of the first Congress of the United States. Rhode Island, moreover, did not join the "association" until a year and a half after it was a going concern, so I suppose there is still hope that the United States may in its own good time and in its own peculiar way join the League.

This, then, is the League of Nations that the American people were told before November 2 was a failure. This is the League that is "already scrapped." This is the superstate that would violate our constitution and destroy our liberties.

I think the logic of events, however, will be too much for our next President, or the Senate or the Republican party. Any group of sincere and competent statesmen who attempt to work out an "association" of nations that really proposes to lessen war have got to come within ninety per cent of the plan devised at Versailles. Any association less than that will bring us back to the pre-war days of voluntary Hague Courts and Hague Conferences, and surely the world has learned something since 1914.

No, we cannot scrap the League. The League must and will live and sooner or later the United States will be a member whether it be in the year 1921 or 1925.

## Topics of the Times

The open winter, the open door, the open shop, the wide-open city.

## A Naval Holiday

ARMAMENTS are the symptoms of world disorganization. Just as the advent of sheriffs and justices of the peace in a mining camp make it safe for a citizen to discard his six-shooter, so when international courts and international police appear the nations can in safety disarm.

But no nation alone can be expected to disarm in advance of the others. That might prove fatal in this world of wars and rumors of wars. The nations must all disarm together. And they can hardly be expected to disarm if one can re-arm in advance of the others.

This is the philosophy of disarmament as recognized by the League of Nations. But Senator Borah, who will have nothing to do with the League, proposes that Britain, Japan and the United States take a five year naval holiday. This would manifestly not interfere with any universal disarmament and would save the taxpayers a pretty penny in the three great maritime nations affected. It is a step in the right direction, and now that the world has nothing more to fear from German militarism it is a step that England, Japan and the United States can safely take.

## The Indemnity Question

THERE is no division of opinion in France that Germany should be made to pay all she can in the way of reparations. The division is between those who want Germany to pay as much as possible and those who want Germany to pay more than is possible. The future peace of Europe may depend on which faction gets control, and it is fortunate that thus far the men of common sense have occupied the seats of power.

# The Supreme Obstacle

## By Norman Hapgood

WHEN President Wilson put Mr. Brandeis on the Supreme Court he well knew he was injecting into that safe and sane club a restless element of modern thought. At that time it harbored just one superior general intellect. Mr. Justice Holmes was a conservative, but if a conservative has brains as powerful and free as those of Justice Holmes the result is often nearly in harmony with those of a most competent progressive. This truth we see illustrated frequently in Great Britain, where there is a class comparable to the old Massachusetts Brahmin class, of which Justice Holmes is a product. Lord Robert Cecil, for example, is possibly the most trusted man in England today, because with the tradition of conservatism he has the fearlessness and the energy to face the present facts and the intellect to see life whole and fluid. For a long period of years Justice Holmes has been writing brilliant dissents based on a belief that the courts should not usurp the functions of the legislature. Frequently, even usually, he has disagreed with the political wisdom of statutes which his fellow judges were upsetting, but he has conceived that his political and economic prejudices were irrelevant, and that his duty was not to legislate but merely to say whether a given statute was undeniably beyond the power of the legislature. His colleagues, on the other hand, knew no such subtle line. The safety of property absorbed them. It was their master passion. They decided not whether a legislature could interpret a situation in a certain way, but whether it ought to interpret it a certain way. The result has been that this body of nine gentlemen, all belonging to one side in the great struggle of the age, has in the most critical cases acted like the House of Lords in England, only with more bigotry. No wonder there has been a public restlessness which, in a population intellectually less indolent, would long ago have led to a constitutional amendment. Mr. Bryan, reflecting this justly founded resentment, has pressed the stupid solution of election of judges for one year, which would have meant the selection of inferior politicians. Colonel Roosevelt, clearly seeing where the usurpation of the Courts was exercised, suggested the cumberous and inexact method of recall of judicial decisions. The reform ought to have been executed willingly by the Supreme Court itself, but we might as well, or better, expect the Knickerbocker Club to give out an adequate and unbiased essay on industrial self-government. Every indication is that it will stand with mulish determination for its bourbon legislative activities until it is abruptly modified in some rush of popular discontent. Instead of becoming more modern it is likely under President Harding to dig in more firmly. President Wilson, after his first extraordinary error in appointing Mr. Justice McReynolds, followed the Brandeis appointment with that of Justice

Clarke, who comes next to Justices Holmes and Brandeis in fitness to sit on a modern tribunal. President Harding, unless he shows more independence of the Penrose-Gary power-elements than he is expected to show, will appoint either determined reactionaries or men unconsciously pliable to the reactionaries, like Mr. Taft, who has recently attacked President Wilson for appointing Mr. Brandeis. We may as well assume, therefore, that the Court will never abandon its own usurped activities, unless (what seems most improbable) there should be a series of three or four Presidents as liberal as Mr. Wilson, since many years would be required to overcome bourbon majority. There are Republicans available, distinguished in the legal profession, who are in touch with industrial realities (Judge Learned Hand, for example, and Charles P. Howland, to mention only New York) but if Mr. Harding uses that type of scholarship he will astonish the country and incidentally he will deservedly entrench his party in power. But that is a dream.

Justice Brandeis has just written a dissent, concurred in by Justices Holmes and Clarke, that pictures the modern issue in a flagrant case. The majority opinion fairly serves notice on labor that the Court is on the job of exhausting all possible devices in support of militant capital. Justice Pitney uses language typical in these cases. It is the same sort of language that Justice McKenna has been using in recent anti-free-speech cases, and it takes no gigantic intelligence to see that on the whole, though not without exception, those who favor suppression of opinion will be the same ones who favor loading the dice against labor. Justice Pitney thinks that the Clayton Act, if interpreted as Justice Brandeis interprets it, would operate to cause "detriment to the general public," which he deems it his business to decide. He and his associates overrule the Court below and use such words as a "general class war" to describe the Union's effort to hold up labor standards in the case at issue. He says "the extreme and harmful consequences of the construction adopted in the Court below are not to be ignored." These consequences include "a nation-wide blockade of the channels of interstate commerce." The result is "the great and incalculable damage of many innocent people far removed from any connection with or control over the actual dispute—people constituting, indeed, the general public upon whom the cost must ultimately fall."

Justice Brandeis waves this rhetoric aside in a final paragraph in which he refuses to be interpreted as deciding in either direction a question belonging to the legislature. He says:

> Because I have come to the conclusion that both the common law of a state and a statute of the United States declare the right of industrial combatants to push their struggle to the limits of the justification of self-interest, I do not wish to be understood as attaching any constitutional or moral sanction to that right. All rights are derived from the purposes of the society in which they exist; above all rights rises duty to the community. The conditions developed in industry may be such that those engaged in it cannot continue their struggle without danger to the community. But it is not for the judges to determine whether such conditions exist, nor is it their function to set the limits of permissible contest and to declare the duties which the new situation demands. This is the function of the legislature which, while limiting individual and group rights of aggression and defense, may constitute processes of justice for the more primitive method of trial by combat.

Into the technical arguments of this case of Duplex Printing Company versus Deering this is not the place to go. The Duplex Company manufactures newspaper printing presses. It sought an injunction to prevent officials of the machinists' and affiliated unions from inducing their members not to work for the Duplex Company or its customers. There was before the Supreme Court no charge of violence or of contract-breaking. The relevant facts are simple. There are in the United States only four manufacturers of such presses; and they are in active competition. Between 1909 and 1913 the machinists' union induced three of them to recognize and deal with the union, to grant the eight-hour day, and to establish a minimum scale. The Duplex refused to recognize the union; insisted upon conducting its factory on the open shop principle; operated mostly ten hours a day; and refused a minimum wage scale. Therefore two of the other three manufacturers notified the unions that they could not stand this competition; that unless the Duplex would retreat from its position they would have to terminate their agreements, which obviously would mean going back to the old hours and conditions. The union therefore declared a strike at the factory, and also instructed its members and the members of affiliated members not to work on the installation of presses which the company had delivered in New York.

The technical arguments come down to this: the majority treat the act of the union, outside of the factory itself, as if it were going outside of its own immediate concern, in which case it would be illegal. The minority hold that this interpretation is a misstatement of the facts. Justice Brandeis says:

> The change in the law by which strikes once illegal and even criminal are now recognized as lawful was effected in America largely without the intervention of legislation. This revival of a common law rule was not due to the rejection by the courts of one principle and the adoption in its stead of another, but to a better realization of the facts of industrial life. . . . When centralization in the control of business brought its corresponding centralization in the organization of workingmen new facts had to be appraised. A single employer might, as in this case, threaten the standing of the whole organization and the standards of all its members. . . . The union was only refusing to aid in destroying itself. . . . The Clayton Act substituted the opinion of Congress as to the propriety of the purpose for that of differing judges; and thereby it declared that the relation between employers of labor and workingmen were competitive relations, that organized competition was not harmful, and that it justified injuries necessarily inflicted in its course.

If a man should drive up in a cab and ask you whether Justice Brandeis' view of modern conditions, and of the proper relative rules of Congress and the Courts, was sensible, or not, you would probably call it sensible, and even necesary, if the Supreme Court is not to be labeled a violent partizan determined that the class conflict shall be worked out not by laws but by force. But then you are not an old gentleman, wearing a robe, and going out to dinner-parties, unsoiled by contact with the realities of industry as it is carried on today.

## Cabinet Making

IT is hard for Mr. Harding to find men at once big enough to satisfy the country and small enough to satisfy the politicians. That kind doesn't grow.

## Reckon with Realities

WHAT some Congressmen and publicists cannot seem to understand is that the League of Nations is no longer a scheme, good or bad, but a definite political structure as real as the United States or the British Empire. A paper plan can be ignored and replaced by another. But a political organism is different. You can expand its scope—as Serbia was expanded into Yugoslavia. You can diminish its scope—as Germany was diminished by the retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine to France. You can amend it—as the American constitution has been amended. You can revolutionize it. You can even smash it into fragments or destroy it root and branch—as the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was destroyed. The one thing you *cannot* do is to act as tho it were not there. Anyone attempting to create a new association of nations without reckoning first with what already exists is like an architect planning to establish a city on Manhattan Island, completely ignoring the fact that the landscape in that fraction of the world is already cluttered up by solid miles of tenements, forty-story office buildings and the like.

# The Story of the Week

## America and Japan

THE perennial question of American-Japanese relations has many aspects of which western land legislation is but one. Perhaps the most serious question at present is that of the naval control of the Pacific. Unless a definite agreement as to naval limitation is reached, either by special arrangement with Britain and Japan as suggested by Senator Borah or as part of a world-wide disarmament program thru the League of Nations or otherwise, there will be one of those strange armament rivalries in which each nation believes that it is merely following the lead of the other. In the United States it is the Japanese naval building program which causes apprehension, and the American program is looked on as a counterbalance to it. But to the Japanese it looks as tho we were forcing the pace. Baron Hayashi in a recent interview put the matter from the Japanese standpoint very vividly. He said that "Mr. Secretary Daniels, who conceived the idea of a fleet nearly three times as strong as that we are now building," was "like most Americans" a lover of peace, "but precisely on account of his ardent pacifism and of his belief in the moral infallibility of his nation he has set out to construct a fleet so strong as would reduce all others to a mere cipher, and incidentally enable America to dictate her conception of right to others." He said that America is more righteous than other nations, but "the most righteous sometimes lapse thru pride or aberration" and Japan could not "consent to be at the total mercy of any other navy." But if the United States would stop building so would Japan, as the Japanese had no military ambitions and no intention of challenging American naval superiority.

Thus it would appear that the threatened naval race in the Pacific—really no race at all, since we have no desire to challenge and could only compete under the severest handicap—might yet be avoided by an arrangement compatible with the material safety and national dignity of both of us and of yourselves. Unofficial proposals to this effect already put forward in the United States are sure to meet on the part of Japan with a ready and cordial response.

A statement from Washington summarizes the relative strength of the chief naval powers in an Associated Press dispatch. The British navy has twenty-six battleships of the largest class (20,000 tons and upward and carrying at least ten twelve-inch guns); the United States sixteen, Japan six, France seven, Italy four. Great Britain has no new ships of this class now building; but the United States has eleven under construction, Japan seven, France four and Italy four. The British have ten battle cruisers, and Japan four, with eight more projected. The United States, France and Italy have no ships of this class completed, but the United States is now building six. In cruisers and destroyers also the British hold a lead. For submarines and submersibles of all types the British have 165 vessels and the United States ninety-six; France sixty-three, Japan forty, and Italy twenty-two.

An incident in connection with the Japanese occupation of the Siberian city of Vladivostok has led to explanations and apologies on the part of the Japanese. On January 8 Lieutenant Langdon of an American cruiser was shot by a Japanese sentry for failing to halt when challenged. Japanese officials in high position promptly expressed their regret for the occurrence. Admiral Gleaves of the American Asiatic fleet has appointed a court of inquiry.

The Japanese excuse their continued occupation of parts of eastern Siberia on the ground that Bolshevism is widely spread. General Oi, Japanese commander, has warned the Siberian towns that "the Japanese troops will not recognize communism in the districts in which Japanese troops are stationed." The Bolsheviki are endeavoring to gain complete political control over that part of eastern Siberia which has been for several months virtually independent of the rest of Russia and which the Japanese hoped to erect into a permanent barrier state against the eastward march of Bolshevism.

## Beating Swords Into Plowshares

DAY by day the movement toward disarmament is growing stronger. This is not due to any abstract pacifist sentiment or even to the stern lessons of the Great War, but rather to the intolerable burden of war-time taxes in a period of peace. One might almost say that the nations do not so much object to having big armies and navies as to paying for them. The British, who before the war thought no price too great to pay for a world dominating navy, are now eagerly looking for some international agreement by which they could be freed from the burden of laying down any more capital ships. Viscount Grey's utterance is typical of present day English feeling: "When any one nation has begun to force the pace in the competition of armaments let the council of the nations prevent that competition growing up once more." The French, in spite




*McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune*

**Another "vicious circle"**

of their keen and probably exaggerated fears of Germany, have decided to reduce the term of compulsory military service in the army. Even the United States, the one nation which can still say in the words of the old rime: "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!"—even the United States is more afraid of the tax collector than of any more distant foe.

A striking evidence of this is seen in the Congressional debates on the size of the standing army. Not many months ago the maximum army establishment was placed at 280,000 men. Secretary of War Baker promptly undertook a recruiting campaign, without waiting for adequate funds to be provided, and brought the army up to about 228,000 men. On January 7 the Senate Military Committee, moved mainly by the thought of economy, passed a resolution directing the Secretary of War to stop enlistments for the regular army altogether, except for reënlistments, and authorizing him to grant honorable discharge to a sufficient number of men of at least one year's service to reduce the strength of the army to 175,000.

Even this drastic reduction did not content many of the Senators. On January 14 Senator Lenroot carried an amendment fixing the size of the army at only 150,000 men. The vote did not altogether follow party lines. Twenty-four Democrats and ten Republicans supported the Lenroot proposal; nineteen Republicans and nine Democrats held out for the original figure of 175,000. Chairman Wadsworth of the Military Committee and Senator New, who fathered the original resolution for halting enlistments, both opposed the reduction to 150,000 as too abrupt a change and liable to throw the army establishment into confusion. The vote in the Senate showed how far disarmament sentiment in the rank and file of the Senate had outrun the wishes of party leaders. Less than a year ago Congress was seriously considering the introduction of compulsory military service and a permanent peace time army of about half a million men; today it can hardly be persuaded to maintain a military establishment even of pre-war dimensions.

But the Lenroot amendment did not stand in the resolution as finally adopted by both the House and the Senate. The vote for it is important as indicating how far the pendulum of Congressional sentiment had swung toward disarmament rather than as expressing a settled policy. On reconsideration in the Senate the original resolution for an army of 175,000 was carried by twenty-eight Republicans and thirteen Democratic votes to nine Republicans and twenty-three Democrats who remained loyal to the Lenroot program. The House of Representatives on January 17 favored a military establishment of 175,000 by 285 votes to four.

Secretary Baker has already called home many troops which had been in occupation of German territory along the Rhine. In a letter to Representative Byrnes of South Carolina he said that immediately after the armistice the American army of occupation in Germany had amounted to 225,000 men. It had been gradually reduced until by December 15, 1920, it was only 15,305; and a fresh reduction was ordered cutting it down to a mere police force of 8197 men. At one time during the Presidential campaign Mr. Harding spoke of recalling the American army from the Rhine altogether. Both the French and the Germans would regret this; the French because it would be a symbol of American withdrawal from European affairs and particularly from the task of protecting France, the Germans because the towns vacated by the Americans would probably be garrisoned by French troops who would be sterner and less friendly than the Americans in their attitude toward the inhabitants. But the cutting down of the size of the American army of occupation is most welcome to Germany, as by the terms of the armistice the Germans have to pay the cost of the foreign armies on the Rhine and, according to Secretary Baker, have been paying on the average about $75,000 a day for the last year for the upkeep of the American forces.




*Spencer in Omaha World-Herald*

**If the heart of the world could find its voice!**

# Prohibition for New York

DURING the administration of Governor Smith, who tho a reform Governor in the main held the lax and "liberal" Tammany views on prohibition, the New York legislature passed a state enforcement act which permitted the sale of beer and other liquors up to 2.75 per cent of alcohol. Altho the Governor signed the bill it never came into effect because of the decision of the Federal Supreme Court declaring the Volstead Act, passed by Congress, the law of the land irrespective of state enforcement laws of a contrary effect. Prohibition thus became in New York the concern of Federal enforcement agencies and the state and municipal authorities, angry at the virtual cancellation of the state law by the Supreme Court's decision, washed their hands of the whole business. Many states enacted state laws in conformity with the Volstead Act and added the exertions of the police to those of the Federal prohibition officers. But New York was not so zealous. Sentiment in the state was much divided and violations or evasions of the law were perhaps more frequent, especially in the City, than in other states.

Governor Miller took office in January. In a message to the legislature he announced a reversal of the state's policy of letting the national authorities take exclusive charge of the enforcement of prohibition—or such enforcement as there was. In vigorous terms he denounced "the open and notorious violation of the act passed by Congress" and "the scandalous contempt for law engendered thereby." He said that the present state law should be repealed "at least in so far as it conflicts with the Volstead Act," which, according to the decision of the Supreme Court, "will continue to be the law binding on every one in the state, irrespective of any action the state may take or fail to take." He gave several reasons why it was impolitic to throw the whole burden of prohibition law enforcement on the Federal Government, and recommended that the New York legislature pass a state law conformable to the terms of the national law "and that the enforcement of the law should be confided to peace officers and prosecuting attorneys as is the case with other laws. That will, at least, make it possible for law-abiding communities to prevent the

flagrant violations of law now occurring in their midst." He closed his remarkable message with an epigram almost worthy of ex-Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts:

> The honest enforcement of the law may lead to its modification; the tolerated disobedience of it can only breed disorder and create contempt for all law.

# Calder's Coal Bill

SENATOR Calder, whose investigation of the coal situation was recounted in The Independent of January 22, has introduced a bill for the regulation of the coal industry. "Primarily," said the Senator, "this is a bill to provide for current, regular, impartial publicity by reports thru Government agencies of the essential facts concerning the coal industry and trade for the benefit of all concerned." The bill does not set up any new machinery, but makes use of existing agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Geological Survey. Federal administering agencies are given privilege of access to documentary evidence in the possession of any person or corporation which may be investigated and the power to subpoena witnesses. Brokers' sales above a certain margin are subject to special taxation. To enforce the publicity clauses of the measure a licensing system is established that will reach all operators and dealers "conditioned normally only on the furnishing of the required information."

For exceptional conditions in the industry, threatening a serious coal shortage, the Federal Trade Commission may present proof of such emergency and, if its findings are confirmed by the President, he may declare a state of emergency to exist. In such a case the President is empowered to fix maximum coal prices and dealers' commissions and margins and he may order the licenses of operators and dealers revoked if they disregard the prices fixed by law. The Government is also authorized to buy and sell coal and to control its production, distribution and movement in the public interest.

All of these powers are temporary and lapse with the passing of the emergency.

The Geological Survey reports coal production during 1920 at 646,000,000 tons, the largest peace-time output in American history and exceeded only by the special war-time "coal crops" of 1917 and 1918. 1919 was a bad year and ended with coal stocks dangerously low, which stimulated demand for increased production in 1920. The coincidence of the largest peace-time output and the highest prices has caused widespread belief that the high price of coal is due not to natural economic causes but to profiteering, and this belief has created a general public demand for drastic Federal legislation.

This bill of Senator Calder's is a positive if not a radical step in that direction.



*Wide World*

MARY GARDEN, DIRECTOR

**The versatile prima donna has been elected to a new rôle—that of General Director of the Chicago Opera Association, a position which puts her in charge of both the artistic and business management of the company. Miss Garden is the first woman in the world to hold such a position; she is taking over the work of two men—Herbert Johnson, business manager, and Gino Marinuzzi, artistic director—and she will also continue to sing in the opera performances. It was in "Louise" at the Opéra Comique in Paris that Miss Garden made her debut twenty-one years ago. She was born in Scotland, brought up in New England and Chicago, and educated for the opera in Paris. It is being taken for granted that under her direction the program of the Chicago Opera Association will reflect Miss Garden's avowed preference for French modern and German classic operas**

# Gompers in Mexico

THE Pan-American Federation of Labor has been holding sessions in the City of Mexico. Samuel Gompers was reëlected president, but only after presiding over some very lively sessions in which the Latin American delegates spoke their minds very freely about the policies of the United States.

The chief difficulty arose in connection with the American occupation of the Republic of Santo Domingo. A resolution was adopted by the Pan-American Labor Congress urging the immediate evacuation of Santo Domingo. Mr. Gompers refused to transmit this resolution as a telegram, inasmuch as the American Government had already promised evacuation. Several delegates from tropical countries excitedly declared that they would immediately leave the Congress unless the telegram were sent. A delegate from Santo Domingo challenged the good faith of the United States, declaring "American bayonets are supporting American capital in Santo Domingo. The American Government is not actuated by love of liberty, but because the country is a valuable field for American expansion and American capital and because it is valuable for strategic purposes." Eventually a compromize was reached. The telegram was changed to a request to the United States Government to hasten evacuation, but not questioning the promise to evacuate.

An attempt was made to defeat Mr. Gompers by running opposition candidates for the presidency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Several men were placed in nomination, but they all withdrew. A motion that Mr. Gompers be reëlected unanimously was then placed before the Congress and was opposed by only three delegates, one each from Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico. One more victory was thus added to the many triumphs of Mr. Gompers's career.

# Wilson and Harding Defend Jews

TO counteract the anti-Semitic agitation of certain newspapers, John Spargo, the distinguished Socialist author, prepared a manifesto of protest and secured the signature of more than a hundred Christian statesmen, educators, publicists, social workers, clergymen and others. No Jews were asked to sign the manifesto, as the protest was to be in the name of Americanism and the square deal by persons who had no personal interests at stake in the matter. The manifesto declared in part:

> The undersigned, citizens of Gentile birth and Christian faith, view with profound regret and disapproval the appearance in this country of what is apparently an organized campaign of anti-Semitism, conducted in close conformity to and coöperation with similar campaigns in Europe. We regret exceedingly the publication of a number of books, pamphlets and articles designed to foster distrust and suspicion of our fellow-citizens of Jewish ancestry and faith—distrust of their loyalty and their patriotism.

President Woodrow Wilson heads the list of those who signed this document. A few of the many other signers were ex-President Taft, Cardinal O'Connell, William J. Bryan, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, ex-Secretary Lansing, Jane Addams, Lyman Abbott of *The Outlook*, Hamilton Holt of The Independent, Paul Kellogg of *The*

*Survey,* Judge Ben Lindsey, Archbishop Hayes, Franklin K. Lane, Darwin P. Kingsley of the New York Life Insurance Co., Theodore Roosevelt, and the presidents or executive heads of the following educational institutions: Chautauqua Institution, Columbia University, Syracuse University, Williams College, Princeton University, Dartmouth College, Oberlin College, Cornell University, Catholic University of America, St. Stephen's College, Brown University, Berkeley Divinity School, and Vermont Academy. President-elect Harding did not sign, but he sent a warmly sympathetic note saying that "I am giving no sanction to anything so narrow, so intolerant or so un-American as the anti-Semitic movement. I have been preaching the gospel of understanding and good-will, and no one who believes in these things and hopes for the concord of America can be interested in any movement aimed against any portion of our American citizenship." Some of the signers of the manifesto also sent letters of comment. Of especial interest was the letter of Mr. Lansing, former Secretary of State, who said that in his official capacity he had examined the "protocols," brought forward as evidences of a world-wide Jewish conspiracy, and was convinced that they were forgeries. The Independent published an article dealing with these protocols and other anti-Jewish documents in its number of December 25, 1920, under the title "The Anti-Semite Scare."

# Light on Our Russian Policy

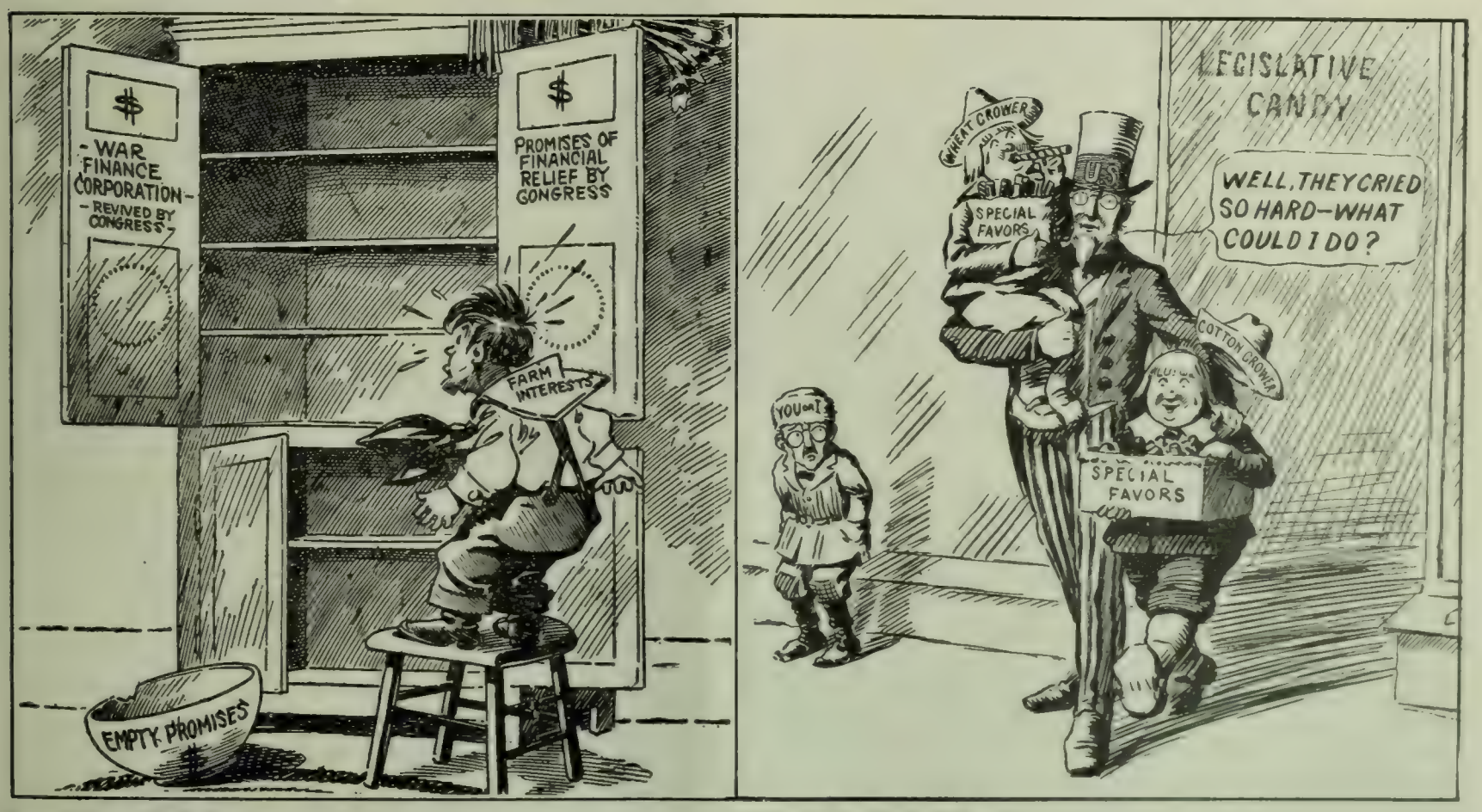
IN the absence of Secretary Colby, Mr. Norman H. Davis is acting Secretary of State and his published views therefore express the foreign policy of the Administration. Particular interest therefore attaches to Mr. Davis's recent letter on Russian affairs to Judge Alton B. Parker, President of the National Civic Federation and former candidate of the Democratic Party for President. It dealt with four points raised by the League of Free Nations Association during the campaign in an open letter to the candidates of the parties.

The first point related to the alleged refusal of the United States Government to permit relief work to be carried on in Russia. To this it is replied that "The only restriction maintained by this Government on export trade with Soviet Russia is the restriction on the export of munitions or commodities susceptible of immediate military use." Private individuals who wish to carry on relief work in Russia on their own responsibility are perfectly free to do so "without any let or hindrance from this Government." But the American Government has found itself unable to take any official part in the encouragement of supervision of such work on account of the attitude of the Bolsheviki themselves. "The only relief work which the Soviet will tolerate is the direct gift of supplies to the Soviet Government, to be distributed by them as their own largesse."

The second point dealt with the refusal of passports to persons intending to go to Soviet Russia and the failure to restore postal communication between Russia and the United States. This policy is defended in Mr. Davis's letter. "There is no possibility of normal passport courtesies between Governments which are not in diplomatic relations." Persons who wish to enter Russia without a passport can do so at their own risk; but passports "could be of no legitimate use to them in Soviet territory, where they would have no sense and would offer no protection." Postal communications "could not be formally established without treaty negotiations. That this Government does not take such steps in order to facilitate postal communications cannot be justly construed as a refusal to permit communications. As a matter of fact, it is well known that letters do pass between the two territories."

The third point was the most important of all. It covered the refusal of Secretary Colby in his note of August 10, 1920, to grant recognition to the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and other nationalities which have broken off from the Russian Empire (with the exception of Finland, Poland and Armenia which the United States had already recognized). This much discussed note is thus interpreted by Mr. Davis:

There is no intention on the part of this Government "officially to restore" the former boundaries of the Russian Empire, nor to impose on any of the non-Russian territories the rule of the Great Russians. . . . It is the conviction of this Government that these thorny questions cannot now be solved in an ex parte




*Stinson in Dayton Daily News* — Sending a boy to an empty cupboard is a cruel joke

*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle* — Uncle's pets!

OHIO AND NEW YORK DIFFER IN THEIR VIEWS OF HOW THE FARMERS FARE

manner. The Russian people are certainly interested in such decisions, and, consistent with its previous action, the Department of State in the note of August 10 again served notice that it could not be considered as endorsing territorial settlements affecting the welfare of the Russian people unless a government generally recognized as representing them were a party to the adjustment

In other words the recognition of the independence of the Baltic Republics is not refused but only deferred until it is possible to negotiate on the question with a truly representative Russian Government. This is logical enough, but it will fail to satisfy the secessionist nations and their friends, since it may chance to be years before the Bolsheviki are either overthrown or recognized by the United States and other Powers.

The fourth question concerned the military aid alleged to have been given to anti-Bolshevist and counter-revolutionary factions in Russia by "money, men and munitions" supplied by the United States. It is admitted that such aid was given during the war with Germany, but it is denied that at present the United States is in any manner whatever supporting "any of the groups or parties which are in conflict with the Soviets."



PREMIER OF FRANCE AGAIN

**Aristide Briand, who has once more been put at the head of the French Government, is a statesman almost as well known abroad as in his own country. He was Premier during a large part of the Great War; and he has been in French politics for many years, progressing from his early radical views to his present position of moderate liberalism. His success as Premier now will mean that France has refused to follow the policy of extreme severity in exacting indemnities from Germany by military force and has thereby avoided the risk of impairing her friendly relations with her former allies in the war**

# French Cabinet Upset

THE overthrow of the ministry of Premier Leygues left to President Millerand the very difficult task of finding a successor. In France, as in Great Britain, the real ruler of the country is the head of the Cabinet; the Prime Minister or Premier. But the King of England usually has little doubt whom to select as head of the Government, for there is always a dominant party in the House of Commons and this party always has a definite political leader. The task of the French President is more complex. There are many little parties, groups and factions in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and no one of them has an absolute majority over the rest. Hence the Premier must rest his hopes of remaining in office upon his skill in gathering personal support from many different party groups rather than upon any solid block of voting strength behind him. It rarely happens that there is one outstanding figure in French politics who is sure of being chosen Premier; there are usually at least a score of men who are political posssibilities for the place.

President Millerand, after consulting with the "best minds" in French politics, selected Raoul Peret. M. Peret was president of the Chamber of Deputies (as we would say in the United States, "Speaker of the House"), an experienced and popular politician of moderate views. The man the Chamber of Deputies really wanted for Premier was ex-President Poincaré, but Millerand dare not appoint him lest the act involve France in international difficulties. Ex-President Poincaré is one of those who believe that Germany can pay her full war reparations indemnity if she is compelled to do so. He would use the strong hand to compel Germany to live up to all the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles. But this policy is not supported by either England or Italy, let alone the United States, and would probably mean that France would have to occupy German territory on her sole responsibility. This President Millerand wished to avoid. He accepted the resignation of Premier Leygues, because of the hostile attitude of the Chamber of Deputies, but he wished to find a successor who would in some measure carry on Premier Leygues's policy of conciliation and compromize wherever foreign affairs were involved.

M. Peret then tried to form a cabinet. He secured the adhesion of Aristide Briand, who consented to become Minister of Foreign Affairs. But when he offered ex-President Poincaré the post of Minister of Finance, Poincaré told him that he would take office only on condition that the Minister of Finance would have a leading part in the negotiations concerning the German indemnity. This rebuff, and other difficulties in getting his ministry together, caused M. Peret to give the Premiership up as a hopeless task.

President Millerand then turned to Briand, who consented to form a Cabinet, himself holding the office of Foreign Minister as well as Premier. On accepting office he gave out the following public statement:

> It is not *the* great Cabinet, but it is a great Cabinet I have formed. My ministers and myself will be busy men looking after France's internal affairs. We have confidence that the American Administration will look after its own affairs. It may be Republican; it may be Democratic—it matters little; it is always pro-French, I am sure. Please tell them that in America.
>
> Those who have been in France for many years understand that we are not a militarist nation. We have the warmest desire to be on friendly footing with the British and American nations, but there is a pact, signed at Versailles, which must be fulfilled. I trust that in the fulfillment of that pact we come not into contest with our friends.

Second only to Clemenceau, Briand is perhaps the best known abroad of all living French politicians. He has held office many times and was Premier during a large part of the Great War. In early life he was a pronounced radical, dabbling in anarchism and revolutionary Socialism, but in 1906 he broke with the Socialist party in order to accept a Cabinet position. He believed that the Socialists and the "bourgeois" radicals should work together and form a solid "bloc" against the conservative and clerical parties, but the majority of the Socialists opposed any participation by their members in a non-Socialist Cabinet. Like Millerand, Viviani, Clemenceau and others of the strongest men in French politics, he progressed from an extreme radical position to a moderate liberalism; stigmatized by their former revolutionary comrades as outright "reaction." But Briand is still more acceptable to the Socialists and the other groups of the "Left" than he is to the extreme "Right," which continues to demand Poincaré as Premier and favors a policy of most unrelenting rigor toward Germany.

His appointment means that Millerand is determined to make one more trial to get together a Cabinet which can at the same time command the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies and maintain cordial coöperation with the British, who are less ready than the French to make use of military force in order to extract indemnities from Germany.

# The German Lands

AUSTRIA is sinking daily deeper into the mire of bankruptcy and ruin. January 15, 1921, the date set by rumor for the final collapse of the Austrian State, passed without any exceptional disturbance save for a general strike of postal, telegraph and telephone workers, which was promptly settled by the Government. The more radical trades unionists warned the country that if, begining January 20, the Government did not suppress the "profiteers" lynchings would begin. Sentiment for union with Germany appears to be growing. Sir William Goode, British member of the Austrian Reparations Commission, urges the granting of a loan of about $300,000,000 to rehabilitate Austria. He opposes union with Germany on the ground that it would be a military menace to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy to have Germany extended as far as Vienna. Baron Frankenstein, Austrian Ambassador to Britain, said that if adequate loans and credits were now granted to Austria the nation might "become self-sufficient in five or six years," but if nothing is done to rescue Austria each province would set up for itself. "The states nearest to Germany would try to secure annexation to the German Republic. There would be another partition of Austria. Some of the states would try to remain independent. There would be revolution and communism. We have much industrial unrest in Austria now and more than half the people are Social Democrats. These might easily swing to Bolshevism."




DISMEMBERED AUSTRIA

**As a result of the war the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up, roughly along racial lines, as indicated in the map. Galicia has gone to Poland; Transylvania to Rumania; Bosnia and Croatia to united Yugoslavia; Trentino and Istria to Italy. Hungary and Czechoslovakia are independent. What is left, the old imperial capital of Vienna and its mountain hinterland, is mainly German in population and desirous of joining Germany**

Germany is economically in a better shape than Austria. Exports almost balance imports and foreign trade is reviving. Altho still "at war" with the United States, Germany imported from the United States during the first eleven months of 1920 $253,000,000 worth of goods and exported to the United States $84,000,000 worth. Foodstuffs, cotton and copper were the chief imports from America and dyes and other manufactured articles the chief exports. German currency, according to Paul Cravath, the American banker, has been inflated to about ten times its pre-war volume. This is bad enough, for it means that the buying power of the mark is only about a tenth of what it was before the Great War, but it is nothing like the position in which Austria and other countries of central and eastern Europe find themselves.

The chief worry of the Germans is the impending reparations indemnity. They are watching the shifts and changes of French politics with eager attention, for since France is Germany's most insistent creditor much depends on the policy of the men who come to the top in France. Another German problem is the protection of the republic against the opposite dangers of Bolshevism and monarchical restoration. There are persistent rumors of a plot to restore the Hohenzollern dynasty and of royalist conspiracies across the Dutch frontier in which the royal exile of Amerongen may be personally implicated. The loyalty of the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr* and similar semi-military organizations is much questioned, and the Escherich Organization (commonly called the "Orgesch"), altho it is but a private patriotic society and presumably has no arms in its possession, is regarded in republican circles as the center of a vast reactionary conspiracy. A Republican League has been founded to counteract the influence of the Orgesch. Steps have been taken to "democratize" the bureaucracy and the standing army. They range in importance from the establishment of an elective military council, advisory to the Defense Ministry, in which all ranks are represented, to an order forbidding all Government employees to wear monocles. The monocle, we learn, "tends to cast more of a reflection of monarchistic ambitions on the present Government than anything else," and will only be permitted in the future after "an examination at the hands of a competent and reputable optician" has testified to weakness in one eye! This typically pedantic decree called out ironic comment in the press, such as "Now the Republic is saved!" As a further evidence of good faith that Germany has experienced a "change of heart" the Leipzig criminal court has sentenced to imprisonment for several years three German soldiers acused of having looted an inn in Belgium. This is but a small beginning in the promised punishment of the hundreds of war criminals; it is a step in the right direction.

There is one particularly circumstantial rumor of a royalist conspiracy. According to the story as it runs, the Hungarian Government is to take German colonists into Hungary, soldiers disguised as agricultural laborers, to act as an advance guard of German militarism. The monarchy is to be restored in Hungary under protection of this new army, Germany is to call back the Hohenzollerns to the throne, aid is to be given for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki and the restoration of the old Russian Government. Then Russia, Austria, Hungary and Germany all combined are to war on France and compel the revision of the peace treaties.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**I was an-hungered and ye gave Me meat**

# A Little of Everything



## Austria's Rising Generation

There are in the city of Vienna 340,000 children under fifteen years of age. Of these, 96.2 per cent—that is, 327,000 children—are actually in a deplorable physical condition from lack of sufficient and proper food. One hundred and sixty thousand of these—48.9 per cent of the total child population—are being regularly fed by the American Relief Administration European Children's Fund. The amount of work to be done is appalling, but the amount that is being done is inspiring and reassuring. The figures are from Vienna; the same work goes on thruout Austria.

There are no statistics that estimate the amount of thought and sacrifice and human effort being sunk in the undertaking. But the technique of it all—methods of classification and procedure and finance—is endlessly interesting. The children are divided into three classes, according to degree of under-nourishment. The American Relief reaches all of Class 3, the very badly off, and over 73 per cent of Class 2, the class a little less badly off. So far the Relief has been financially able to supply only one hot meal a day to each child; but supplemented by such food as the child can get at home, this single meal has accomplished results. In any case, each child has a meal card, good for a period of several months; if at the end of the time there is no marked improvement, because of poor home conditions, the card can be renewed. The food is measured on a new unit basis—the "nem," which is short for "*N*utrition *E*lement *M*ilk"; a nem is a quantity of foodstuff of the nutritive value of one gram of ordinary milk, a simpler unit for calculation than the more or less mysterious calory.

The American Relief has other channels. To meet the problem of shortage of materials even for those who have money to pay, Administration warehouses all over Austria import and dispense staple commodities. This method could, and does, within its financial power, accomplish inestimable results. It is far more efficient and economical than the outworn system of small individually contributed packages. The Relief has distributed thousands of complete suits of clothes, to children who had been going barefoot, and without any underclothes or overcoats.

The remedy must be built on colossal lines to meet such a need. The birth-rate in Austria has decreased, the death rate has increased, infant mortality has enormously increased since pre-war days. Among the very young and the aged mortality has almost trebled. There were 3000 more deaths from tuberculosis in 1919 than in 1912. And perhaps most deeply significant of all—the children below fifteen years of age, literally the whole generation that will soon be Austria's controlling generation, are in varying degree physically and mentally degenerate, and are likely to remain so, for anything that Austria herself can do to help it.

Our readers may be interested to know that the facts here presented are taken from a report just sent us by Captain Gardner Richardson, Chief of Mission in Austria, who before he entered the war was the business manager of The Independent.

## Ten Commandments of Selling

These extracts are from an address by Dr. Frank Crane, given before the New York Life Insurance Company convention, at White Sulphur Springs.

I. *Be agreeable.* If your voice is disagreeable and your manner of speech indistinct, see specialists. Don't get mad. I like you to be sunny, but I don't want to get freckles.

II. *Know your goods.* And when you tell me anything talk plainly. Most salesmen lack imagination. They cannot conceive of the extent of my ignorance.

III. *Don't argue.* When you argue with a man you are trying to push him. He may be weak and pretend to be convinced. Overnight he will change.

IV. *Make it plain.* Get a grasp on the fellow you are talking with. Do not get out that little book that will only puzzle him. Answer his questions without looking at your books, charts, tables.

V. *Tell the truth.* By the law of average, honesty gives the greatest profits. If you are working for a concern where you cannot tell the truth, quit and go elsewhere.

VI. *Be dependable.* If you tell a man you are going to do a thing, do it if it costs a leg.

VII. *Remember names and faces.* Don't call me Green when my name is Crane. I am sensitive about my name. Don't call me Mr. if my title is Dr. Don't call a colonel Major.

VIII. *Don't be egotistical.* I am. You must not be. Don't show off. You came to sell me something, not to make a good impression. Magnify my ego, not yours.

IX. *Think success.* Radiate prosperity. Do not mention calamities, dirges, funerals. Be a little Pollyanna.

X. *Be human.* If the company merely wanted to disseminate information they would use a catalog, not you.




*R. F. Mundorff*

A JOLT-LESS AMBULANCE

**This new aerial ambulance, designed and perfected by the United States Army Air Service, has space for two patients, a medical attendant, and a pilot. The two litters —Stokes litters are used—are slipped into long slots in the side of the machine, strapped securely in place, and the doors shut upon them. The compartments are fully lighted and ventilated by small windows**



**It is very suitable that Nature herself should have sculptured out of enduring stone a huge portrait bust of "The Father of His Country." The great rock looms up suddenly from the sagebrush where the desert meets the mountains near Chatsworth, California, and for wide distances around the features of George Washington are easily recognizable**

## Making Holes in Swiss Cheese

After twelve years of experimentation the United States Department of Agriculture is able to announce a discovery that has practically eliminated the uncertainty in the making of Swiss cheese, of which Americans are very fond. Large quantities of an inferior grade have been manufactured for many years in the United States.

Under the methods which previously have been typical of Swiss cheese production, ordinarily only from 40 to 50 per cent was high grade, and more than five centuries of experience were fruitless so far as standardization was concerned. By the new method evolved in the laboratories of the United States Government, it is possible to guarantee that at least 90 per cent of the cheese will be of excellent quality.

Unable to learn from the Swiss makers, with whom cheesemaking is a tradition and not a science, the secret of the hole that characterizes their cheese, American agricultural experts proceeded to extract the thousand and more bacteria from a sample of fine imported Swiss cheese. By an elimination process they then tested out each individual organism. The results were even then not promising. But thru the use of a new culture medium, the scientists were able to isolate the particular organism which formed the holes in Swiss cheese.

Another notable accomplishment of this department has been the perfection of modern methods of Roquefort cheese production, so that this delicacy can be made from cow's milk and cured under artificial conditions, the finished product being comparable to the imported Roquefort from France. The principal difference noted is one of color. The domestic product from cow's milk is yellow instead of white.

Before giving publicity to its discoveries, the Department of Agriculture produced both Swiss and Roquefort cheeses on a commercial scale for wholesale and retail trade, at a creamery in the state of Pennsylvania. For two years this cheese has been sold on the open market in active competition with the best grades of imported cheese with good results. Already there is one plant in the state of California manufacturing the Swiss cheese on a large scale, according to the new method of production. This factory will produce over two million dollars worth of Swiss cheeses this year and it has already exported two carloads to Switzerland, where it was sold on the open market and compared to the best offering of that country.

## Vive la Panama!

What is the coolest kind of hat to wear in hot weather? The *Scientific American* has been finding out. It seems that on a very bright, hot day when the thermometer registered 96.8° seven men were given hats, each of a different type. These were worn outdoors for two hours and then the temperatures inside the hats were taken. Here are the results:

| | |
|---|---|
| Soldier's hard peaked hat | 98.6° |
| Soldier's cloth cap | 94.1° |
| Hard round derby | 92.1° |
| High silk hat | 89.6° |
| Hard straw hat | 86.0° |
| Soft light colored felt | 79.7° |
| Straw panama | 77.9° |

## Zigzags

Automobiles killed 780 persons in New York City in 1919.

***

The average weekly earnings of New York State factory workers are $28.71.

***

Tuesday, instead of Friday, is counted the unluckiest day of the week in Greece.

***

Sacramento, the capital of California, has adopted a new charter based on proportional representation for the city council.

***

Williams College is going to establish next summer a vacation institute of politics to be conducted by great statesmen of the world.

***

The summit of Snowden, in the English Lake District, has been sold for £7520. Mr. Gladstone climbed the mountain in his eightieth year.

***

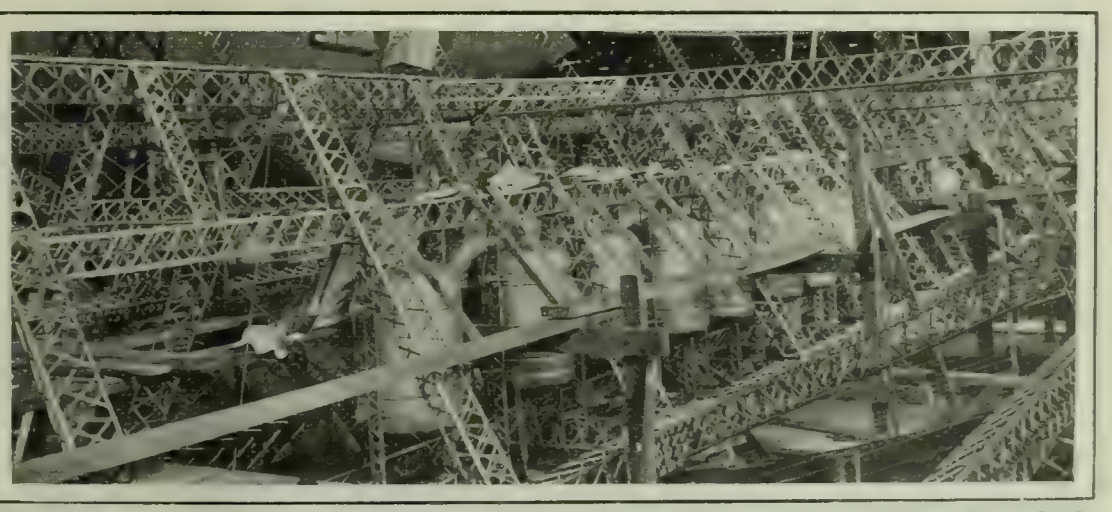
The American Bible Society plans to give a copy of the Gospel of John, printed in raised letters, to every American soldier who was blinded in the war.

***

New Yorkers were startled to learn of a death from leprosy reported by a hospital in the city. Later it was learned that the cause of death was not leprosy but injuries inflicted by the bite of a leopard.

***

Altho we are still at war with Germany, the Vaterland has already reached third place in the foreign trade of the United States with European countries. In the first six months of 1920 German imports from the United States amounted to $118,000,000 while her exports to the United States were $35,000,000.



**This is the way fuel tanks are stowed into the skeleton of the R-80. They look inextricable, but they are so arranged that they may be dropped out thru trapdoors in the envelope in case the airship needs suddenly to be considerably lightened**

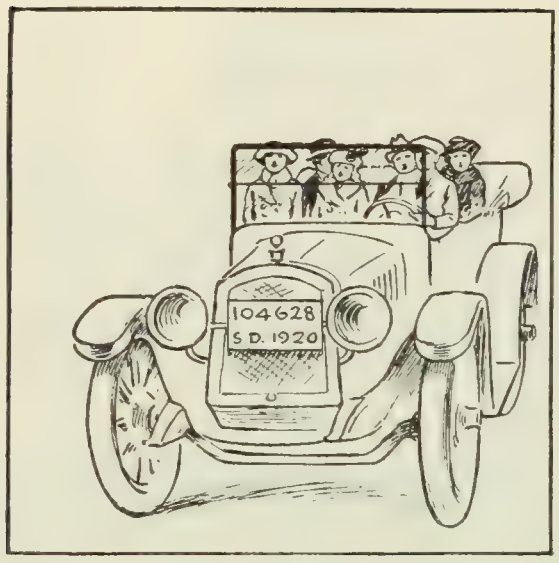
# A Leviathan in Silk and Aluminum

### By Austin C. Lescarboura

Germany's monopoly of the rigid airship is pretty much a matter of history. Today Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and other leading nations are making use of Zeppelin type airships. Great Britain has gone into it in a very efficient manner, and it is generally believed that she rules the air as she rules the waves. At any rate, she has smashed Germany's monopoly.

Typical of the British effort is the R-80, which is the latest British airship. This new dirigible marks a decided advance on previous types, with the result that her disposable lift is as high as 46.3 per cent. of the total lift, while her cruising radius at economical speed is 6400 miles. The maximum speed is about 65 miles per hour.

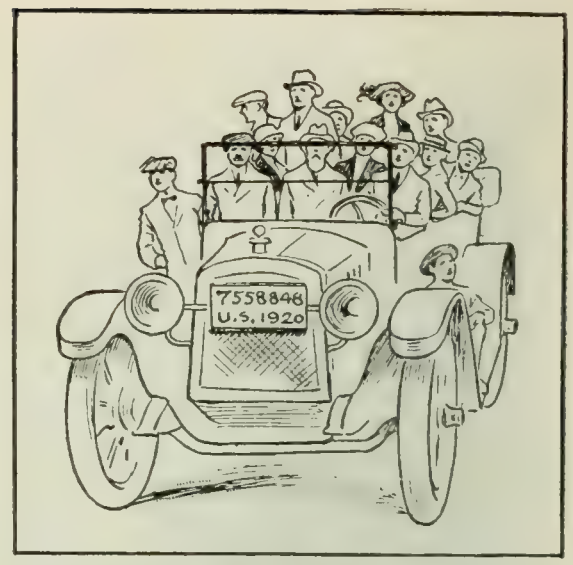
The R-80 is by no means the largest airship. The overall length of the envelope or hull is 529 feet, or, including the mooring attachment extending out from the nose, 534 feet. The gas capacity is more than 1,250,000 cubic feet, giving a gross displacement of




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ALABAMA




THE UNITED STATES

**Fifth Avenue likes to think it owns all the automobiles in the world. As a matter of fact, according to an automobile census made by Andrew Linn Bostwick, of the Research Department of the Simmons Hardware Company, St. Louis—South Dakota has the largest relative number, an automobile for every six persons; Alabama has the smallest with one for every forty persons, and New York, with one for every eighteen persons, is thirty-seventh on the list. The explanation is, of course, that automobiles are more necessary in rural districts than in compact cities. The Western states in general come first with the largest number, the Eastern states second, and the Southern states last. The average for the United States as a whole is fourteen persons to one machine**

38.25 tons. Of this 17.8 tons (46.3 per cent.) is disposal lift. The largest diameter of the envelope is 70 feet 7½ inches. The gas is contained in fifteen gas bags arranged in the envelope much after the fashion of peas in a pod.

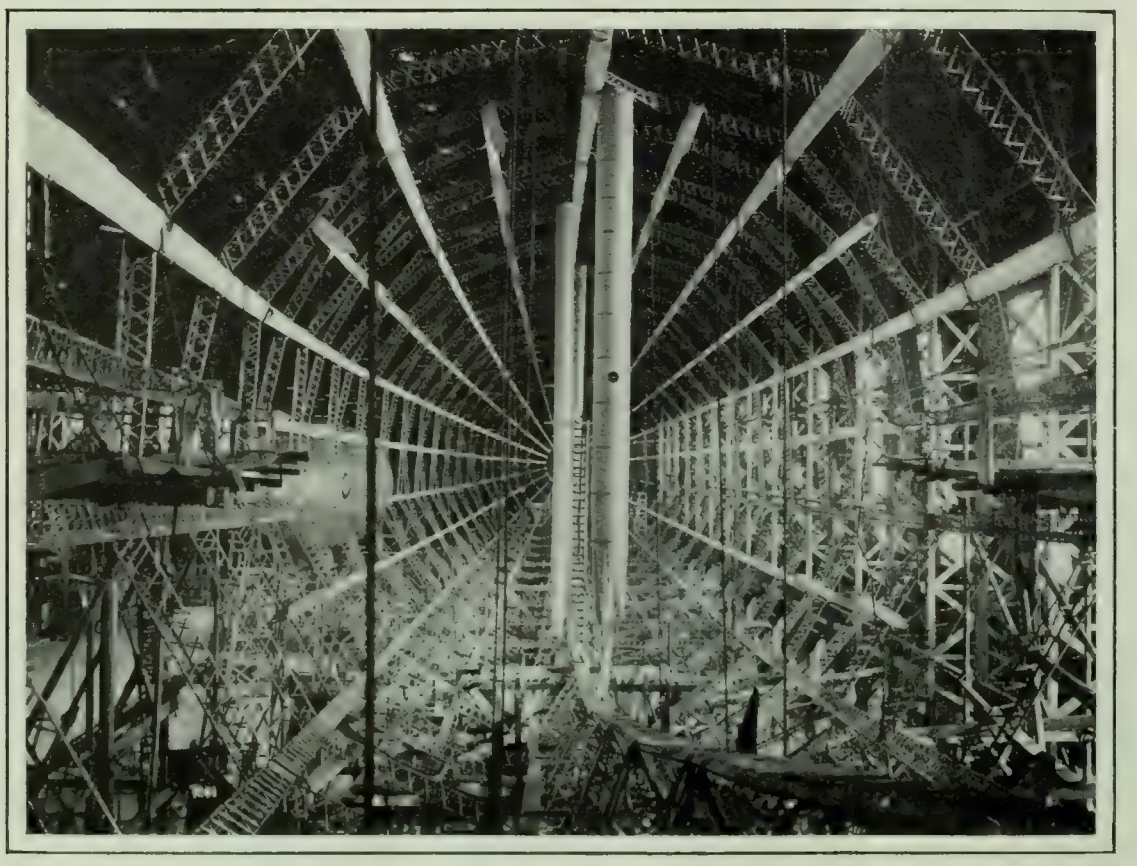
The propelling power of the R-80 takes the form of four engines carried in three cars suspended from the hull structure and developing 1000 horsepower at full power. Of course, such powerful engines require a large reservoir of fuel. Thus the 17.8 tons of disposable lift must include the fuel, which obviously varies with the length of flight. The minimum weight of crew, stores and ballast required for a prolonged flight is 3.8 tons, leaving 14 tons available for fuel and oil. Thus, when equipped for a prolonged flight there is little if any margin for cargo. Indeed, this is the one great difficulty which confronts us. By reducing the cruising radius less fuel and ballast are required, hence more or less cargo may be carried.

The R-80 is essentially a military machine, without provision for passengers' comfort. The armament, had the war continued, would have been eight 230-pound bombs, stowed horizontally in the keel, which could be released electrically. The R-80 was also to carry an automatic quick-firing two-pounder gun, and two Lewis guns. Another gun position was also provided with two Lewis guns, and similar weapons were fitted in the cars.

As it is, the crew spend most of their time while off duty inside the envelope, along the bottom of which runs a boardwalk for practically the entire length of the airship. Sleeping quarters are hammocks slung between beams. Food is cooked on special cookers heated by the exhaust gases of the engines—an open flame would be out of the question.

The mooring problem has been practically solved by the British. Most of us can recall when the R-34 was swinging and swaying in the strong breezes of Long Island, after its trip across the Atlantic. Something like 300 soldiers were necessary to hold down the huge airship.

Now the British have introduced a mooring mast to which a dirigible is moored by an arrangement at the nose. Mooring and trail ropes are released through trapdoors operated from the control car. The dirigible rides on an even keel upwards of 100 feet above the ground. The top portion of the masthead, to which the dirigible is attached, is arranged to rotate, so that the ship may always lie head on.



**No, this is not the inside of a factory or a railroad terminal. It is a view thru the interior of the British dirigible R-80, during construction. Inside this skeleton are placed the gas bags, and the crew's quarters—which are hammocks slung between beams. The board walk thru the center, extending the entire length of the ship, gives access to different parts of the interior, and ladders reach the platforms atop the envelope or the cars below containing the controlling apparatus and the engines**

## A Modern Catechism

Dr. Charles M. Sheldon suggests in the *Christian Herald* the following "Personal Test" for each person to ask himself. The answer "yes" or "no" gives 10 to each question, and 100 for a total:

1. Am I a disciple of Jesus and trying as hard as I can to obey His teachings?
2. Do I have a real hunger and thirst for righteousness?
3. Is it easier for me to do right than wrong because I have acquired the habit of doing it?
4. Do I have more friends than enemies?
5. Am I as kind and courteous in my family circle as among strangers I have just met?
6. Do I have any bad habits I would not like to have my friends imitate?
7. Am I giving out of my means my full share for Christian work?
8. Do I have any race prejudice or race feeling to overcome?
9. Do my neighbors like me?
10. When I die is there any likelihood that people will talk about putting up a fountain to my memory?

## The Five Cent Fare

(*Continued from page 108*)

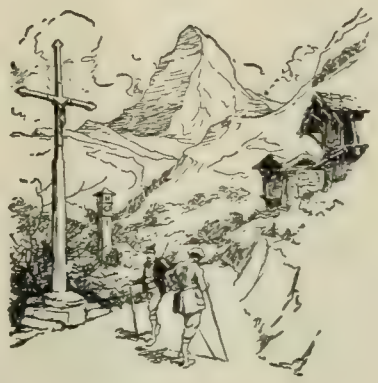
valuation at present inflated prices, to make good past overcapitalization and not have to squeeze the water out of their securities. Their very poverty has come to be a source of strength. A portion of the public is affected by sympathy for their distress; another portion by fear that unless they are relieved their services will be lost; and still another is becoming apathetic thru a sense of the futility of a purely negative policy.

Everybody admits that the public relations of the utilities as a whole have always been on an unsatisfactory basis. The present crisis is bringing the situation to a head. On all sides is heard the demand for a new deal. After feeling the pinch of public regulation, and being buffeted by the storms of economic distress, the companies have discovered that they cannot go it alone, that public coöperation and the coöperation of labor are both essential to their prosperity; but they are very hungry, and the kind of coöperation they offer to the public under the service-at-cost plan reminds one of the celebrated limerick:

"There was a young lady of Niger,
Who smiled as she rode on a tiger;
They came back from the ride
With the lady inside
And the smile on the face of the tiger."

The big crisis right now is a crisis in public policy. All schemes of partnership and coöperation between the public and the utilities are deceptive and will prove to be disastrous unless they are based upon the full, frank and definite recognition that the "tiger" is to be a beast of burden, not a beast of prey. There can be no solution of the public utility problem except upon the basis that the utilities exist for public service—that in their construction, maintenance and operation, and in the determination of the extent and character of the service they are to render and the rates they are to charge, the public interest is paramount. Public service corporations can be of no use, either theoretically or practically, unless they are in fact public servants. Everybody will have to agree on that before any progress can be made in the direction of coöperation that is worth while from the public point of view.

With the theory agreed upon, and the utility company prepared in good faith *to enlist for service*, the next thing to be determined is the extent of the private investment in the plant and facilities used for public benefit. Here again, except in the case of new utilities constructed under public supervision, we hit a snag. The determination of the amount of the investment is fundamental to any readjustment of a utility's public relations. Excessive valuation claims, based either on reproduction cost of existing property at war prices or upon the capitalization of deficits alleged to have accrued in happier times when the companies believed their franchises to be of great value—rate restrictions and

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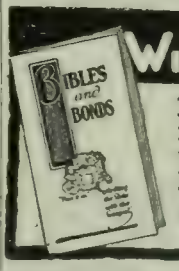
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all—can serve only as a signal for the renewal of the conflict. It is of extreme importance to urban communities everywhere that the cost of utility service should be kept as low as possible. They cannot afford to accept any proposal of coöperation that is not based upon an honest and conservative capital value. Just now, in an effort to make it appear that the public can afford to enter into service-at-cost agreements without making the companies travel the thorny road that led up to the original service-at-cost agreement in Cleveland, it is being claimed that the effect of a high valuation upon rates is, after all, a negligible matter. A former City Street Railroad Commissioner of Cleveland has been quoted as saying that the cutting out of $10,000,000 from the capital account of the Cleveland Railway at the time the Tayler plan was put into effect ten years ago is responsible for a difference of only one-fifth of a cent in the average fare paid by the Cleveland car riders. The inference is that it is hardly necessary for the public to make such a fuss about over-valuations. In this connection two important points are glossed over: One is that the valuation fixes the price at which the property may be purchased by the municipalities at some future time. The other is that over-valuation impairs the security of the investment and makes a higher rate of return necessary. No matter how it may be camouflaged, a company's offer of coöperation on the basis of an excessive capital value is something to reject.

Nothing has happened in the history of public utilities in this country to indicate that the public will be able to get fruitful coöperation from the utility companies except as a result of a grand and glorious scrap. At the same time, it is perfectly clear that cities cannot afford to pursue a merely negative, dog-in-the-manger policy. Public utility service is in its nature a high type of community coöperation for the common welfare. It is essentially an affirmative, constructive function. If it is to be rendered thru private agencies, they must first be taught "to keep their place," and then the community must, in a spirit of justice and fairness, and indeed as a means of self-protection, give to its servants who are going about *its* business, such conditions of work and such compensation as will enable them to perform.

The cities will lose out unless they make up their minds to two things:

First, to stop temporizing with the utility problem, and adopt a permanent civic policy with respect to it.

Second, to exercize eternal vigilance in protecting the public interest and safeguarding the adopted public policy in every proceeding of every description that affects the development or control of the local utilities.

It is possible to outline in general terms a policy that is universally applicable, or nearly so, altho, no doubt, the elaboration of such a policy will necessarily differ in many details in different communities.

The general utility policy, then, which ought to be adopted everywhere, is to treat public utilities as public business, with public service rather than private profits the desideratum of their management. If the companies are willing and able to operate the utilities on this basis, private ownership and management under intimate public control may continue to be used as an instrument for the performance of public service, but otherwise not; and the only possible guaranty of the faithful performance of a public function by a private agency is the community's constant readiness, practical and real, to do for itself the things that are necessary to be done.

*New York City*

# "Orders Received and Executed"

(*Continued from page 111*)

air currents, at varying hights; the definite establishment of air pockets under certain conditions; the constant necessity for an amplifying collection of meteorological data or for student flyers to accustom them to the air and altitude; and also, for the purpose of learning how to maneuver a free balloon in the event of the breaking of the cable holding fast an observation balloon. For at any time it is possible for an observation balloon to become a free balloon. It is understood at air stations that a free balloon may be used at almost any time by officers for any one of these purposes. No one trip in a free balloon is like unto another and much valuable experience may be gained in this manner.

Lieutenant Farrell is a gunnery officer and while trained for flight in all types of aircraft is not regarded as a pilot. Lieutenant Kloor was the only lighter-than-air pilot of the three and naturally was appointed pilot for the flight of the balloon A-5598 when it left Rockaway, December 13, altho the other two officers were his seniors.

The only instruments of any great value on a balloon flight are an altimeter and a compass. For training purposes in connection with observation, other instruments are used, but these are highly specialized and can be of little use when the flights made are experimental or for practice purposes.

Kloor saw to it that in the rattan basket there were an altimeter and a compass and also supplies sufficient for a flight of short duration. Any man accustomed to the air is interested vitally and at all times in all forms of aircraft, and it is not to be wondered at that, as Hinton had never been in a free balloon, he was desirous of making the flight with Kloor. Farrell, on the other hand, who could be at home in any type of aircraft, realized the importance of keeping in "air trim" and was made the second passenger. Just what new experience might be forthcoming in this flight was not anticipated beforehand, but it is to be assumed that the data which is brought back from any air work is valuable to aviation. The orders for the flight were duly made out and signed by the commandant of the station and at noon on December 13 the big bag of 3500 cubic feet capacity of gas was ready.

When the free balloon was ready for flight there was a sufficient number of bags of sand in the basket. With the weight of the three men and all other weights the bag was at equilibrium. Gradually, as the gas warmed under the sun, it expanded, giving it greater lifting value.

When there is present the pure joy of travel thru the air there is the temptation to continue. At Wells, New York, Kloor had valved, that is, let gas out in order to come down and find out what their location was. It was decided by Kloor to go on and land in the morning when there would be no danger of striking anything in the dark. Such a decision is often made by the pilot of a free balloon when he believes distance may be made or a record may be established. As conditions at that time appeared to be satisfactory there was no reason for stopping the flight. Shortly after they unloosed their drag rope from the trees at Wells and were on the way again, a violent storm came up and they were whipped along at breakneck speed.

It was well that Kloor was a skilled pilot, for only his ability, gained after many hours in the air in free balloon flights, saved the lives of these men. With such speed no landing could be made without the possibility of very serious accident or death and it was necessary during the entire night of the 13th and 14th for their safety that altitude be maintained. Bag after bag of the ballast gradually disappeared in order to keep up as far above the storm as possible. Soon this disappeared, and then all superfluous weight in the basket, ounce by ounce, was intermittently thrown overboard. During the next day the storm continued, but by skillful piloting they managed to stay up until they heard the dog bark. With their ballast exhausted and the buoyancy of the gas greatly reduced, the landing became a forced one and it is to the credit of Kloor in handling the balloon that no one was injured.

Naval aviation can look in vain thru many records to find a similar chapter in its history of hair-raising flights. Kloor, as pilot, achieved a notable accomplishment in free ballooning and one to which a new record in this field of aeronautics may be attached.

But the story is the simple one set down at the beginning of this article—three entries in a Navy log. And the significance of it is the same in every case of performance of duty, i. e., "Orders received and executed."

*New York City*

# Without Benefit of Jim Crow

(*Continued from page 110*)

the sky above, skin as white as Italian marble, and profiles worthy of a prince of England. Whatever they may be, I claim them gladly and proudly as my blood brothers, my own people; I pity them, and I know they can be reclaimed in a decade.

While a negro is by no means certain of justice of purest ray serene when he kills a white person, it is interesting to me to observe how patient the courts are in cases, both civil and criminal, where one negro appears against another. And you must remember that the negroes cause more casualties among each other in the South during a year than the white can be held accountable for. The courts are not merciful with the negro offender against a white person, but it is my observation that they are extremely careful to follow the letter of the law. In the matter of homicide involving only whites, the juries are notoriously lenient.

I well recall the Burrell Oates case, which was reversed by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals five times because the record did not make clear beyond a reasonable doubt identification of the negro defendant as the man who fired the fatal shot. The principal witness was a foreign woman who spoke very poor English. She made herself clear to the juries and they returned death penalties, but the record that went up to the higher court was not equally clear and the judges reversed the case again and again until the whole state was amused. The negro defendant had not a cent and seemed to have no friends. He was defended by counsel appointed by the court. The court would not risk executing a friendless, penniless, ignorant negro even after five juries convicted him until the court was satisfied.

There are two facts which must be understood clearly before one can approach the South's negro problem with the remotest hope of understanding. One is that the negro understands the Southern white even more deeply than the white understands the negro. For every advantage a shrewd white man wrings from the black the black man wheedles another from the white. They know us from toe to head, from soul to pocketbook, and they play upon us as a master upon his violin. And we like it; their work is artistic. Fact number two is that the white man of the South loves the negro. Deny it, however hotly he may, it is the most important fact of all. Up here in New York I miss real "niggahs"—my "niggahs"—who love to serve me and whose service I love better than any other.

Once you have got rid of the phantom of social and political equality you have in the negro qualities that you cannot keep from loving. If I leave out all the others and name only one it will be sufficient to make my point. Negroes love children and understand them and know how to entertain them and enjoy the task. Our children are devoted to them. Could there be a more tender tie? The care of a child is a burden to most of us when we are busy. It is a joy to a negro and he discharges the double service with utmost grace. No true son or daughter of the South can think of childhood without hearing again the endearing terms of their devoted protectors and seeing smiling, black, shiny faces thru a mist of tears.

Some years ago there was a mob outbreak in the town where my father lives. He buckled on his six-shooters and accompanied his negro servants on all necessary trips. Anyone who thinks he would not have shot in their defense lives in the North. Many other men did the same thing. Some years ago when there was a race riot in Atlanta, scores of white men gathered the negroes to whom they felt they owed protection on their own premises and then mounted guard over them on the front gallery, remaining there all night, shotgun in hand and finger on the trigger. It is a very dangerous venture in the South to do wanton harm to a negro. He may "tell his white folks." If they happened to be Colonel Bill Crowell, my father, there would be "hell all over the place."

There is one great wrong done the negro in the South, however, that I am aware of and hope to see remedied. That wrong is the belief by millions of Southern whites that "to educate a negro is to ruin a good cotton picker and produce an agitator and trouble-maker." It is beyond me how that fiction persists in the minds of honest, well intentioned, kind men when the facts so plainly show they are wrong. Every loud-mouthed agitator I have ever met among the negroes was an ignoramus. The negroes are misled and robbed and misinformed year after year by self-appointed ministers of the gospel who barely read and write. They are stirred up by demagogs who cannot read the headlines of the newspapers. Educated negroes are quiet, industrious, useful citizens.

Some of my Southern friends will take exception to this, but I plead with them to observe carefully before they vote me mistaken. Some of them will take exception to the appearance of any such statement in a magazine read in the North, because they think it will give fuel to those who are bitter against the South. But there is no danger in telling the truth to an acute sentimentalist no matter how damaging it may be to your own cause: he hasn't sense enough to use it. He prefers the fictions of his own imagination. The sentimentalist Northern sympathizer with the Southern negro has never done one bit of good for the negro and never will. On the contrary he stirs something stubborn and ill-tempered that is in all of us. He never quite knows what he is talking about. Nine times out of ten he pleads the negro's right to something that would do him more harm than good.

*New York City*


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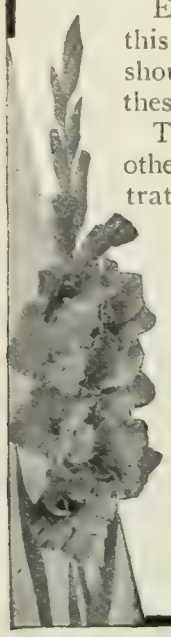
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

**I. The Five Cent Fare.**

1. Discuss the carfare question in your own city, if there has been any. What sort of propaganda has been used? Criticize it on the ground of its effectiveness.
2. Write a series of posters or placards advocating anything you please of local interest—higher carfares, or a new school gymnasium, or a new theater, or better roads, or anything you like.
3. Make a paragraph statement of the substance of Mr. Wilcox's article. If you have difficulty in doing this, see if you can find out whether the trouble is with you or the article.

**II. A Challenge to Colleges.**

1. Explain the following: "Its social philosophy is too catholic." " . . . have all but shouted 'kamerad' to their difficulties." "If education in the first half of the nineteenth century was too transcendental is there no danger that in the first half of the twentieth century it shall be too practical?" Define *hedonism, transcendental, practical idealism.*
2. Mr. Mathews suggests two troubles with modern education: "that unstable compound of athletics, dances and enforced class attendance . . ." and "American educational methods . . . are altogether too emphatic as to economic efficiency." Do you think these are two aspects of the same condition, or two different conditions? Which of Mr. Mathews' charges against the American college is better supported by your own experience?
3. Write an answer to this article, meeting it in general or on any point you choose.

**III. Without Benefit of Jim Crow.**

1. There is so much pleasant running comment in Mr. Crowell's essay that perhaps it is hard to pay attention to the points he makes. Summarize Mr. Crowell's attitude toward the negro, referring to passages which seem to you especially revealing.
2. What do you think of Mr. Crowell's diagnosis of the Northern state of mind toward the negro, as he describes it in the passage beginning, "And this has suggested a new mystery to me. . . ." If you disagree, write what seems to you a fairer statement of the case.
3. How do you think Mr. Crowell would meet the fact that in the North it is not necessary to have a Jim Crow law to preserve order and decency, believing as he does that the attitude of the South is essentially more just and sound than it is in the North? What do you yourself make out of this fact, that Northern negroes do not need to be kept in order by law?
4. If you are a Northerner and resent being called a sentimentalist, write a dialog between yourself and Mr. Crowell, attempting, without doing him injustice—simpy using the material of his own article—to convict him of the same weakness. Be sure you give him a chance to defend himself.
5. Find out something about different attitudes toward the negro fifty and more years ago. Pick out one or a group of the following, as the center of an essay about the Civil War state of mind on the subject: Abraham Lincoln, Robert E. Lee, Whittier, Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, Harriet Beecher Stowe. These are chosen because they happen to have left full written record of their feelings and beliefs, not because of the side they were on. If you can supplement the list with other prominent Southerners of the Civil War period, so much the better. Give your essay concreteness by as much illustrative material as you can use.

**IV. The Story of the Week.**

1. Write a poem or a piece of more or less poetical prose suggested by the cartoon "I was an-hungered and ye gave Me meat," or any other appeal you have seen for the starving children of Europe.

**V. A Little of Everything.**

1. Write a letter to The Independent with suggestions for the Little of Everything department—what sort of things you would like to have in it, what sort of thing it prints that you do not care for, what sort of thing, all right in moderation, that you think it prints too much of.
2. If you have an idea for an interesting little article for the department, write it and send it in. Do another of the kind of thing that you have already seen published; or, if you can, do something that you think is an innovation.

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. International Understanding — The Assembly of the League. Beating Swords Into Plowshares. America and Japan.**

1. Summarize in a compact statement the achievements of the League of Nations Assembly.
2. What point does Mr. Holt make in comparing the Assembly of the League of Nations with the first Congress of the United States?
3. What reasons are inducing Congress to reduce the army below the figure fixed a few months ago?
4. How far do you think military and naval disarmament can safely be carried (a) on our own initiative, (b) after agreement with England and Japan, (c) after we enter the League of Nations or some similar organization?

**II. Municipal Railways — The Five Cent Fare.**

1. "City dwellers are now paying twice as much for utility services as for municipal government." In your opinion, is this an argument for or against municipal ownership of public utilities? Notice how the argument could be turned to the advantage of either side.
2. Why are municipal transportation companies now advocating "service at cost" whereas for many years they held to the rigid letter of the contracts fixing a five cent fare? What economic changes have taken place during the last decade to bring about this change of attitude?
3. What policy with respect to public utilities is advocated by Mr. Wilcox?
4. Compare the line of argument in this article with that of Mr. Edwin Sweet in The Independent of November 27, 1920, who advocated "service at cost," by increased fares if necessary. If the fare question is a live one in your town prepare a debate for or against a higher fare, based on these articles.

**III. The Race Question—Without Benefit of Jim Crow.**

1. Read this able presentation of the southern white viewpoint on racial discriminations in connection with "The New Negro," by Rollin L. Hartt, in The Independent of January 15, 1921. Numerous points of comparison and contrast will suggest themselves.

**IV. Austria—The German Lands. Austria's Rising Generation.**

1. From any standard history of Europe find out what you can about Austria. What was the House of Hapsburg? What lands did it acquire by war or marriage or otherwise? What was Austrian policy in Germany and Italy during the times of Metternich? What important lands were lost to the Austrian realm previous to 1914?
2. Compare the map of Austria in 1914 with the present map. What lands were lost by the war and the peace treaties? Why is it difficult for the present Austria to stand alone? What are the arguments for uniting Austria with Germany? What objections might reasonably be urged against this?

**V. The Supreme Court—The Supreme Obstacle.**

1. What are the powers of the Supreme Court as laid down in the constitution? How were they emphasized in the times of Justice Marshall?
2. What is the significance of Mr. Hapgood's title? If the Supreme Court is unduly conservative do you think this due to (a) the legal habit of mind, (b) the life term of office, (c) the conservatism of the Presidents who have made the appointments?
3. Prepare a brief for or against the present right of the Supreme Court to declare legislation unconstitutional.

**VI. French Politics—French Cabinet Upset.**

1. How does the French constitution differ from the American with respect to the responsibility of the executive to the legislative branch of government? Do you think it would be a good thing or not if the House of Representatives could compel the President to dismiss any member of his Cabinet who could not hold the confidence of the House?
2. Point out how the great number and small size of political parties in France makes it difficult for a Premier to hold office long. How does it simplify the tasks of government to have only two great parties?
3. How does the foreign policy of President Millerand differ from that of ex-President Poincaré? Why have the Germans just now so much interest in the internal politics of France?

# The Independent

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Hannah H. White, Managing Editor

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Norman Hapgood
Shailer Mathews
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## Pebbles

Farmer (proudly showing off his pigs)—And that's the cutest little pig I have. His name is Ink.

Visitor—How's that?

Farmer—Because he is always running out of the pen.—*Froth.*

A fly and a flea in a flue were imprisoned;
so what could they do?
Said the flea, "Let us fly!"
Said the fly, "Let us flee!"
So they flew thru a flaw in the flue.
—*Orange Peel.*

Mother—Gladys, you stood on the porch quite a while with that young man last night.

Gladys—Why, mother, I only stood there for a second.

Mother—But I'm sure I heard the third or fourth.—*Foolscrap.*

Telegram from his wife—"Landlord wants rent. Send me money by wire."

Reply from her husband on a journey—"Have no money myself but send 1000 kisses."

Wife's return wire—"Don't need money. Gave landlord one of the kisses and he is satisfied."—*Svenska Dagblad.*

The other day a negro went into a drug store and said:

"Ah wants one ob dem dere plasters you stick on yoah back."

"I understand," said the clerk, "You mean one of our porous plasters?"

"No, sah, I don't want none of your porous plasters. I wants de bes' one you got."—*New York Globe.*

"Will America ever come into the war?"
Was the question we all asked some five years ago;
But now, since the Senate gives Wilson what for,
The thing that we're getting quite anxious to know
Is, if their political quarrels don't cease,
Will America ever come into the Peace?
—*London Mail.*

THE MUSIC OF THE SPHERES.

I scan the sky in winter furs,
O pallid, chilly Betel*geuse;*
The snow lies round me like a fleece,
O radiant, snow-white Betel*geuse;*
My tribute I cannot refuse
O shining star of Betel*geuse;*
I fling my fancy far and loose
Into the infinite, Betel*geuse!*
How grand are astronomic joys
To him who views fair Betel*geuse;*
I sing, and greatly I rejoice
Beholding mighty Betel*geuse.*

The husband arrived home much later than usual "from the office." He took off his boots and stole into the bedroom. His wife began to stir. Quickly the panic-stricken man went to the cradle of his first-born and began to rock it vigorously.

"What are you doing there, Robert?" queried his wife.

"I've been sitting here for nearly two hours trying to get this baby to sleep," he growled.

"Why, Robert, I've got him here in bed with me," replied his wife.—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

## Remarkable Remarks

SENATOR EDGE—God help the American taxpayer.

DR. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON—Why wear clothes?

LENIN—We must bear up until the world revolution comes.

JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY—Minds of men thruout the world are discordant.

"BABE" RUTH—Sixty home runs or more will be my slogan for 1921.

PRIMA DONNA GALLI-CURCI—No girl should marry before she is thirty.

REV. PERCY STICKNEY GRANT—Very few clergymen could keep a set of books.

R. G. MCCUTCHEON—Music will drown out the insidious mutterings of red agitators.

BLASCO IBANEZ—In Europe it is safe to assume that the man of letters must be a beggar.

MARY GARDEN—The Latin nations must be treated with kindness and I would pat their cheeks.

RECTOR KARL REILAND—In the Episcopal Church the Bishop is an interesting decoration. We must have some one to go around and say grace at banquets.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK—Americans of German descent should receive signal recognition from Mr. Harding by the appointment of one or more of their race to the Cabinet.

## Opening Nights

*John Hawthorne*, by David Liebovitz. An impossible play of middle class American life—amateurishly played. (Garrick Theater.)

*Dear Me*, by Luther Reed and Hale Hamilton. A sunshine comedy of how success may be achieved from failure. Unusual, wholesome and well acted. (Republic Theater.)

*Wake Up, Jonathan!* A rather slight comedy made entertaining by Mrs. Fiske's deft juggling of epigrams and by the genuinely human acting of four children on Christmas Eve. There is a jolly, prehistoric prologue enacted by marionettes. (Henry Miller's Theater.)

*Erminie*. As good as new! This Jakobowski revival gives Francis Wilson his original role of Caddy and presents De Wolf Hopper as the other "downy jailbird." Not only their comedy, but the singing of the other principals and of the chorus is well above the modern average. (Park Theater.)

*The Green Goddess*, by William Archer. This, the first play of the distinguished English dramatic critic, is an interesting and hair-raising melodrama of Anglo-American life set in India. Gorgeously staged and costumed and acceptably acted with the exception of the star, George Arliss, whose part of the Indian Prince is most un-Oriental in conception and execution. (Booth Theater.)



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Camden, New Jersey

The Independent
February 5, 1921

# Editing a Magazine

## First of a Series of Seven Articles

## By Hamilton Holt

THE press, as Benjamin Franklin has said, is the mistress of intelligence. Its only rival today is the moving picture, which brings everything to you, and the automobile, which brings you to everything. Even as far back as 1787 Thomas Jefferson wrote, "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter." Jefferson lived, however, to recant this decision, for twenty years later he said, "The man who never looks at the newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors."

But the journalist of today, whatever be his propensities for truth or falsehood, wields an influence far beyond any other man, for the press is the only instrument by which the same thought can be brought into millions of minds at once. The influence of an editor, therefore, is only limited by the people who understand the language he writes. When, for instance, I want to visualize the audience I happen to reach each week I imagine myself standing in the center of the Yale Bowl after its seating capacity has been enlarged five-fold and then trying to make everybody hear me. Somehow such an attempt quickens very considerably my sense of editorial responsibility. I find this a good practice whenever I feel disposed to take myself too seriously or not seriously enough.

**In this series of articles the Editor of The Independent invites the readers to come into his sanctum, to see for themselves the "inside stuff" that makes up modern journalism, and to share some of the secrets that he has learned in the past two decades while editing The Independent and keeping a watchful eye on the progress of his "esteemed contemporaries"**

But before going on to the detailed discussion of the various aspects of magazine editing let me give succinctly some idea of the magnitude of the publishing industry as a whole. The last census divided the publishing business into the following six departments:

1. Book and job printing.
2. Music printing.
3. Bookbinding and banknote making.
4. Engraving.
5. Lithographing.
6. Newspaper and periodical publishing.

The 18,871 establishments engaged in the publishing of newspapers and periodicals employ 70,058 salaried workers and 108,672 wage earners. They were capitalized at $314,740,917. They reported products to the value of $406,090,122, of which over $200,000,000 was received from advertising and $135,000,000 from sales and subscriptions. They were divided into 2580 dailies, 15,166 weeklies and 2491 monthlies with a few bi-weeklies, semi-weeklies, quarterlies, etc. During the prior decade the monthlies increased the fastest, the dailies next, and the weeklies least of all.

These periodicals consumed some 3,000,000 tons of paper manufactured from over 100,000 acres of timber. Charles Hopkins Clark, the sapient editor of the Hartford *Courant*, has gone to the trouble to compute that the wood consumed in making the newspapers alone in the United States would make a pile 600 feet wide, a mile long and a hundred feet high. And he blithely adds that nowadays the newspaper is only one form of kindling wood. He even suggests that after the newspapers are read about one-half of them find their way back to the paper mill, while the rest are burned every day, "thus making the world brighter for a few minutes at least."

In the United States it would seem impossible for a daily paper ever to become a great national organ like the London *Times* of England. Distances are too great. In small nations like England and Japan metropolitan dailies can be distributed thruout the land within a few hours of the time of their publication. But no man in Chicago will read the New York *Tribune* when he can get the same news in the Chicago *Tribune* twenty-four hours ahead with McCutcheon's cartoons thrown in to boot.

The dailies are necessities because the people must have the news. The weeklies and monthlies, however, are not necessities. In order to succeed they must retain the people's confidence in their integrity, enterprize and leadership. This is why the magazines and not the dailies have led in the moral renaissance that began a decade ago in this country with the muckraking era, for the muckraker is after all nothing but a moralist who specifies.

Authors of books on the one hand and editors of daily papers on the other hand profess to have a contempt for the magazines. Washington Irving, for instance, wrote toward the end of his literary career, "I am tired of writing volumes. They do not afford exactly the relief I require as I grow old. I have thought, therefore, of securing to myself a snug corner in some periodical where I might loll at my ease in my elbow-chair and chat sociably on any chance subject that might pop into my brain." While Hart Lyman, recently editor of the New York *Tribune*, once said: "I venture without prejudice to say that magazines

are chiefly distinguished from the newspapers by their ill success in attempting to occupy a less important field and that the young writer who looks upon them as a literary ladder would do well to look again and more intently."

The magazines nevertheless have had, do have and always will have a place of their own that cannot be invaded either by the book or by the daily paper. This I hope to make clearer as I proceed.

The first two magazines in this country were published in January, 1741, three days apart, in the small city of Philadelphia. The first was printed by Andrew Bradford, the second by Benjamin Franklin. I learn from that entertaining volume, "The Magazine in America," that between 1741 and the end of the century there were at least forty-five magazines started in the North American continent. Philadelphia, which at that time was the literary center of the country, published more periodicals and books than either New York or Boston, for during the first half of the century there were at least 116 Philadelphia magazines, while Boston and New England had only twenty-six magazines. Most of these magazines were incredibly insipid. Their purpose was:

> To soar aloft on fancy's wing
> To gaze in Heliconia's Spring
> Cull every flower with a careful hand
> And strew them o'er our native land.

Their contents may best be described in the following poem:

> Old-fashioned writings and select essays
> Queer notions, useful hints, extracts from plays
> Relations wonderful and psalm and song
> Good sense, wit, humour, morals, all ding dong
> Poems and speeches, politics and news
> That some will like and other some refuse
> Births, deaths and dreams, and apparitions too
> With something suited to each different Geu (gout?)
> To humor him, or her, and me and you.

These magazines were attacked in their day as being too uniformly pleasing to the ladies. They were filled mostly with love-tales and commentaries on fashion with acrostics, rebuses and polite manners. In fact, who has not shaped his childish dreams of high romance out of these polite magazines with their sentimental stories of swan-necked ladies dripping with draperies and wooden-limbed cavaliers, riding on satin-tailed horses.

The earlier magazines were constantly asserting that all political and religious controversy would be rigorously avoided. One can today but faintly imagine the commotion started when one of them published a triangular discussion by Gladstone, Bob Ingersoll and Cardinal Manning upon the evidences of Christian belief. But when we consider the exceedingly heavy fare offered almost without exception by the books and pamphlets of the day the magazines must have afforded a pardonable relief.

The modern American magazines are of course a direct evolution of these older productions. Magazines kept their ancient character pretty well intact down to the Spanish-American war, when they began to become "timely" like the newspapers, while the newspapers began to adopt magazine features. Indeed this mutual poaching on each other's preserves has brought about such an obliteration of boundary lines between the dailies and the magazines that many people have wondered whether there would be any field for the magazines at all if it were not for their ability to make a better pictorial display.

Magazines, like newspapers, may for convenience's sake be divided in the five following departments:

1. Administrative.
2. Mechanical.
3. Editorial.
4. Circulation.
5. Advertising.

The administration of a magazine, if a corporation, is its board of directors. Otherwise it is generally the proprietor or the representative of the proprietor, whether he be editor or publisher, or both. By the very nature of the case the management must ultimately coincide with the ownership. Hence the importance of the Federal law by which the ownership of the magazine is required to be published conspicuously twice a year.

Periodicals are of course managed like all other businesses that are conducted for profit; that is on the military principle. Mr. Ochs, the publisher and genius of the New York *Times*, once told me that in his opinion no periodical has ever had a great success without some dominating personality in control. "A successful paper," said he, "like an army, cannot be run by a debating society."

MANAGING a periodical is perhaps the most inexact and unstandardized of all businesses. One of the greatest publishers in the United States is authority for the statement that the publishing industry in New York City is less than 60 per cent efficient. This is not because there are less able men conducting journals than hotels or department stores, but because no other enterprize is more dependent on the passing whim of the public or upon those intangible things that go to make up what is known as the paper's personality. I sometimes think that the periodical business is the only one in existence in which the very quality that brings success is the same one that most frequently leads to failure. For the man who succeeds in publishing, experiments and experiments until finally he hits the popular taste. But the thing in him which made him succeed was eternal and unchangeable. The thing in the public that responded was ephemeral. The public by and by passes on to its next mood, and the man remains high and dry on his abandoned island invoking the old watchwords of success, which now no longer avail. The history of the fall of most periodicals that have once succeeded is usually due to the failure of the management to apprehend the changing of the spirit of the times.

The manager of a paper must not only have an exact knowledge of the mechanics of publishing, but he must be able properly to coördinate the circulation, advertising and editorial departments. Each of these departments depends on the other. Circulation brings advertising, advertising brings profit, profits pay editors, editors hold circulation. The promotion of a paper, therefore, is very much like the pleasant pastime of chasing oneself around the block.

While the last census shows that the profits of the magazine business during the previous decade were over $300,000,000, the publishing of an individual magazine is at best a precarious business and one not likely to attract anyone of purely mercenary aims. The tangible assets of a magazine usually consist of nothing more than a desk and a dictaphone and frequently not a dictaphone.

The difficulty is that the periodical must be kept running. It cannot shut down in dull times like a factory or a mine. The outlay continues whatever the income. No wonder the average magazine has to sail pretty close to the wind. In this respect it is not unlike the average citizen. I remember Ed Howe, the Kansas sage, who comes the nearest of living editors to wearing the mantle of Benjamin [*Continued on page 151*

## *Why?*

### *By Edwin Markham*

*The storm that washed his field away,*
*Watered my field for the harvest day:*
*Lightnings that burned his proud abode,*
*Lighted my feet on a dangerous road:*
*Gales that hurled his ship to the deep,*
*Drove mine home to the harbor sleep.*

# First Find Your House!

## A Stimulating Story of How One Woman Made Over a Century-old Farmhouse Into a Livable Country Home

### By Louise Rice

FOR more years than I care to count I had been looking wistfully thru the back pages of the magazines, where alluring drawings and architects' plans showed me many a little house that I would like to have owned. The wistfulness was engendered by the captions, which ran in this wise: "Pretty Little Bungalow for $3,000," "Well-Designed Country House for $5,000," "This Farmhouse was Remodeled for $4,500."

Bargains, all of them, for the prices quoted. The trouble was that no one ever quoted my price, which was about $500 as a first payment, and a few—a very few—yearly payments.

I asked little for my little. As a lone writer lady, with a family consisting of Pete and Little Puss, and personal effects comprising a modest wardrobe and the contents of my twelve by sixteen "studio," it seemed to me that what I offered ought to bring me the small home and the bit of ground which I wanted. Persistent and continued efforts, along that line, however, had brought to me merely the keen realization that $500 is an exceedingly small sum of money. It would buy me a lot or two, but that was all.

Of course, there were places that I could buy on my terms, but they were invariably places which I would not have had on any terms. The Real Estate Man, when considering homeseekers with lean pocketbooks, does not seem to remember that poverty in the purse is no sure sign of stunted imaginations. Therefore, he buys a meadow, cuts down any trees there may be there, puts up dinky little shacks, as alike as peas in a pod, strings them out in a street of deadly straightness, paints them an unholy yellow, and is amazed that you are not satisfied to pay from $2,000, upward, for the monstrosities. Such houses never had more than twenty-five feet on the street, and were so flimsily constructed that you could have heard the man next door changing his opinion. As for the back yard, jealously protected by a high, most unlovely fence, you could not have swung the traditional cat there without knocking out its brains.

I satisfied myself, eventually, that nothing save such places as these were within my means, and I gave up the quest. In winter Pete and Little Puss and I nursed the friendly radiator, and in spring we bought four geraniums and a catnip ball and tried to be content. We tried, but on balmy nights when the smell of woodsy things was wafted from the Jersey shore, we lolled out of window and worked our paws restlessly. And when the glory of real summer came on us we packed our flannels and the couch-cover in moth-balls and went to board in the country for a few weeks.

But three years ago, when I had foregone all belief that *my house* was anywhere—the year that I discovered some gray over my left temple, and that Pete had distemper—just when everything was darkest, I found it. It was so much Mine, and I was so sure of it, that I took a pencil from my bag and slyly wrote the words on its sagging back door.

It was little, it was old, the roof was falling in, the chimneys were coming down, it had been heaven only knows how long since it was decently dressed in paint, and its fifty by over a hundred and fifty feet of grounds were just one awful tangle of weeds and refuse. But it was beautiful and as sound in its essential timbers as the day that some old pioneer put it up. Inside, plaster had fallen and dreadful things had been done to the old wood, but the great floor-beams would have held up as many people as could crowd upon them. It was on a road at the very end of the quaint old town of Boonton, but within a short walk from the railroad station; it had water and gas and a great, deep, cemented cellar with rows of dusty, swinging shelves. Standing close to the road, it left a long bit of ground at the back, sloping away to the south, with the old Morris and Essex canal at its foot. I half shut my eyes, and hollyhocks and golden glow and bleeding-heart, day lilies and climbing roses and widow's tears and ferns—all my beautiful dream flowers, in my dream garden, where I had refreshed myself for weary years—spread themselves around the staunch little old house, so poor and forsaken but so undeniably good for another hundred years, at least.

I bought that house the very next day, for $2,000—$500 paid down, $500 to be paid off in instalments, and $1,000 to stand on a mortgage at 5 per cent, the owner agreeing to do nothing except to see that the water and waste-pipes were in good condition. I believe that he thought he was getting a good thing out of me at that, for the house had been vacant, off and on, for years.

Perhaps he was. His values and mine, however, were vastly different. I counted into the purchase price the stout old timbers pinned together with long hickory spikes, as hard as nails, and the firm, wide-beamed floors, and the heavy, hand-planed woodwork, and the windows, with their twelve small panes, and the three big porches, two in front and one at the back. I estimated the purity of the six columns upholding the porches as worth a good deal; and I thought that the fact that it was a perfect "Dutch" type was something to prize; and across the canal there was a great sweep of meadow and woodland, forty acres at least, which I included in the purchase money tho not so specified in the deed!



The garden bit behind the house slopes down to a placid old canal

I meant to buy my neighbors with my price, too. Not my little bit of money, but with the price of love and home care and good housekeeping which I knew were commodities they would value.

People, at varying times, and with great enthusiasm, had papered the rooms in every ghastly sort of wall decoration afforded by a misguided merchant. There were geometric designs, sin-

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# Citizens in the Making

## A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Raymond F. Crist

United States Director of Citizenship

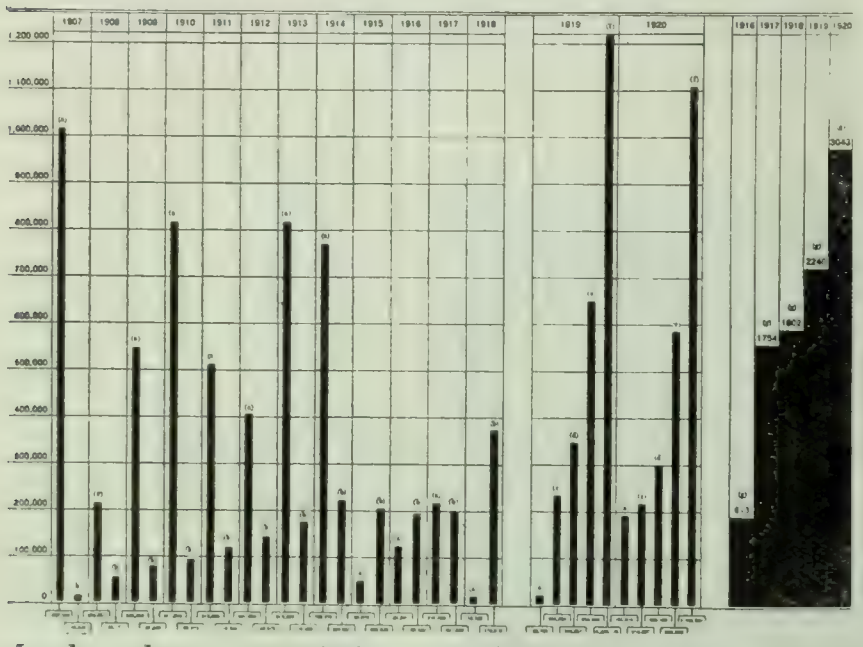
IT is a fact, and a startling one, that in the past two years Uncle Sam has had more immigrants knocking at the door of citizenship for admission than have ever come during a like period at the highest tide of immigration, from all of the countries of the world to America's ports of entry asking merely to be allowed to land upon her soil.

While the landing of new immigrants upon our soil brings problems directly bearing upon our industrial and labor economics that are reflected in the social and political life, there can be none that are fraught with such possibilities for danger to the nation as those that may arise out of the admission of millions who have asked for and are now awaiting American citizenship. Those who come into the estate of American citizenship not well fitted for its duties, responsibilities, and privileges are far more in actual number than those who surreptitiously pass the gateways of the nation and build their lairs from which to issue nefarious propaganda of destruction. Possibly 75 per cent of those seeking citizenship annually belong to the debit side of the citizenship ledger. Among the 25 per cent that may be credited to the better column are to be found those who shade off into the greater number in their concept of American citizenship responsibilities.



At the Cass Technical School, one of the Citizenship Classes that are working to make citizenship not merely a possession of naturalization papers but a matter of understanding patriotism and sense of personal responsibility

Witnessing such a spectacle year after year forced a realization of the fact that to effect the cure of this "king's evil" it would be necessary to arouse and secure the continued support of the highest spiritual expression of America. Years of experience in governmental matters at once conjured up before the mental vision the formalities, the routine, the precedents, and the traditions of government, commonly styled "red tape," which must be overcome and unwound in endless and seeming never ending limits, if but common justice to the present generation and a contribution to posterity of a substantial sort should be made.




In the columns representing years 1907-1918, *a* represents the total immigration, and *b* the number of petitioners for naturalization papers, wives, and minors. In each of the two years 1919 and 1920, the black shafts represent, in order, *a* total immigration, *c* petitioners, *d* declarants, *e* wives and children, *f* petitioners, declarants, wives and children. The right hand portion of the chart shows the number of communities coöperating in citizenship work, progressively thru the years 1916-1920

Over six years ago the effort was made to humanize the routine of the work of a governmental bureau, the bureau having charge of the application of the uniform rule for the naturalization of the alien millions in the United States. It meant to introduce something into a governmental activity that differed wholly from the usual routine based upon known units, figures, audits, forms, reports, and file cases, and gain assent and approval "up the line." It meant to assume an administrative responsibility of a specific character, upon a general legislative authority found in the language "shall have charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens." It meant to see in these words the medium thru which the alien might become prepared for admission to citizenship. The task meant that by achieving an ideal, a moral sense of citizenship responsibilities would be awakened in these new units that, year in and year out, on all occasions and at all times, would cause them to discharge those responsibilities even better than the native born, more conscientiously, more constantly, and with the sense of consecration that the fact of citizenship in this nation should inspire in all. It meant the erection of a nation-wide educational institution of a character distinctly new to pedagogy. It meant to call upon the public school organizations and systems to join themselves to and become a part of a synchronizing machinery with the Federal Government. It meant that the educational world of America must be aroused to develop beyond, to break over the routine of nine to three, Monday to Friday, six to sixteen. As one leading educator expressed it, to develop "a phase of my profession along which I have not heretofore fully thought." It meant the enlisting of the judiciary of the nation. It meant to win the approval of the national legislators. It meant the awakening of the public mind.

Six and a half years of unflagging devotion to the objective have shown that while human nature is prone and

ready to continue upon its course of indifference, it will nevertheless respond to the ideal that is coupled with a practical process by which it may be realized. Having in the neighborhood of a million annually knocking at the door of citizenship, with probable great increases, the way in which the educational problems of America can be solved has been found to be by the minimum Federal machinery acting to stimulate the local community to its maximum efficiency in that duty.

In the spring of 1914 this work was undertaken. The first conference was called in the office of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, superintendent of the public schools in Chicago. Mrs. Young, in describing the state of the schools for foreign born, said she found a man, "a horny handed son of toil" of foreign birth, pursuing the romance of the cat chasing the rat in his endeavors to master a practical English vocabulary that would help him in his daily vocation. "Pooty small language," he said. Mrs. Young heartily pledged her school system as a unit in this national undertaking.

The scene is in an American courtroom with an alien seeking citizenship. All of the efforts of the examiner to have the candidate describe our Government bring the response, "No unde'stan'." To such leading questions as "This is a republic?" "This is not a monarchy?" "Does Congress make the laws?" a correct "Yes" or "No" quickly followed. "The President has something to do with making the laws?" "Yes." "What does the President have to do?" "No unde'stan'." "Can the President keep a bill from being a law?" "Yes." "Do you know what the veto is?" "Veto, yes." "Tell the court what the veto is." "Jodge, a veto is a voman whose hosband is dead." With such material as this being added to the citizenry of the country, it became necessary, in addition to winning over the public school authorities, to secure the judicial assent. This assent was cordially given. Indeed many jurists have voluntarily urged the schools to broaden their scope beyond the Monday-to-Friday daylight service and enter that new field which would make it possible for Uncle Sam to add only worthy sons and daughters to his family.

The campaign was launched, and at the end of the first school year over six hundred communities had pledged their public schools to the Federal Government. In these self-same communities had been taught all trades and professions save the one of self-government, the one upon which they depend for their stability.

Appeals came from all of these communities for guides and helps in this new field. To the public schools, that rock upon which the intelligence of the nation is founded, the subject of citizenship training was novel, new, unprecedented, in this the greatest self-governing nation of the world. Surveys and searches and gleaning made it possible to get together an outline for the guidance of the teachers who early threw themselves at the front line trenches in this attack upon the ranks of ignorance invading our citizenship. Again, the appeal for material for the student, and again gleanings and surveys and searches resulted in the initial step of Uncle Sam as a textbook compiler. A Federal Citizenship Textbook was authorized by Congress, and the contributions of those who combined their energies and intelligence with the Government in this work were presented free of charge to the alien seeking admission to citizenship who attends the public schools. The alien had paid for this book in advance. He did so when he paid for his naturalization paper, more than one-half of which amount went into the Treasury of the United States. Thus, for something over $2.50 which Uncle Sam collects from each immigrant seeking citizenship, Congress authorizes him to receive a book that costs [*Continued on page 146*





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**Every day, 75,000 or so, they land at Ellis Island. From that moment they are in our hands, for better or for worse. There was a time when immigrants were herded like cattle off the ship and into the country. But now, with growing consciousness of the need of America and her new Americans to help each other, the Government is learning to make use of the first moment of opportunity — that is, the moment of setting foot on land. Here the thousands of immigrants are shown beguiling the time of waiting, at Ellis Island, at an open air concert, instead of in a crowded airless room**

# Admitting That Germany Can't Pay—

## By James G. McDonald

THE conferences this week in Paris of the allied Premiers emphasize the vital importance of the most critical and immediate question in international relations—the problem of the fixation of Germany's reparation obligations under the Treaty of Versailles.

Now, more than two years after the armistice, the world economic situation has forced a general recognition of the truth insisted upon during peace negotiations by the American Commission—that there can be no European reconstruction until the German indemnities have been defined on a basis which, as our experts put it, "Germany will assume in a manner at least semi-voluntary."

Why was this not provided for in the treaty? Why has it not been done since by the Reparation Commission? The answer usually given is "it was impossible then and has been impossible since to determine accurately Germany's capacity to pay." There is a measure of truth in this. The real answer, however, lies elsewhere in political considerations.

Lloyd George, in the heat of the Parliamentary campaign, following the armistice in 1918, and similarly the representatives of France and the other Allies, during the last months of the war and during the peace negotiations, led their people to believe that Germany would be able to pay and would be required to pay, if not the whole cost of the war, at least much more of that cost than serious students of economics now or then believed possible.

The vagueness and indefiniteness of Part 8, the reparations part of the Treaty, reflects the compromize between the unreasoning promises of the politicians and the sober judgment of the financiers. Nowhere are the economic disadvantages of this compromize now seriously denied. The political disadvantages of this failure to face realities, of this failure to fix the indemnity on a rational basis, have not been, it seems to me, sufficiently considered.

During a recent visit to England and the Continent I was amazed and shocked at the cleavage between England and France, a cleavage which tho officially denied then and officially denied now, was emphasized by every Britisher and Frenchman with whom I talked. In Britain, there is a general feeling that France, under the stress of the desire for security and need for immediate funds, is determined, regardless of consequences, to enforce reparation terms beyond Germany's capacity to pay. In many quarters in Britain ulterior motives, either the dismemberment or the economic enslavement of Germany, were also attributed to important sections of French opinion. Even those Englishmen, who like the editor of what is perhaps the world's greatest newspaper, believe that France is maligned and misrepresented by these charges, do not deny that a large portion of British public opinion believes the charges to be true.

In France I was deeply moved by the passionate resentment of the French, who insist that their policies and their motives are grossly misinterpreted across the Channel. The retort commonly made to the British charges is that having gained what she wanted most out of the war, security thru destruction of the German fleet, and the extension of her empire thru the absorption of many of the German and Turkish territories, Britain is now concerned primarily with the restarting of German industrial life with a view to the German market, irrespective of France's claims for reparation or France's need for security. France, facing what is frequently characterized as desertion by her ally, is not unprepared for the next step, a commercial arrangement between Britain and Germany.

In Germany there is a very clear appreciation of what the growing differences between France and Britain on the issue of reparations may mean. It goes without saying that public opinion across the Rhine accepts the extreme British interpretation of France's ultimate purpose.

In Italy there is a strong conviction that both France and Britain are more concerned with their own immediate interests than they are with the general welfare of the Allies. It is natural, therefore, for Italy to look to her own interests and to feel that these would be best served by the restoration of economic and possibly other ties with the ex-enemy states.

Even among us here the charge has been frequently made and vigorously sustained that France is the chief obstacle to a real peace in Europe, that France's insistence upon extreme reparation terms as over against the growing moderation of Lloyd George, is preventing the recovery of Central Europe and indirectly of Eastern and Southern Europe and is thus depriving us of markets which, were they available now, would do much to relieve our present acute congestion in wheat, cotton, and the export markets.

In short, it is my measured judgment that the failure of the Peace Conference to fix the German indemnities in the Treaty, a failure due primarily to political considerations, and the failure of the Reparations Commission to fix those indemnities, again a failure due primarily to political considerations, has been the chief cause of the continuance unimproved of the world's appalling economic disorganization and that relative isolation which France feels today, which we all deplore.

MY observations in France convince me that much injustice has been done to some of the responsible authorities there. The recent Reparation Conference in Brussels, to which German representatives were admitted, is an evidence of conciliation—a willingness to hear the German case. This and many personal contacts strengthen my conviction that President Millerand is ready and anxious to go just as far and as fast toward fixing the indemnity on a reasonable basis as public opinion will permit. Unfortunately, the backwardness of public opinion in admitting the inevitable has led Premier Briand to announce that he is opposed to the fixation of Germany's obligation now. It is probable, however, that he would welcome pressure from here in support of Premier Millerand's position.

My plea is this: Let us face realities. Let us admit the absurdity of trying to exact the impossible from the enemy states. Let us admit the economic disadvantages and the political complications, which failure to fix the indemnities has brought. Moreover, let us recognize that it is not bad faith or a desire to dismember Germany or to economically enslave her, but rather the exigencies of a political situation which have prevented the fixing of the indemnities on the sort of basis suggested by our commissioners at the time of the making of the Treaty. Let us cease recrimination and, instead, hold up the hands of moderate and rational opinion abroad by saying in substance, "Your best interest and ours demand the settlement of the reparation controversy on sound economic lines and not on those of political or nationalistic expediency."

We should insist that any further economic coöperation of America with Europe, other than relief such as Mr Hoover's, be contingent upon the reasonable and prompt fixation of Germany's treaty obligations—this not in the interest of Germany—rather in the interest of European restoration and in the interest of our own trade, but principally in the interest of France herself, to whom the world owes so much, and toward whom the world has re

cently appeared so ungrateful, so that she may the sooner receive her just reparation, so that the ties between her and Britain may not be loosened, and so that her friendship with us may be ever firmer.

## Harding to Millerand

MR. President, I know just how you feel. I have been trying to get together a Cabinet that will suit everybody, just as you have, and both of us are finding the job pretty tough. I reckon human nature is much the same in France as it is in America.

## Tiger, Tiger!

NOW that the Tammany régime in New York is being overwhelmed by exposure after exposure an impartial observer from another city would probably infer that it was doomed to sure defeat next November. The impartial observer would be wrong. Tammany is always stronger on election day than during a campaign; its strength floats mainly under the surface like an iceberg. As against the lightnings of press and pulpit Tammany opposes the power of secret organization and individual canvass; it knows where the votes grow and how to glean them. It will take the entire strength of the undivided forces of reform to win a victory this year or any year.

# Main Street, Moronia

### By Franklin H. Giddings

MRS. Gertrude Atherton would have a million copies of Mr. Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street" distributed in the United States. With many other intelligent persons she thinks it an accurate picture of a representative American community; ugly, ignorant, hustling, self-satisfied, bumptious, always bellowing about itself and without desire or intention to be uplifted; where everybody makes it his business (or her business) at any cost of time and trouble to find out about everybody else's business, and to supervise it in the interest of sound morality and public decency.

Mrs. Atherton's wish is worthy but inadequate. We should provide one copy of this disturbing book to each inhabitant of Moronia intelligent enough to be shocked by it. If the army intelligence tests be accepted the number of potential readers that could qualify in America is between four and five millions. The remaining 96 per cent of up at best are supermorons, at the worst imbeciles. That is why, being free born (or free imported) American citizens and voters, we are collectively Main Street, Moronia.

To be sure, the validity of this "why" turns upon the trustworthiness of the intelligence grading. To satisfy one's self on this point one need not master the technical methods by which psychologists obtain the I. Q. Anybody "bright" enough to read "Main Street" and "get it" can grade the people of his town A down to D minus. Women that get caught in gambling rooms and race track betting places can safely be marked below D. Men and women that never talk discriminatingly about things, mechanical, political, critical or theoretical, but always about persons and piffle, can on no account be marked above C. Locomotive engineers, master mechanics, efficient mill superintendents must not be marked below C. The intelligence of clerks, bookkeepers, salesmen, real estate agents and insurance men should be graded after comparing it with that of locomotive engineers of good record. Professional men generally may be graded from B minus to A minus. A civil engineer of good professional standing may safely be taken as a measure with which to compare the intelligence of men that should be marked above B. Using these rough measures of mentality farmers and "business men" will be found to be of every grade from A down to D, and in most instances 90 per cent or more of the community will be found to rank below A minus. The ordinary "bright" man's grading of his neighbors will therefore not differ greatly from that arrived at thru the more academic intelligence tests.

What can be done about it? Is "Main Street" "past feeling" as Saint Paul might have described it, and beyond hope, or can it, notwithstanding intellectual limitations, be made less offensive to look at and more interesting to live in?

Two things can be done. First, uplifters can "cut out" Main Street habits from their own behavior before trying to "fix up" the world. In other words, they can quit "butting in" and meddling. They can let neighbors and strangers be happy in their own way so long as that way is not cruel, dishonorable or illegal. If it is in bad taste, bad form, or bad judgment that is lamentable, but preaching, meddling, nagging, prescribing and bossing won't correct it. It can be improved, if at all, only by suggestion, example, fashion—in short, by the power of "what goes."

Secondly, in childhood morons and supermorons can be taught. Their instincts can be tied up to new stimuli and their habits can be disciplined. The process will not increase their intelligence, but it will improve their behavior. Fire drills do not expand the mentality of grade school pupils, but do make them more controllable when fire is discovered. Discipline does not raise the soldier's I. Q., but it makes him a better comrade and a better fighter. The parrot will never know what he is talking about, but he can be taught to say it.

# Poison Gas and Prohibition

### By Shailer Mathews

THE expected has happened. The country is being filled with propaganda against prohibition. No attack is made directly upon the Eighteenth Amendment, for that method would be too crude. Just now the attack is not made directly even on the Volstead Act, altho that comes in for an occasional assault. The new strategy does not want any hand to hand battle. It prefers gas attacks. Under the guise of an apparently impartial discussion, and with the concession that drunkenness may be lessened, it concludes that prohibition, so far from being an influence in reducing crime, is the source of crime.

Such an attack is certainly clever. It has the zest of attacking the enemy with his own guns. The great argument against liquor was that it caused crimes, and now the great argument against prohibition is that it is the cause of murder, drug habits, divorce, highway robbery, and probable revolution. In the face of such terrible affirmations, who would be a prohibitionist?

Against this sort of propaganda it is quite useless to reply that arrests for drunkenness have greatly diminished, that there is less vagrancy, that hospitals and rescue missions have few "drunks" to serve, that savings accounts have increased, that bills are more promptly paid, and that children have shoes even if their fathers lack cocktails. Such unpoetic, statistical virtues make no appeal to the apprehensive hearts of those who look out thru the dangers of prohibition to a Soviet government and a revolution of the drinkless. They tearfully assert that while all these apparent blessings may be discovered, people are drinking more whiskey than ever before, that strong drink is replacing beer, and that crime is rampant!

Crime makes interesting reading. Men read scandal as dogs eat carrion. There are papers, which, not having access to the Associated Press, make crime popular by describing it on their front pages. So indecent has this exposure of a nation's criminality become that in Chicago a ministers' meeting drew up a series of resolutions against

such prostitution of its office on the part of at least one paper.

The public cannot be too heartily warned against this sort of propaganda. A suggestion is often more deadly than an argument. Once get people to have a vague recollection that somebody, somewhere, at some time, showed that prohibition had terrible results, and it needs no psychoanalysis to predict that public opinion will become skeptical as to prohibition itself.

A suppressed idea like this may very well, a couple of years from now, result in an anti-prohibition movement. It may be as perverting as the anti-League of Nations propaganda. When once this attitude of distrust is aroused legislative reversals will not be impossible.

But such a time will never come if well-meaning men and women refuse to allow themselves to be influenced by clever propagandists. To charge crimes to prohibition is like charging chilblains to woolen stockings. Anyone who wants facts on the actual working of prohibition may find them in the reports of the Board of Temperance and Public Morals of the Methodist Church. There are statistics which any investigator can get from cities, and most of all from the small town. Cities will always present difficulties; they will always have criminal whiskey sellers, just as they have criminal doctors, druggists and business men. But the small town, even at the present time, is the outstanding testimony to the worth of prohibition. Even where there is some bootlegging the small town is the great gainer. Life is better, thrift is more possible, village loafing is less dangerous, and schools are more prosperous.

If this be criminality, charge it to prohibition! It can well endure such gainsaying.

## The Inauguration

PRESIDENT-Elect Harding was offered a grand church wedding to Miss Columbia, with bridesmaids and ushers and decorations and everythin'. Being a man of simple tastes he has preferred a quiet home wedding, and even expressed a willingness, so far as he was concerned, to be married without any ceremony at all before the justice of the peace. We hope Warren will have a happy honeymoon and that the next four years will be full of bliss for both him and Miss Columbia. Anyhow, it's a good sign that hubby is setting out to be economical.

## Free Art

WE are not much impressed by the vers libre poets and the futurist painters who never advance beyond the proclamation that they are "free" and have "flung off the shackles of convention." The good of being free is to make use of freedom in achievement. What would we think of a man who was released from prison and then spent the rest of his life standing just outside the prison gate deriding those still imprisoned? Fewer manifestoes of what emancipated art is going to do and more exhibits of fine work which it has actually done would be the best remedy for the skepticism of a conservative public. If Homer has spent his life giving talks at Greenwich Village tea parties on "How Epics Ought to Be Done," or if Rembrandt devoted his time to propagandist pamphlets on "The New Movement in Art by a Painter too Lazy to Paint It," they would have been treated with the disrespect which they deserved.

## The Next Secretary of State

EVERYBODY admits—that is everybody outside the United States Senate—that either Mr. Hughes or Mr. Root would make an ideal Secretary of State. But supposing they kill each other off, and Mr. Harding in his passionate pursuit of harmony decides he had better seek elsewhere—where shall he go? The conventional thing, of course, would be to pick out some widely known but second rate statesman from the Senate. But why not choose a first rate even if politically unknown man? A second rate man can never become first rate, whereas an unknown man will soon become known.

If the President-elect should want a man who would fully measure up to the job we would respectfully call his attention to David Prescott Barrows, President of the University of California, a man in the prime of life, an authority on Pacific and Colonial problems, an administrator of demonstrated capacity, a statesman of both achievement and promise, and, in general, a gentleman and a scholar.

# Self-Determination

## By Preston Slosson

THE Great War resulted in evils innumerable. It accomplished four things that were good: the overthrow of German militarism, the establishment of republican and democratic institutions thruout central Europe, the establishment of the League of Nations, and the liberation of submerged nationalities. If we add together the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Finns, Danes, Alsatian French, Austro-Italians, Yugoslavs, Rumanians, Greeks and others who have been brought under governments of their own nationality as a result of the war, and then subtract minorities of Germans, Magyars and Bulgarians whom the peace treaties have placed under foreign governments, we have a net balance on the side of national liberation which is probably not much short of 40,000,000. And this does not take account of the Arabs, Armenians, Palestine Jews, Georgians, Ukrainians, White Russians, Lithuanians, Letts, Esthonians and others who have in some measure broken away from their former rulers, but whose political status is not yet finally settled.

Strangely enough many professed liberals have refused to count this enormous act of liberation to the credit of the peacemakers; altho if any principle can be called liberal it is the grouping of peoples according to their own wishes instead of according to the will of alien rulers. Some take this stand because the work of liberation was not complete; Ireland, for example, being still a part of the British Empire, and Austria denied the right to unite with Germany. Others raise the opposite objection that the work of liberation has gone too far, that central Europe has been "Balkanized" by breaking it up into little republics and kingdoms. Certainly it makes the problems of international politics more difficult to have to deal with a score of lusty young nationalities, many of them no larger or more populous than an average American state, instead of with the three autocratic empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia, which no more than four years ago filled the whole of central and eastern Europe.

The principle of self-determination is certainly a just one, for it is but the application of democracy to boundary making. But it is far from simple. Just because the phrase is flung around so loosely, and applied so variously, it is worth while to show by particular instances how difficult "self-determination" is for the practical statesman to realize. Examples might be multiplied without end, but the following ten cases will serve to illustrate the way in which nationalities become entangled with each other so that complete justice cannot be done to all:

1. Where language is not a guide to national sentiment. Alsace is a particularly good "specimen" of this class, as it is German in speech and local customs, but unquestionably French in sympathy. As language maps and statistics are usually used to indicate "nationality" such cases are particularly apt to upset preconceived theories.

2. Where one nationality "melts" into another without any sharp line of division. This is the case, for instance, with the Russians and the Ukrainians. Many Ukrainian

peasants are ardent nationalists; many are still untouched by the national movement and regard themselves as part of the Russian population.

3. Where two nationalities are scattered thruout the same territory. This is the case with the Jews of eastern Europe and the Armenians of Asia Minor; they are scattered all thru the towns among diverse and hostile peoples and there seems no way to herd them together into territorial blocks, even if it were desirable to do so.

4. Where two nationalities live side by side, but within the same geographical unit. The Germans of Bohemia are fairly well separated ethnographically from the Czechs, but both alike are crowded within the same ring of mountains and a boundary line between the two would be geographically and economically absurd. The same is true of the "orange" Irish of northeast Ulster, who are doomed by the sea to live in the same country with a hostile majority of "green" or Catholic Irish.

5. Where one nationality is an "enclave" entirely encircled by another. Such is the case of the Magyars and Saxons of Transylvania, who are surrounded on all sides by a Rumanian population, and the Germans of East Prussia, who are cut off from the rest of Germany by a belt of Polish population.

6. Where a city is of one nationality and the rural districts of another. Thus Lemberg is a Polish town situated among Ukrainians (Ruthenians) and Vilna, a Polish town in a Lithuanian countryside. There are German towns scattered all over the countries east of Germany.

7. Where a seacoast is inhabited by one nationality and the hinterland by another. The relation of the Greeks and Bulgars in Macedonia and Thrace is a good example of this; also the strip of Italian population between the Yugoslavs and the Adriatic.

8. Where religion is more important than nationality as a form of social grouping. This is true in Turkey and all Moslem countries, and to some extent in India.

9. Where such a great divergence of races, languages, civilizations and social classes exists in a country as to prevent the emergence of a definite nationality. This is the case of India and possibly of the Philippines.

10. Where the whole level of civilization is so low that the idea of self-governing nationality has scarcely taken root. This is the case of tropical Africa and all the backward and barbaric countries of the world.

No one who has studied all these problems can fail to feel some impatience at the soap box orator or revolutionary journalist who waves his hand to the universe and demands that India, Egypt, Haiti, Borneo, Turkestan, Carpatho-Russia, Hawaii, Canada, Wales, Palestine and Korea be "set free" at once or else all our talk about freedom during the war was hypocrisy. That some of these regions are not nationalities at all, or are made up of several different nationalities, or consider themselves free already, or have different ideas as to the meaning of national freedom, never enters his head. Patriotism is not a simple thing, but a most complex psychological product; it is not equally felt by all individuals nor by all communities; it may change its allegiance with the slow pressure of economic and political forces. Even in the United States we have had a great civil war between those who thought that political loyalty belonged to the individual state and those who felt that it belonged to the whole federation of states. And in a place like Macedonia it might be perfectly possible to find an individual who was Albanian by race, Turkish (that is, Mohammedan) by religion, Bulgarian by speech, Greek by preference and Serbian by residence.

It is certainly not wise to ignore or flout national sentiment, for next to religious fanaticism it is the strongest dynamite known to social science and will tear to pieces any empire or league of empires which fails to reckon with it. On the other hand, it is impossible, physically impossible, to make up the map so that it will suit everybody. What should be done is to interpret the maxim of "self-determination" as meaning a flexible political system which will give to everybody the greatest practicable amount of freedom for his activities and satisfaction for his patriotic sentiments. Thus when a minority of one nationality is unavoidably included in the same country with a majority of another nationality, the minority can be protected in its peculiar institutions by special privileges and guarantees while yet permitting the majority to rule; it is in this way that the problem of the French Canadians was met and solved. Where a city or small district diverges in nationality from its neighbors, a generous grant of municipal or provincial home rule may avoid trouble. There is much to be said for the "Free City" idea, of which Danzig is a modern example; and for the self-governing little cantons, into which Switzerland is divided in such a way that its diverse races, religious confessions and languages do not cause confusion and conflict. Where a belt of population cuts another nationality off from the sea, special arrangements may be made to give the inland nation a railway line to the coast over the territory of the other. Where two nationalities are economically dependent on each other they may be divided politically and yet agree to unite in the same customs union. There is a solution for every national problem; but it may never be twice exactly alike.

## An Incident and a Moral

IN a very good article in the London *Times* of November 2, 1920, describing how elections are held in the United States, occurs this sentence:

> The people of each state have to choose between "tickets" upon which the names of the candidates or the emblems of the parties (the Democratic emblem is a donkey, the Republican an elephant) are followed by a list of electors.

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* seems to think that the official ballots are printed by the cartoonists! No importance attaches to this trivial error in itself, but it shows how even the most careful student of foreign affairs may make some little blunder which would not be made even by a relatively ignorant and careless person who lived in the country and grew up in its atmosphere. No doubt an American paper describing a British election would say something to bring a smile to the face of the stolid Briton no matter how conscientious the reporter might be. Such incidents are cautions to us who are journalists and save us from the sin of overweening pride in our knowledge of European politics.

## Bolshevist Aristocracy

IT is queer to see so-called liberals advancing the same argument on behalf of Bolshevism that used to be used in behalf of the Tsardom; namely that the Russian people are not fit to rule themselves. No one pretends now and, to do them justice, the Russian Bolsheviki have never pretended, that Bolshevism in its present form is democracy or even government by the working classes. It is rule by a small oligarchy of Communist-bureaucrats. But some recent English writers, such as H. G. Wells and H. N. Brailsford, contend very forcibly that oppressive as may be the Bolshevist rule it is more civilized and efficient than any government which the illiterate peasants who constitute the bulk of the Russian people would be able to work out for themselves. The fact that neither of these men approves of the aims or methods of the Bolsheviki, and would probably resist to the death any attempt to introduce them in England, gives added weight to their testimony. But their arguments, right or wrong, are exactly those which have always been used by royalists and aristocrats: "Yes, democracy is very fine in theory but people are not ready for it here and now."

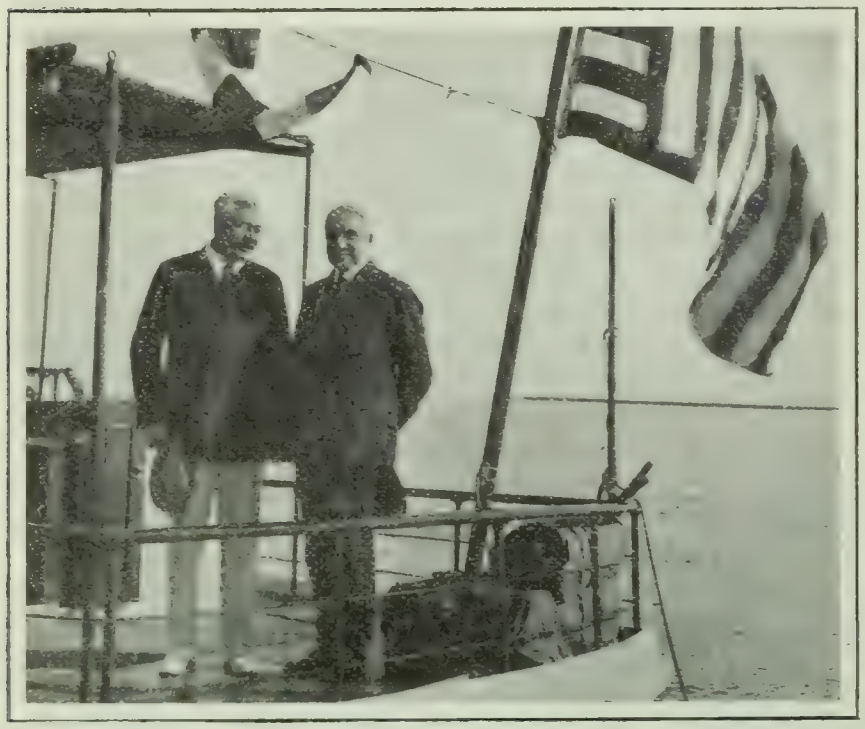
# The Story of the Week

## From Marion to Florida

IF President Harding moves around the country as much after his inauguration as President-elect Harding has done since election he will maintain the peripatetic tradition of his three predecessors—Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson. Twice he has gone on a vacation and on both occasions he selected the parts of the United States most distant from the front porch at Marion; going on his first trip to southwestern Texas and on his second trip to the coast of Florida. Very zealously he has been interviewing the party leaders and other men of influence for several weeks, and he felt that the time had come not only for a well earned rest before plunging into the duties of the Presidency, but for thinking over the many suggestions made to him both as to appointments and policy in a quiet atmosphere.

Before going on his Florida trip, Mr. Harding made a statement explaining why he had not as yet announced any Cabinet appointments:

> I had thought originally to name two or three places of the Cabinet in advance, to permit the parties named to take up informally the work that is to be theirs. But I have found it so difficult to fit in an administrative organization, that I am not disposed to make definite tenders and have men accept until I, myself, have made up a complete organization. . . .
>
> I am thinking all the time of getting an organization best fitted to serve this country. I am a partizan. I believe in party government. I am going to have a Republican Cabinet, but no selection will be made because of party obligation without consideration of the best interests of the country.



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**President-elect Harding has left the Marion front porch and its conferences, to take a short vacation in Florida before assuming the duties of President of the United States. This photograph, taken on Senator Frelinghuysen's yacht "Victoria," shows the President-elect and his host (left) just before they left St. Augustine**

There has been much idle speculation as to the personnel of the new Cabinet and several men have been currently mentioned in the press as "certain" to be appointed to the principal offices. In a general way the conflict rages less over any particular candidate for Cabinet office than over the principle underlying the appointments. The party managers and the so-called "Senate oligarchy" wish a "political" Cabinet, made up mainly of orthodox party men who have earned their place by hard work for the Republican cause and who are personally acceptable to the incoming President and to his former colleagues in the Senate. The newspapers and periodicals, claiming to voice the wishes of the rank and file, demand a Cabinet of "big men"; men widely known to the public at large, whose aggressive personalities or important achievements have made them many friends, as well as not a few enemies. When Senator Penrose made his already historic statement that the Senate and not the Secretary of State would direct the foreign affairs of America, he was really warning the new President not to appoint a man who might oppose the wishes of the Senate caucus. Congress, wearied by the defiant and rugged personality of Wilson, wishes to ensure its own omnipotence during the next four years by having pliable men in the Cabinet who speak the language of party politics and understand the logic of party expediency. This is a natural wish, but President Harding cannot gratify it without disappointing hopes raised during the campaign of a "great Cabinet" on the Lincoln model.

## A Super-Senate?

FRANK Vanderlip is one of those rare financiers who can think outside banking hours and contribute original suggestions to national politics. In a recent address he proposed the establishment of a Council of Foreign Relations, to take over the treaty-making powers of the Senate and to act as a check on the President and the Department of State. This Council would be elected by the nation at large, it would contain thirty members, three members would retire each year, and the term of office would be ten years. It would thus resemble the Senate in being a small body, directly elected by the people, and only gradually altered in composition by new elections. It would differ from the present Senate in that it would represent the nation as a whole instead of the states, that its period of office would be longer, and—most important difference of all—that its members would be required to become experts on foreign conditions. Every member of the Council would have to spend half of his time traveling abroad to study other countries at first hand. The Council would not only have the power of ratifying and rejecting treaties, but would have the right to confirm or reject the appointment of Ambassadors and Ministers. In the past, says Mr. Vanderlip, "there have been instances of mere personal or political rewards, instances of glaring inefficiency upon which there was no check" in the making of diplomatic appointments. The new Council would not diminish the rightful authority of the President, since the President would still have all his present power of initiating treaties and of appointing the Secretary of State and Ambassadors and Ministers to foreign countries; the only difference would be that his actions would be subject to review by an expert and competent Council instead of a partizan and amateur Senate. The Senate would still retain all its present power over legislation, finance and appointments to offices dealing with domestic problems; it would be at least on an equality with the House of Representatives, which under the present constitution has nothing to do with the ratification of treaties. The two chief objections that might be raised to Mr. Vanderlip's ingenious plan are, firstly, that it would add another organ of government to our already much too complex Federal machinery, and secondly, that the Senate would probably never agree to it.

# To Feed the Hungry

IT has long been a matter of reproach to the distributive machinery of the world that at the very time when American farmers are complaining of the surplus of crops forcing down prices to ruinously low figures in the United States, millions of people were starving in Europe and Asia. But American ingenuity seems to have found a way of straightening out the situation. Mr. J. R. Howard, president of the American Farm Bureau, which represents 1,250,000 farmers, has pledged delivery of 15,000,000 bushels of corn at the nearest railroad points, the work and cost of transportation to be handled by the European Relief Council, of which Herbert Hoover is chairman, the Near East Relief Committee and the China Famine Fund. New funds will have to be given to the relief agencies to mill, store, handle and transport the corn donated by the farmers, because all of the funds already contributed to the relief agencies have either been spent or are needed to meet obligations already undertaken. Mr. Hoover estimates that the cost of transportation alone will come to $7,500.000, or about fifty cents a bushel. Much of the corn will be shipped to the famine-stricken provinces of China, as in central Europe the greatest need is not for grain but for other foods to balance an exclusively grain and vegetable diet; such as condensed milk, fats and cocoa. About 2,000,000 bushels of corn will be required for Mr. Hoover's organization.

Of the $33,000,000 which the European Relief Council has set itself to raise from the generosity of the American public, approximately half is already in hand. Unless the rest is raised before the winter is over many children will die of hunger in Austria and Poland. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has recently made a personal contribution of $1,000,000.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

ANOTHER GOOD REASON FOR DISARMAMENT

**"The entire sum needed to save the lives of three and a half million starving children in the war-devastated areas of Europe, is less than the cost of one modern battleship!"—Herbert Hoover**

# Palmer Under Fire

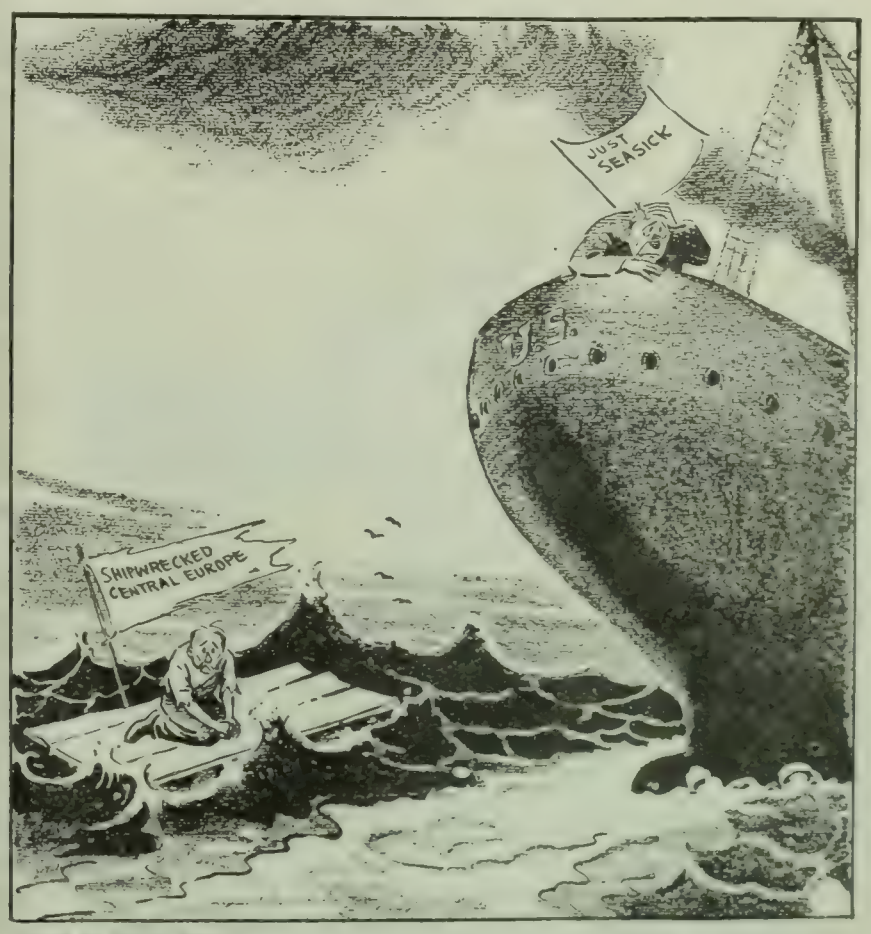
ATTORNEY General A. Mitchell Palmer's administration is under fire from two directions at present. Samuel Untermyer accuses him of incompetence and corruption in office both as Alien Property Custodian and as Attorney General. Twelve distinguished lawyers and professors of law have laid before the Senate Judiciary Committee a brief charging that Attorney General Palmer in his famous "raids on the Reds" had disregarded the constitutional liberties and legal rights of citizens and aliens accused of sedition.

Mr. Untermyer declares that as Attorney General Mr. Palmer failed to prosecute law-breaking trusts and that all his much advertized campaigns against profiteering did less to uncover illegal combinations than the Lockwood committee had done in four weeks at the cost of $25,000 "altho the committee was confined to New York State and to the building trades," while the Department of Justice had at its disposal an army of attorneys, investigators and secret service men and covered all parts of the country and all activities of interstate business. As for Mr. Palmer's activities as Alien Property Custodian:

> I am satisfied that a fearless, capable investigation will disclose that literally millions of dollars were distributed to favorites as patronage, to lawyers, directors and the like appointed by him and extracted from the properties of the unfortunates that came into his hands.

He accused Mr. Palmer of building up a political machine to further his own Presidential ambitions by distributing patronage in return for delegates at San Francisco.

Attorney General Palmer denied all of the charges brought against him by Mr. Untermyer and said that he courted the fullest investigation of his sixteen months' work as Alien Property Custodian and his twenty-three months' service at Attorney General; "in fact, they have both been the subject of numerous and almost constant investigations by the committees of an unfriendly Congress." He declared that as Alien Property Custodian he had taken over and managed as common law trustees the property of more than 40,000 enemy aliens aggregating about $600,000,000 in value, at a total cost to the Government of about one-seventh of one per cent of the principal, "a record for economical administration never approached by any trust company in the country." In no case was any charge made against enemy property except for actual legal service rendered and no property was sold except at auction to the highest bidder and after the approval of an Advisory Sales Committee. Nor had he made use of patronage to build up political support; in fact most of his appointees were Republicans. He denied that he had been inactive in prosecuting the trusts, and said that since he had become Attorney General he had taken up again numerous suits that had been suspended during the war and had initiated others. He accused Mr. Untermyer of being actuated by



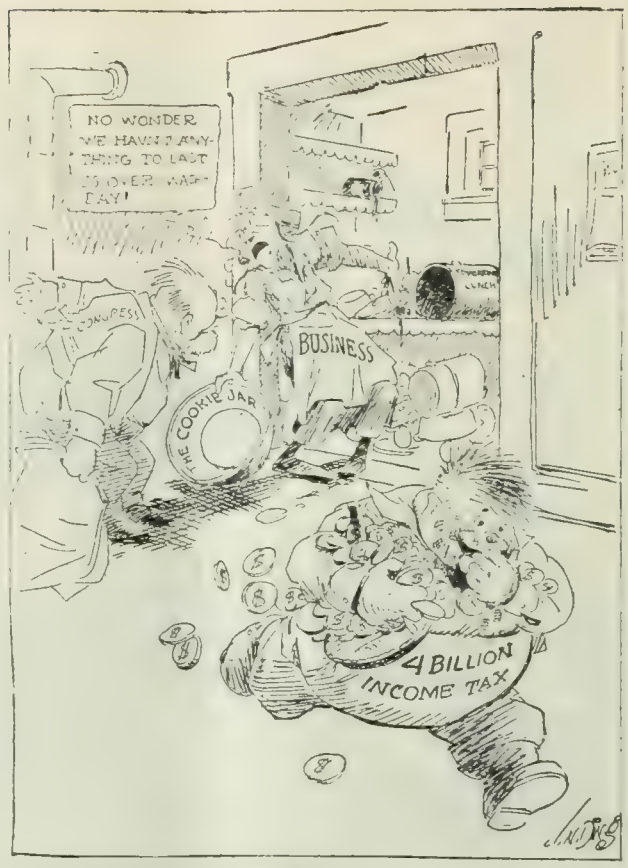

*Knott in Dallas News*

**Which has more cause for pessimism?**

personal grievances, on behalf of himself and his friends and clients, in bringing forward his charges.

In reply to the charges brought by the twelve lawyers that the Department of Justice had acted oppressively in prosecuting sedition, Mr. Palmer said that he had simply continued the policy of the Department under Attorney General Gregory, his predecessor, and that agents of the Department had always been instructed to comply with the law in making arrests and seizing persons and papers. He said that under the Espionage Act there had only been 581 convictions in a population of 100,000,000. He opposed a general grant of amnesty, saying that if the Espionage Act were not enforced it ought to be repealed, but he pointed out that the President had already pardoned or shortened sentence in 199 cases and that the Department is considering 130 more applications for pardon, among them the case of Eugene Debs.

Secretary Wilson of the Department of Labor has issued a statement supporting his assistant, Mr. Louis F. Post, accused by Attorney General Palmer of setting free aliens who should have been deported for disloyal activities. Secretary Wilson laid down the following five principles in dealing with the arrest and deportation of aliens: (1) no arrest except upon sworn affidavit; (2) the persons arrested not to be held "incommunicado"; (3) every arrested person to have counsel; (4) every arrested person to be confronted with the evidence and to be heard in his own behalf; (5) excessive bail not to be required. This statement of policy was called out by a demand from Colonel Lindsey of the American Legion that Mr. Post be dismissed because of his attitude toward the deportation of radical aliens. There seems to be a distinction in principle between the view taken by the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor with respect to the deportations. The Department of Justice seems to consider it a question of public policy; that the alien has a right to residence in the United States only so long as he is not considered an "undesirable alien." The Department of Labor seems to consider it a question of legal rights; that an alien should not be deported until a definite charge is proved against him by strictly judicial methods. What is very strange is that President Wilson has permitted both Departments to "gang their ain gait" without attempting to reconcile or decide their mutually incompatible policies.




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**Mother thinks she knows why she's such a nervous wreck**

## Italian Socialism at the Crossroads

OUTSIDE Russia itself the chief result of Bolshevism has been to split the Socialist parties. In nearly every country there are now at least two Socialist parties, one of which is affiliated with the Third International, bears the name of Communist, and submits unreservedly to dictation from Moscow; the other bearing the name of Socialist or Social Democratic, adhering to political measures and preferring democracy to class dictatorship. Sometimes there are more than two Socialist factions and the energies of the whole movement threaten to be consumed by internal conflicts. Thus in Germany there is the majority Socialist group, patriotic, rather conservative and wholly devoted to political methods; the Independent Socialist group, who take part in parliamentary politics but are chronically hostile to the Government and opposed to any compromize with capitalism in home affairs or imperialism and militarism in foreign policy; and the Spartacans or Communists, who repudiate political action altogether and are heart and soul with the Russian Bolsheviki.

Nowhere, not even in France, has the contrast between democratic Socialism and Bolshevist Communism been more clearly marked than in Italy, where the National Congress of Italian Socialists at Leghorn has been characterized by brilliant debates on party policy. Deputy Misiano declared for the Communists: "There is but one fight, that of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Red armies must go forward to new conquests. They must take possession of the Government, seize factories and make arms and munitions." Professor Baratono opened the ball for the moderates, saying: "Let us reply to Moscow that we see our own situation better thru our own eyes; that we are for a greater unity than Moscow. Moscow calls traitors men who are pioneers in the construction of our party." Deputy Lazzari, one of the veterans of the party, made a moving appeal for Socialist unity and asked the Congress to avert a split in the ranks of Italian Socialism. The appeal was much needed, for the two factions not only hurled invective at each other, but on several occasions came to blows.

The Leghorn conference of Italian Socialists, like the Tours conference of French Socialists, resulted in a party split, tho in Italy it was the Communist element which was outvoted and bolted the convention. Delegates representing 58,900 Socialists voted to join the Third International; delegates representing 112,241 opposed. The seceders, led by Bombacci, Graziadei and Bordiga, then left the hall, held a meeting of their own and proclaimed themselves the Italian Communist Party and members of the Third International. The moderate Socialists were left in control of the old party machinery and will carry on their activities under the old party name.

## Briand at the Helm

PREMIER Aristide Briand has won his vote of confidence from the French Chamber of Deputies and can therefore speak in the councils of the Allies as the accredited spokesman of France. On the twentieth of January he presented the ministerial program before the Chamber.

He declared "the first and most sacred duty" of the French Government was to insist on the disarmament of Germany and that Germany must execute "the reparation which the Treaty of Versailles imposes upon her." Force will be used if necessary to make Germany abide by the Treaty, but it would be avoided if possible. "Republican France is essentially pacific, and it is in peace she wants to bring Germany to execute the obligations she has signed." He advocated a close military and economic alliance between France and Belgium, continued friendship with England and the United States, and an early settlement of the Turkish question, "account being taken of new circumstances," a phrase which seems to imply a revision of the Treaty of Sevres, between the Allies and Turkey, with a possible re-

duction of Greece's share of the spoils of war. He praised the services of Russia to the Allied cause early in the Great War, but said that the Soviet Government could not be recognized since it does not represent the Russian people and refuses to keep "engagements undertaken by the previous governments of that country," a reference to the repudiation of the national debt, a large part of which is due the French.

He disavowed any idea of military intervention in Russia, "but it is impossible to admit that the armies of the Soviets can go outside their territory to attack our allies." In other words, Russia will be let alone on condition that Russia does not attack Poland and the little States of the Baltic and the Caucasus regions.

A long debate followed Premier Briand's confession of political faith, a debate which was continued on the following day. But when it came to a vote the opposition dwindled away to insignificance; 475 deputies gave the new ministry a vote of confidence; only sixty-eight deputies remained hostile.

Few ministries have started with so emphatic a parliamentary mandate, but few French ministries have had greater need of it, for the coming negotiations respecting the reparations to be collected from Germany are almost certain to disappoint French expectations and some of the blame will be cast on whatever Government is in power at the moment.

# Back to Normalcy in France

IN spite of Germany's delay in making reparations and the bad condition of French finances, it would be a mistake to imagine that the devastated area of France lies in the raw and ruined condition it was in at the time of the armistice. Indeed, the rapid economic recovery of the French war zone is one of the miracles of history. Statistics received by the Bankers Trust Company of New York, complete thru eleven months of 1920, show what has been done in two years. 9,500,000 acres of arable land were devastated by the invaders, but most of this has already been cleared of projectiles and barbed wire, and 2,403,945 acres of it is already under crops. In the matter of replacing live stock there is still some shortage, which is why the French are so eagerly pressing for the return of cattle from Germany. 523,000 cattle were taken by the enemy, of which 117,222 have been replaced. Of the 367,000 horses and mules confiscated by the invaders, 209,138 have been replaced. Of the 469,000 sheep and goats taken, 128,169 have been replaced.

Turning from agriculture to industry, we find that almost every mile of railroad track destroyed has been repaired; 2960 miles of track out of 2974. Of 643 miles of canals destroyed, 599 have been repaired. Of 32,747 miles of highway torn up, 19,151 miles of road have been rebuilt or repaired. 4321 factories, employing before the war 778,915 workmen, were destroyed or dismantled during the German occupation; 3392 of these, employing 355,852 men, are again in operation. 590,235 dwelling houses were wholly destroyed or made uninhabitable by partial destruction. 245,936 have been repaired or rebuilt; not reckoning in the new permanent buildings and the temporary barracks erected for the refugees. At the time of the armistice there were only 1,944,000 Frenchmen within the devastated area, but since then enough refugees have returned to their old homes to bring the population of the region up to the number of 3,791,211.

At the present rate of reconstruction five or six years should place the agriculture and industries of the war zone on an almost normal basis. Of course, some land is probably permanently spoiled by earth-shattering cannonades, but the irreclaimable area is much less than was feared at the time of the armistice.

# Wilson for Peace with Russia

IN a note to the League of Nations, President Wilson has explained that he could not proceed further with his mediation in the case of Armenia until the Russian situation was cleared up, in view of the fact that the Bolsheviki have already penetrated to Armenia:

> It would appear that the immediate cause of trouble in Armenia and Turkey has been the Treaty of Sèvres. Admittedly, this was a difficult question with which to contend, but the treaty was drafted by the allied powers, and the trouble has arisen over the failure of certain factions to accept this treaty and of the Allies to enforce it. This is a question over which the President has no control, and measures which he might take or recommend in this direction would be dependent upon the hearty coöperation and support of the Allied powers.
>
> The British Prime Minister calls attention to the report that Armenia is under the control of Moscow, from which it appears that another complication has developed. The dependence of Armenia on Soviet Russia is another situation over which the President has no control, and he sees no action he could take to free Armenia without the moral and diplomatic support of the principal powers, which holds promise of bringing peace and accord to the contending parties.

With this aim in view the President urges that the smoldering border warfare between Soviet Russia and the more or less emancipated states along the Russia frontier be put an end to by general agreement among the Powers not to use the border states as bases for aggressive war against the Bolshevist Government. Russia cannot be regenerated by military intervention:

> The attitude of the President toward those now in power in Russia has been frequently and clearly expressed. He regards the Bolsheviki as a violent and tyrannical minority, by no means representing the real desires and purposes of the Russian people. But he has never believed that the problems raised by the coup d'état could be solved by military action from outside. He now hopes that the recent tragical events on the Polish front and in the Crimea have convinced all the world that armed invasion is not the way to bring peace to the people of Russia. . . .
>
> It is obvious to all that these small struggling border states will not attack great Russia unless encouraged by promise of support from the stronger powers. The President therefore believes that the sine qua non of an attempt at pacification must be a public and solemn engagement among the great powers not to take advantage of Russia's stricken condition and not to



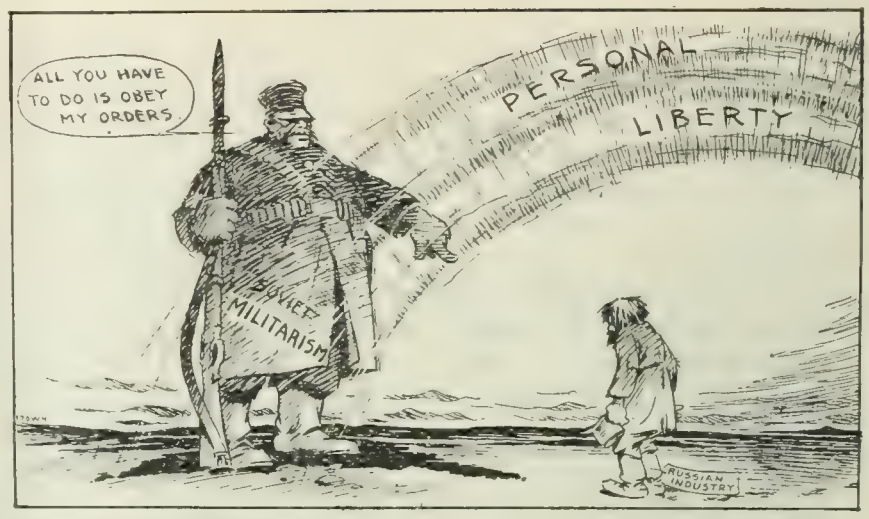
*Nebelspalter, Zurich*

AN INSIDE VIEW OF GERMANY'S INDEMNITY

**They struggle and struggle to get him over the edge, and they don't seem to realize that they are bound to him and must then go over, too**

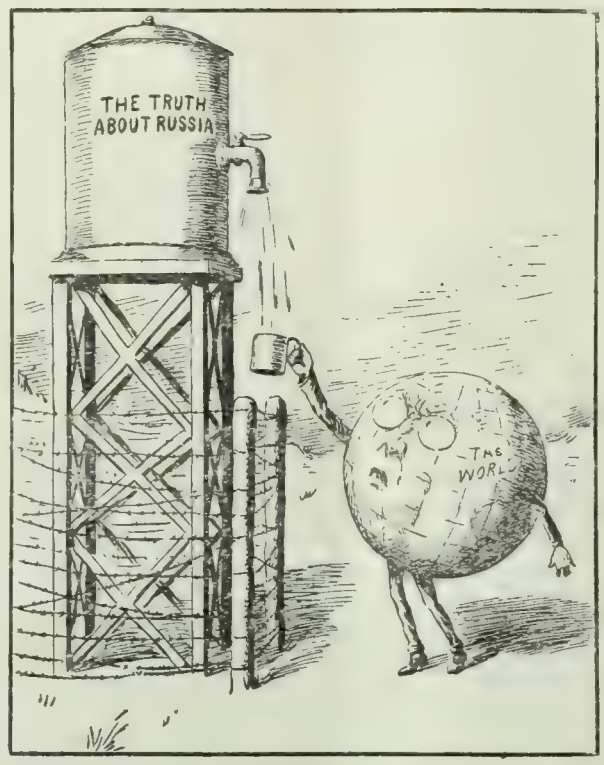
violate the territorial integrity of Russia nor to undertake themselves any further invasions of Russia, nor to tolerate such invasions by others.

It is the President's thought that if the Bolsheviki are thus secured against foreign invasion of Russia they will have no further excuse for waging wars in such countries as Armenia and the States of the Baltic and the Caucasus and will either be compelled to make peace with the world and see how they can manage to make their political and economic system work without patriotic fervor and military methods to back it, or else will be forced to make war openly and aggressively on "capitalist" countries without any pretext of protecting Russia. With the Russian Bolsheviki out of the way, the problem of restoring peace in Armenia will be simpler, since only the Turkish Nationalists and the Armenians will be directly involved. If the Allies support President Wilson's policy, he will send Mr. Henry Morgenthau to undertake the task of mediation between the Armenians and the Turks. The policy of non-intervention in Russia, as advocated by President Wilson, does not necessarily mean the recognition of the Soviet Government nor even the reopening of trade relations. It is a call for what might be termed a permanent armistice on all of Russia's frontiers. The chief practical difficulty in the case is that many of these frontiers have not been satisfactorily defined. For example, in the late Russo-Polish war, the Poles occupied territory which the Russians claimed as Russian but which the Poles looked on as lost Poland.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**The end of the Bolshevik rainbow**




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**Thirsty!**

# Glimpses of Bolshevism

EDUARD Bernstein, the famous Socialist author and statesman, has made public the nature of the aid given by the German Government to the Bolshevist movement in Russia during the war. According to his account the idea was originally that of General Ulrich von Hoffmann, now an ardent enemy of Bolshevism, who arranged with Ludendorff and Helfferich to give Lenin 50,000,000 gold marks to foment a revolution against the Russian Republic. Lenin has never denied that he received aid from Germany, tho the exact nature and extent of this aid have long been a matter of dispute.

The anti-Bolshevist conference at Paris, representing principally the parties in power during 1917 when Russia was a democratic republic instead of a proletarian dictatorship, has declared against armed intervention in Russia by foreign nations. An embargo on munitions was urged. It was pointed out that stocks of munitions sent to Denikin, Yudenitch, Kolchak, Wrangel and other anti-Bolshevist generals had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviki, and thus indirectly the Allies had been supplying the men whose power they intended to overthrow! This fact is a very striking testimony to the gross military incompetence of the anti-Bolshevist leaders, for certainly there can be no worse condemnation of a general than the fact that his military supplies are continually utilized by the enemy. The new movement, centering around the Paris conference, proceeds on other lines. Instead of trying to overthrow the Bolsheviki by force of arms, whether the armies of foreign powers such as France and Poland or the armies of Cossack chieftains, they are appealing to the revolutionary spirit in the Russian masses to rise up against their Bolshevist rulers. It remains to be seen whether the democratic movement will enjoy better success than the numerous royalist attempts have had.

The methods and policies of the Bolshevist reign of terror are explained in the pamphlet published by the Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution (Chresvytchainaya Kommissia po Borbie s Kontr-Revoliutziei), partially translated in the New York *Evening Post*. It begins with the abstract proposition that "Every state is an apparatus of violence" and that until the political state as such is abolished every Government and ruling class must defend its existence by any and all needful means. Only when all classes have been absorbed into one will the class struggle and the political state disappear. The proletariat having attained power found it necessary to establish an agency to crush all opposition, whether on the part of the overthrown aristocracy and bourgeoisie or the non-Bolshevist Socialists "who are counter-revolutionaries for lack of clear thought." "Since there is no sphere of life into which counter-revolutionaries did not penetrate and give evidence of their destructive work, the Extraordinary Commission frequently had to interfere decisively in every sphere of life: in food supply, in transportation, aviation, the Red army, the fleet, the militia, the schools, consulates, industry, distribution, etc." Not only active counter-revolutionists, but bandits, deserters, corrupt and grafting officials, speculators, slackers in the civil service and strikers who attempted to disorganize the machinery of distribution were all liable to punishment.

A long list of anti-Bolshevist organizations and conspiracies ferreted out by the Bolsheviki is given. They range from straight reactionary attempts to restore the old monarchy to the outbreaks of anarchists who thought Bolshevism too conservative. Up to the middle of 1919 the Extraordinary Commission claims to have suppressed 344 revolts and to have discovered 412 counter-revolutionary organizations. The Bolsheviki lost 1150 lives in suppressing revolts and killed 3057 rebels. The number of executions carried out amounted to 8389. A detailed table is given of the offenses which led to the punishment of death by shooting. Most of the persons condemned were charged with participation in revolts or membership in counter-revolutionary organizations. The reign of terror in the French revolution caused nearly as many executions as the Russian, but the Russian figures do not include the deaths from riots, lynchings, mob violence and civil war which probably greatly outnumber the formal executions by Soviet authority.

# Your Garden in February

## A Hundred and One Practical Suggestions That Will Reap a Rich Countryside Harvest

By Hugh Findlay, Professor of Horticulture in Syracuse University

## In the North

### The Greenhouse

**Seedage** Celery seed sown now may be transplanted into the garden in the latter part of May and harvested in July.

Start early tomatoes, peppers, eggplant, and cucumbers this month. Perennials such as larkspur and hollyhocks if started this month will bloom by fall. Sow the seed of ageratum, lobelia, petunia, heliotrope, pansies, verbena, salvia, primula, begonia. If planted the first of the month they will give an early bloom. Seed of cyclamens and gloxinia, if planted now, will give a strong bloom by the following spring. Sow the seed of cuphea llavae the last of the month to be used for spring planting in vases and hanging baskets. Start roots of cannas, caladiums and dahlias in a rich soil and place them under the benches in a fairly cool greenhouse.

**Bulbs** Easter lily bulbs should be brought forward and gradually forced so as to bloom by April.

**Cuttings** Pot all cuttings of chrysanthemums, carnations, coleus and geraniums as soon as they form roots in the propagating bed, then reset a new lot of cuttings. Pinch back all coleus so as to form a branching stocky plant.

**Roses and Carnations** Spray the bench and put roses with clear water on bright days. Do not overwater. Have foliage, walks and benchsides dry before dark. Top dress the surface soil with decayed cow manure and little bone meal. With carnations, keep dead leaves and foliage affected with carnation rust cleaned off. Apply a little lime to the surface soil and work this into the first inch. Disbud all single stem flowers. Spray on bright days to keep the red spider in check. Harvest the bloom early in the morning.

### The Flower Garden

**Planting Plans** Before planting Akebia, Virginia Creeper, Boston Ivy and other vines so that they may cover a fence, pergola, old stump, or wall, plan to dig a large hole three feet square and three feet deep and fill this with a rich loam. Study carefully the color scheme, season of bloom, hight of plant, adaptability of plants to climate and soil and the moisture supply before making your garden plans for next year.

Now is the time to order material for a water garden. Such sub-aquatic plants are suited to the water edge—March Marigold, Japanese Iris, Arrow Arum, Reed Mace, etc. Order your water lilies early.

**Flower Seeds** Don't buy cheap flower seeds. The vitality is usually low and the varieties are poor, especially where the seeds are mixed.

### Fruit and Berries

**Spring Planting** Order your berries and trees this month. It is always safe to buy from a point north rather than south of you. State in order when you wish plants delivered. Notify station agent to let you know when plants arrive. A day in the hot car may mean a large per cent of loss. If the holes are not ready in which to plant your trees when they arrive, heel them in. Never allow the roots to become dry. Order one to two year old apple trees and build the head you desire. Low head is considered the best.

**Spray Material** Get in a supply of Paris green, arsenate of lead, hellebore or slug shot, to keep in check the chewing insects such as tent caterpillars and potato beetles. Concentrated lime sulfur is the best check for San Jose, oyster shell scale and scurvy bark louse. Spray on calm days, when the trees are dormant, with a solution of one part lime sulfur to eight parts of water. Bordeaux or Pyrox may be used to spray peach trees later in the season.

**Disease** Destroy all wild cherry and plum trees along the road or in the fence rows. These trees only harbor disease and insects. Cut out all black knot from plum or cherry trees; burn. Gather and burn all "mummy" plums. Branches affected with fire blight or New York apple tree canker should be cut out and burned. Disinfect the saw or knife after removing each affected limb.

### The Vegetable Garden

**Hotbeds** Place in the bottom of the hotbed about four inches of ashes. Pack in eighteen to twenty-four inches of fresh, heating, horse manure. If the manure does not heat quickly, wet it down with hot water and cover the frame with the sash. Place over the surface four to six inches of clean garden loam. Place a standard thermometer in the manure in the center of the hotbed. Do not plant seed until the thermometer drops to 80 degrees F. Use mats and straw to cover the hotbed during cold nights. Plant the seed of early Jersey Wakefield cabbage, White Plume or Golden Self-branching celery, Early Snowball cauliflower, Detroit Dark Red beets and Loose Leaf Grand Rapids lettuce. These plants may be transplanted to the cold frames later. Keep the air fresh and close the sash early in the afternoon.

**Onions** The last of the month sow the seed of Danver's Yellow Globe and Southport White Globe, or Prizetaker onions in flats. Onion seedlings should never be transplanted twice. Sow the seed sparingly so that the plants may not be crowded and easily transplanted to the open garden.

**Seedage** Buy seed from a reliable firm. Keep them away from rats or mice. Do not keep seed in a moist room. Test the seed before planting in a hotbed or garden. Select a few standard varieties. Plan to keep a notebook of all garden activities thruout the year. Do not start tender plants such as tomatoes or peppers until March or April. Never mix manure with soil in which seed is to be sown. It is good practice to scatter a little well-decayed manure about the bottom of the flat before filling it with garden loam. Shape all flats until the seed germinates. Water and ventilate with great care. Seedlings should never suffer from drouth. Too much moisture causes damping off.

## Vegetables in the South

**Upper South** Fill the hotbeds with eighteen inches of fresh horse manure, packed tightly, and place from two to four inches of clean garden loam on this. Place a thermometer so that the base of it is in the manure. The temperature will go up in a few hours, but after it drops to 80 degrees F. sow the seed of cabbage, cauliflower, beets, lettuce, onions, eggplants, peppers, radishes and tomatoes. After decreasing the moisture and increasing the ventilation so that the plants are hardened, transplant to the open the last of the month cabbage and cauliflower plants, also onion seedlings and lettuce plants. Where the soil is well prepared and not too full of moisture sow in the open the seed of beets, carrots, kale, parsley, radishes and celery. Plant onions, rhubarb, horseradish roots.

**Middle South** One of the best varieties of early potatoes to plant now is the Irish Cobbler. Sow the smooth varieties of English peas. Sow in the open in a rich deep soil the seeds of carrots, beets, mustard, radish, turnips, and leeks. Plant out cabbage plants and onion seedlings. Start a few pots or boxes of cucumbers and melons in the hotbeds.

**Far South** Begin to harden tomatoes, eggplants, and peppers. Plant out but protect melons and squash. Plant all of the seed of the hardy vegetables. The last of the month early corn and bush lima and string beans may be planted. Transplant to the open all hardy plants such as cabbage and cauliflower. Plant peas and asparagus.




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# Citizens in the Making

(*Continued from page 135*)

less than one-tenth that much, if he will but go to the public schools. Over 200,000 copies of this book have been sought for by the public schools and distributed for the purposes designed. In the majority of the schools this Textbook is a chart and compass; for in these schools there had not come the thought of teaching the native adult, to say nothing of the adult of foreign birth. Today over 3000 communities have pledged themselves to this great rejuvenating Americanizing work. By the legislation which specifically conferred this educational authority upon the branch of the Government having the only contact with the naturalizing population of the country, Congress pursued the same practical course heretofore pursued in similar legislation. It has placed the promotion of rural education with the Department of Agriculture for manifest reasons, and citizenship education under the Department of Labor because that Department has the only broad contact with those seeking citizenship. This resulted in the organization of the Division of Citizenship Training in the Bureau of Naturalization.

Months after this undertaking was initiated, Europe became ablaze with the war which later engulfed this country for a time. Out of the experiences of the war probably no movement stands more vividly than the one destined to develop our Americanism. Three days after the Lusitania was sunk, the City of Philadelphia gave a reception to the "four thousand new citizens," proposed by the writer to Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg, a naturalized citizen, and organized by him with the greatest patriotic zeal and enthusiasm. At this reception the President of the United States spoke. The words of his mesage were the inspiration for the Independence Day recognition that year of "Americanization." In his greeting, he said:

> America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American. And the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.
>
> You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you have brought the dreams with you. No man who does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise, and just because you brought the dreams with you, America is more likely to realize the dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you come expecting us to be better than we are.

Americanization, receptions, conventions, meetings, discussions, lectures, Americanization themes of all characters have, since then, come before the public eye in rapid succession. In equally rapid succession, communities in increasing numbers enlisted their school systems in this work, under the inspiration of this awakened public spirit and the coördinating influences of the Federal Government thru its officers, until over 3000 communities have pledged their public educational facilities to the attainment of the ideals upon which this whole work is predicated.

Recognition in the form of a Certification of Graduation is given by the schools and the Federal Government, jointly, to these friends of foreign birth who, with knowledge, are pledging themselves to support and defend our Constitution, our Flag, and to bear true faith and allegiance. This Certificate is being sought by thousands and increasing thousands of such as a badge of distinction, and is being recognized as evidence of their understanding by the courts. Thru the medium of a more perfectly acquired mastery of our language these seekers after American citizenship are discovering reasons for their fealty to our Government.

The universities, the high schools, all educators today, are delving into and developing the possibilities of this newly organizing branch of their profession. Teacher-training departments are being established in the universities, in the normal schools, in the secondary schools, to prepare the sorely-needed teachers for training these ever-increasing thousands and thousands coming into the public schools.

And who attend these classes? If we should divide the students into groups, we would find that during the last year the largest group in attendance came from sunny Italy, comprising about one-sixth, four-sixths came from all other quarters of the world, while the remaining one-sixth were American citizens. The promotion of the public schools in citizenship instruction by the Federal Government thru the Division of Citizenship Training during the past year shows that by extending to the stranger the hand of welcome, the opportunity to make himself a home and to advance himself, we have provided these same facilities for the American man and woman for the first time. In their childhood they were forced by circumstances into the struggle for existence. Now for the first time in the history of the nation they may sit down in the public schools in company with other men and women to partake of their birthright. The coming together of these two forces under these circumstances produces results that promise great for America.

In a class of this kind, when the teacher speaks to the foreign-born in praise of our form of government and of the advantages of American citizenship, a member rises and in unmistakable terms denounces the government as being nothing of the character portrayed by the teacher. He has come there to learn, but transforms himself from a student of America into its denouncer. But the teacher, being one of that great host of American patriotic women transforming the foreign-born and making an opportunity for her American brother and sister at the

same time, handles the situation with consummate skill. Session after session of the class occur. Gradually the message of America is gotten over by this patient, clear-eyed American woman. Less and less insistent becomes the radical member of the class, always studious and informed upon the subject of the hour in the class. Weeks and months go by. Many have taken their first papers, many have completed their second papers under the guidance of this pioneer leader in Americanism. The term is about to close. An evening and the radical and the teacher are in consultation. He has come to make a confession. It is this: He had been taught of America, had been schooled in all that was meant to poison the minds of hosts against our institutions. From many sources, speakers at meetings, literature surreptitiously and openly given to him, he had been so taught, and with none to deny. The first intelligence of a pure character regarding America had come to him in these classes. He is before the teacher protesting his love for America and asking whether, with his true light and understanding, she can think him good enough to be permitted to receive his first paper toward American citizenship.

Another woman teacher has a caller in her class. "Me no speak English. Me learn English. Me teach everybody hate America. Me hate America. Me bolshevik." Patience again, but ending with true patriotic indignation, "No one may talk against my flag in my presence in that way. You must leave this room." The teacher, herself an American of Scotch birth, is surprised by the return later of this self-styled bolshevik. The counsel and advice of this sister-teacher had taken some hold. A different attitude, "Me want learn English. Please me learn. You talk me. Me want love your flag." Weeks of attendance and patient teaching ensued, with the "big sister" counsel, advice, help, and enlightenment. An evening of entertainment for all approaches. The children of the neighborhood are part of a tiny pageant which includes the pledge of allegiance to the flag. From among the audience comes the woman, once a bolshevik, and with tears in her eyes asks to be allowed to put her hand on the Stars and Stripes with the children, that she too may pledge her allegiance in the presence of all the company.

In the forest fastnesses of the vast Northwest, where the great lumber industry thrives, America is now being taught to men of brawn and sinew as part of their established order. An intelligence and understanding are penetrating these recesses, displacing much of the brawling, the license, the lawlessness. In small mining towns, the schools are being provided with funds, both by the miners and the mine operators, that the message of America may be given. Probably no industry exists today, where it is possible for the forces of Americanism to be set into motion, that is failing to do so. Nearly a million naturalization forms have been asked by industry of the Division


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of Citizenship Training during the past year for helping the foreign-born on their way to a better understanding of their employer and the meaning of America.

Perceiving this over a year ago, the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives held sessions and entered upon a study of the Americanization problem of America. They brought out a bill which takes the technicalities out of the naturalization law, and at the same time raises the standards of admission to citizenship. This bill not only excludes anarchists but in addition excludes from citizenship those who are affiliated with any organization that teaches, prints, publishes, displays, issues or distributes any written or printed matter expressing or advocating or teaching their doctrine. It further requires each alien to take an oath disavowing his connection with any such organization. It also requires each alien to read the English language, with a period of time allowed after the passage of the Act in which to qualify, in addition to the present English speaking requirement. The bill also changes the law so that no longer shall the wife and children derive citizenship and the right of suffrage thru the husband or father. A foreign woman may qualify for independent naturalization; and on the other hand an American woman may retain American citizenship on marrying a foreigner, if she continues to live in the United States. Furthermore, the bill provides for restoring American citizenship to American women who have already lost it by marriage. The authority of the Division of Citizenship Training is further extended by this measure so as to authorize the Director to disseminate information regarding the institutions of the United States Government in such manner as will best stimulate loyalty to those various institutions.

The machinery of the public schools of the United States has for six years and more been working in harmony with the Federal Government thru the Department of Labor. During this time, together, they have entered upon and developed this new field of education heretofore allowed to lie dormant and untouched by all. While the influence of the Government has not been as potent as desired, either by the interested public, legislators in Congress, school people of the community, or the administrative branch of the Government, the development and awakening have been most substantial and gratifying. This enterprise has accomplished much and as with all of such great enterprises, the field of possibilities for good is limited only by those objectives the attainment of which may normally be practical. The maximum municipal activity and efficiency, with the minimum of State and Federal machinery necessary to aid and secure that activity, is the basis on which this work has been brought to its present state of development, and the one upon which it should go forward.

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## First Find Your House!

(*Continued from page 133*)

ister of contour, climbing insanely over trellises of moldy chocolate sticks; there were impossible roses, neatly arranged on what looked like gigantic pork chops, and borders—how they had delighted in borders!

The woodwork was chiefly dark blue and a vivid green. I groaned as I looked at it, for I knew that I would have to take it off with a blow-pipe, and I knew that I would have to scrape all those layers of paper off, and I saw that I would have to putty up the seams in the floors and all the many, many window-panes, and that there was plaster to repair, and locks to put on, and doorknobs and hinges to fix up, and fireplaces to open. Surely, there must be fireplaces in a house as old as this, built when the stove had not been invented.

The local mason, being called in, disputed the existence of any fireplaces, but a blow of the pick revealed their sooty depths, and further exploration showed a "Dutch" oven, bricked up for so long that no one could remember ever seeing it.

The old "ell," over a hundred and sixty years of age, had been made into a kitchen, and another room, added later, as the skimpiness of its floor-boards attested, had been used as a dining-room. Between those two rooms there was the hall with a cheery window in it, and beyond, the "best room" with its adjoining bedroom, the guest-room of our grandmother's time. Upstairs there were two bedrooms and a cozy little hall, with a view over my forty acres. It was a small domain, but complete and so pretty. Yes, that is just the word. In its structure, in the small, low rooms, and in the homelike windows, and in the convenient, wide porches, and in the plain, old stairway, and in its two fireplaces, it had the sort of a charm which you feel in an old woman who is still fresh and sweet at seventy, whose face is really almost as beautiful as it was in youth, and whose mellow and tender spirit glorifies what little destruction Time has wrought.

That's the way I felt—but there were times when I was not so poetic. Those times when I used a blow-pipe all a summer's day on paint that would *not* come off! Those hours and hours when I slapped at my walls with a wet cloth and peeled off layer after layer of paper. And those blistering days when I got my garden into condition!

That last item deserves a separate paragraph. I tried to get help on it, but the village declined it, to a man, and after experimenting a bit I could not blame them. There had been ashes deposited there for untold years. Bottles and stones and bricks and old clothes and tin cans and garbage had been carefully distributed on it. And then the snows of many winters had salted it down, as it were, until the effect was of an ancient lava bed.

Eventually, with pick and a small boy (whose mother, a widow with a


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hard eye, drove him to my door each morning), I got down to the earth. Then I bought some more earth to level it up, and I added some lime and some manure and I sowed some grass seed and such vegetables as would mature in the fall. I made walks by shoveling out two feet between my marking-strings, filling in with big stones and small pebbles, and lining the sides with sod extracted from the canal bank. And right here I wish to remark that if there is anything more wedded to its home than sod I have yet to find it.

The painting of the house presented a most serious problem. House-painting firms estimated the cost at $100, at least. They said the old boards would just eat oil, and I'd be lucky if I got it done at that figure.

I went down to a lumberyard where I had already found a friend in "Uncle Joe," a man of indefinite age and abounding charity, who sold paint and lumber if you insisted upon it, but who would much rather assist you in the care of your affairs.

"What you want t' do," said Uncle Joe, "is t' see Tom Hedges. He ain't busy right now, and I calc'late he'll git your house done in ten days er so, at $2 a day and his dinner. Th' paint 'n oil 'll cost you $15."

I calculated some, myself, at that, and I recommended anyone who lives in a small town and wants a house painted to do the same. Get a "handy man," buy your own paint, and save two-thirds of the cost.

Painting my house, with it eating all the oil it wanted, cost me $40. Cypress shingles, to match the fine old ones already there, cost $10. Bricks for the chimneys were $2 and shingle stain, $4. There was not a water-leader on the place, so they had to go on at a cost of $6, including labor.

Well, it took me all summer to do the most elemental work on my house. I developed a permanent crick in the neck, and had mysterious sore places on me, and deposited fat from my person all over the place. You couldn't see it, of course, but it was there.

Some of my friends came out and stopped at The Inn, and some bought bungalows on a rocky hillside, and all of them regarded my activities with astonishment. Some of them had a chicken or two, and a runabout, and a dog, six rooms, and unthrifty habits. The result was that they required a man and a maid to attend to those things and complained loudly that living in the country was more expensive than in the city. Many of them thought nothing of walking after a little ball for six hours, on the knobby little course at The Inn, but all of them were amazed that I could paint and kalsomine my own house. On hot afternoons that summer they used to drink iced lemonade on my cool back porch and look in at me, peeling paper off of the wall, and ask each other how I did it. And that very night they would dance from nine until four, or thereabouts. Well!

It is three years now since I went homesteading. I have bought the plain-


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The title page and index for volume 104, which covers the months of October, November and December, 1920, will be off the press within a short time and will immediately be mailed to the subscribers who requested them. The index for volume 105 which will cover from January 1st to June 30th, will be printed in July.

est of old walnut for my house, and made rag carpets for my floors, and found andirons for my fireplaces, and brought my old dream garden into being.

In the fall I buy fruit and vegetables, cheap, from the farmers who pass my doors, and these I "can" and put on those old, old shelves in my cellar, that my larder as well as my heart may be provisioned against the coming of a guest. And my little patch of ground gives me flowers for every day when the earth is not frozen, and food of all sorts—peas and beans and onions and lettuce, grapes and plums and pears—but most of all it gives me that echo of the sweetest word in the world, "home."

All around me, thru these New Jersey hills, hidden away behind giant trees or high, ancient hedges, neglected, forlorn, falling into death and decay, there are fine old houses which need only a little loving care for their rebirth.

Mine, I claim, was a bargain.

*Boonton, New Jersey*

## Editing a Magazine

(*Continued from page 132*)

Franklin, once said, "If you get close to any family you find they are desperately hard up." Still generalizations are generally too general. A magazine is usually either a gold mine or a rat hole. While it usually absorbs a vast deal of money before it turns the corner of success, once it becomes profitable the returns are likely to be immense.

Net earnings of periodicals vary from one Chicago paper which makes $800,000 per annum to one journal in Boston which dropped $400,000 the first year it was established.

The mechanical department of the periodical is usually directly under the supervision of the manager. It includes typesetting, cut-making, printing, binding, mailing, the purchase of white paper, of which the latter is by far the largest single item in the cost of production. While most of the dailies and country weeklies of necessity own and operate their own printing presses, the magazines find it more profitable to farm out their printing. The reason for this is that the great linotype machines and multiple presses unless constantly kept in use day and night are not very profitable. One such establishment can print a large number of periodicals if they come out on different days. The Eilert Printing Company, for instance, which publishes The Independent, tho not by any means the largest printing concern in New York City, manages to publish each month some thirty regular periodicals as well as a number of occasional publications. It requires a large capital to run a great modern printing establishment and its problems are so dissimilar from editing and publishing that most magazine owners are glad to shift them to other shoulders.

In my next article I shall discuss the make-up of a magazine.


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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

**I. Editing a Magazine.**

1. Find out if at home or in your library you can get at some numbers of an old magazine of the kind that Mr. Holt describes, if not of one he actually mentions, and then if you have enough material write a descriptive essay comparing the old fashion in periodicals with the new.
2. Give a two or three minute talk on Benjamin Franklin as an editor and journalist. Pack it just as full as possible of illustration from Franklin's own records and writings.
3. Pick out two or three modern magazines and write a comparative study of them, defining just as closely as you can what in each case makes the magazine successful or unsuccessful in its effect on its audience.
4. Find out enough about Washington Irving and the periodicals of his later life to fit him into a suitable "snug corner" in a particular one, and then write a letter to him from the editor of the magazine you have chosen, persuading him of his fitness for the place.

**II. First Find Your House.**

1. Probably at one time or another you have read other essays telling of the adventure of hunting a home and getting it in shape to live in. Do you think this is a distinctively good one of its type? What reasons have you for your opinion? Pick out touches that individualize this essay from others.
2. Find what seem to you the best description of somebody's home in all of the literature that you can explore for the purpose—a sentence or paragraph or whole book of description—poetry, essay or fiction as the case may be. Use your judgment before you begin, to eliminate the improbables, like Henty or Jack London, for instance.
3. This essay touches on a number of domestic crises, such as moving, and housecleaning. Write from your own experience, happy or otherwise, on any subject that the essay suggests to you.

**III. Citizens in the Making.**

1. See if any educational provision is made for the foreign born in your own town. Learn what you can about it, and criticize it by the standards suggested in Mr. Crist's article, if you approve of them as standards. If you do not, make others of your own.

**IV. Why?**

1. Do you like this poem or not, and why? Distinguish between agreeing or disagreeing with it as an idea, and liking it or disliking it as poetry.
2. Read other poetry by Edwin Markham, not neglecting "The Man with the Hoe," which is probably the best known. Define the distinguishing characteristics of his poetry, considering "Why?" in this connection as characteristic or uncharacteristic.

**V. Main Street, Moronia.**

1. What is a moron? What does I. Q. stand for? Who is Mrs. Gertrude Atherton?
2. Read "Main Street," if you have not and can. If you have read it, consider it with other books that you have read, on more or less the same subject, to decide which gives the fairest picture of life in an ordinary American town.

**VI. Free Art.**

1. "What would we think of a man who was released from prison and then spent the rest of his life just outside the prison gate deriding those still imprisoned?" Describe concretely the state of things that this sentence describes figuratively.
2. Perhaps the majority of great and individual artists of all time have been in their own day suspected or denounced as extremists or poseurs or freaks or charlatans. Look up as many of the following as you can, to see how they stood in the eyes of their generation: Franz Hals, Whistler, Corot, Beethoven, Chopin, Wagner, Richard Strauss, Debussy, Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Thomas Hardy, Shelley, Walt Whitman.

**VII. Glimpses of Bolshevism.**

1. A well known writer said recently that one thing the matter with the Russians was that Russia alone of all Europe skipped the Renaissance, the Reformation, every corresponding movement. In what way is this true, and what elements peculiarly Russian in the Russian situation can you trace to this lack? Another explanation of Russia's difficulties that is often given is that Russia has never had, what all other European countries have had, a powerful hereditary middle class, but instead a population made up mostly of peasants and nobles. What special conditions do you think this fact has created?

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. Immigration—Citizens in the Making.**

1. Can you account for the increased number of applications for citizenship among the resident aliens in the United States?
2. "Possibly 75 per cent of those seeking citizenship annually belong to the debit side of the citizenship ledger." What does this statement mean? Do you agree with it? What tests would you use to distinguish a "good citizen" from a "bad citizen"?
3. Describe from Mr. Crist's article what the United States Government has done and is doing to make good citizens out of the immigrants.

**II. Journalism—Editing a Magazine.**

1. What did Jefferson mean in saying that he preferred "newspapers without government" to "government without newspapers"? Write a short essay on: The Place of a Free Press in the Political Life of a Nation.
2. Why is a national daily newspaper impossible in the United States? Do you think that this tends to provincialism and ignorance of what is doing in other parts of the country? How does the magazine with its nation-wide circulation tend to remedy the emphasis on local affairs of the daily paper?
3. To make clear the different purposes of different types of periodicals, compare The Independent with a good daily newspaper that you know and some monthly magazine of general interest, with respect to: (a) form, "make up" and general appearance; (b) space given to current news; (c) contributed articles; (d) special departments and features, such as cartoons, poetry, book reviews, humor, etc.; (e) editorial comment and general essays; (f) emphasis on local, national or foreign affairs; (g) the kind of reader to whom the periodical would most appeal.

**III. Reparations—Admitting That Germany Can't Pay. Briand at the Helm. Back to Normalcy in France.**

1. Why has the amount of Germany's indemnity due for reparations not yet been definitely fixed? What evil effect would you suppose this uncertainty to have on the economic recovery of Europe?
2. Why does French policy with respect to the indemnity differ from the British?

**IV. Bolshevism—Wilson for Peace with Russia. Glimpses of Bolshevism. Italian Socialism at the Crossroads.**

1. Why does President Wilson consider that armed intervention in Russia to overthrow Bolshevism is unwise?
2. Why does President Wilson find it impossible to settle the Armenian question until the Allies agree on a policy of letting Russia alone?
3. How did the Bolsheviki come into power? Did they gain control of Russia by overthrowing the Czar or by overthrowing the men who overthrew the Czar? Have they ever held a general election based on universal suffrage?
4. Compare the Russian reign of terror with what you know about the reign of terror in the French Revolution of 1789-1794.
5. Explain the split in the Italian Socialist party. Compare it with similar divisions between pro-Bolshevist "Communists" and moderate Socialists in France, Germany and the United States.

**V. Nationalism—Self-Determination.**

1. Compare the map of Europe as it was in 1914 with the present map. Notice two things: (a) the number of nations in eastern and central Europe has increased; (b) all boundaries in 1914 were definite, whereas today it is hard to say in some cases (such as Ukrainia, Lithuania, etc.) whether a nation has attained independence or not. What disadvantages might arise from this breaking up of great empires into small national states with uncertain frontiers?
2. Point out on the map the "submerged nationalities" which have been liberated from foreign rule by the Great War. Do you think that this work of liberation is great enough to counterbalance the disadvantages of breaking up the great empires into little states?
3. Granting that European nationalities, such as Poland, Finland and Ireland, should have their independence, do you think that the same line of argument applies to tropical colonies such as the Philippines and India?
4. How far did "self-determination" progress during the century from the Treaty of Vienna to the Great War (hint—compare the position of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Norway and the Balkan nations in 1815 and 1914)?

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## Pebbles

"I guess I'll take a day off," said the student as he tore a sheet off the calendar. —*Yale Record.*

Visitor—Have you only one undertaker in this burg?

Old Farmer—Yes, the stiff competition drove the others out.—*Froth.*

Crimson—If Ivanhoe sells for a quarter, what is Kenilworth?

Cardinal and Gray—Great Scott, what a novel question!—*Voo Doo.*

"I can see the tips of your ears, dearie!"

"Well, what of it?"

"Is that an accident or are ears coming back gradually?"—*Leigh Burr.*

"I dare say Jack is forging ahead rapidly since he left college."

"Yes, but there have been several checks in his career!"—*Cornell Widow.*

"There's a story in this paper of a woman that used a telephone for the first time in eighty-three years."

"She must be on a party line."

—*Juggler.*

A bookseller sent a bill to a certain customer for a book. The customer replied:

"I did not order the book.
If I did, you didn't send it.
If you sent it, I did not receive it.
If I did, I paid for it.
If I didn't, I won't.

—*Efficiency Magazine.*

Summoning all the pathos possible into his voice, the amateur settlement worker was addressing his audience on the subject of certain poverty-stricken foreigners, who, if they weren't wretchedly miserable at least ought to be.

"Think of it," he cried, dabbing at his eyes. "There are people down there who live on garlic alone! Imagine it! Garlic alone!"

Well," called back the Old Grouch, as he made his way down the aisle toward the nearest exit, "if they live on garlic, they ought to live alone."—*The American Legion Weekly.*

Dairyman Muldoon was rather rough spoken, much to the mortification of his daughter Mary, who was forever trying to correct this defect in his deportment.

"Father," said she one day, "please remember you must always say 'present company excepted' whenever you use any expression that you feel may prove embarrassing to any one."

That night, while the house was crowded, Muldoon was telling in his uncouth way about his visit to the county fair.

"Well, they had fair to middlin' cows there," said he: "but, be the holy powers, it was the domdest colliction of pigs that iver Oi saw. Why it was th' worst——"

Mary's coughing at this juncture attracted him.

From the significance of her glance he was reminded of something.

He hesitated for a moment, then continued in a softer subdued voice: "Well, all things considered, it was th' worst crowd of pigs—prisent company excepted—that ever Oi saw."—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

## Remarkable Remarks

JUDGE WILLIAM H. WADHAMS—Judges are not paid enough to live on.

E. W. HOWE—I believe John D. Rockefeller is the most useful man who has ever lived.

WARREN G. HARDING—We are unmatched for genius and unexcelled in industry.

CHANCELLOR DAY—No higher compliment could be paid me than that I favor capital.

GABRIEL D'ANNUNZIO—I live a magnificent, noble life, unpolluted by corruption, chastened by sacrifice.

GEORGE ADE—She was somewhat attired in a whipped cream delicatessen delirium with mauve colored galluses.

REV. JOHN ROACH STRATON—All this agitation and hue and cry about personal liberty is entirely unnecessary.

SENATOR PENROSE—The community has been insane for a year or so with these weird League of Nations ideas.

GEN. TASKER H. BLISS—Our present form of civilization cannot stand the strain of military preparation much longer.

REV. FRANCIS P. DUFFY—I know that to some people all of us are hyphenated, except the Anglo-Saxons and the Scotch-Irish.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—The workers of this country are not seeking exorbitant pay, but simply a recognition of their manhood.

METHODIST BISHOP HUGHES—I believe my father, who was a Methodist minister, was as regularly ordained as the Archbishop of York.

WINSTON CHURCHILL—There has never been any work more diabolic in the whole history of the world than that which the Bolsheviks have wrought in Russia.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER—Mental and physical health, comfortable housing, and good food, come before either textbooks or laboratories as educational instrumentalities.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR T. HADLEY—The strength of a college depends on the character of its graduates more than the number of its students or the distinction of its faculty.

## Opening Nights

*In the Night Watch*, by Michael Morlon. A war melodrama adapted from the French. Tremendously spectacular and thrilling. (Century Theater.)

*Diff'rent*, by Eugene G. O'Neill. An interesting how and why problem play of a woman's changed ideas of marriage. Well written, but amateurishly played. (Selwyn Theater.)

*Near Santa Barbara*. Melodrama of the good old-fashioned sort where heroes and villains always "tote" their guns and use them without discrimination. A sure-fire success for audiences who like their roast beef rare. (Greenwich Village Theater.)



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# A Lincoln's Birthday Message

**"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."**

This portrait of Abraham Lincoln was published in *Harper's Weekly* during his presidency and shortly before he gave to the American people the eternally inspiring message, part of which is quoted here

The Independent
February 12, 1921

# Take a Criminal's Advice

## On How to Protect Yourself in the Present "Crime Wave"

### A Series of Inside Stories Written for The Independent

### By an Ex-Convict

ALMOST every issue of the daily paper informs the reader, in flaring headlines, of another "mysterious" robbery. I will concede the fact that many robberies are unusual—but they need never be mysterious. A little knowledge about the powers that prey—and the entire problem becomes ridiculously simple.

Taken as a whole, our police system is honest and painstaking—as honest and painstaking as the politicians will allow, and wofully inefficient. *The fault lies with the people!*

The average apartment house dweller in any city or town waits till *after* the burglar has robbed him to seek some means of protection against burglary. This applies particularly to the newly married folks. They seldom take sufficient precaution against theft. He may possibly buy a new-fangled, "burglar-proof" lock, and she may insist that he take out burglar insurance. But that is usually their whole idea of protection.

Take, for example, an average couple living in the average cheaply constructed dwelling of flimsy material. He placed the extensively advertised lock on his door and felt a huge degree of comfort. His apartment was now secure against burglars. He had both the lock and the burglar insurance. One evening they went to the theater. When they reached home again she became hysterical while he tore madly around to the nearest police station. His apartment was burglarized. The handsome, new lock that he had put on the door lay a pitiable wreck on the floor. Many things had been stolen, others destroyed. Then the truth dawned on him that his insurance would not nearly cover the cost of his loss.

**"People let themselves be robbed! They make it so easy for us", said the ex-convict who wrote the series of which this article is the first, "I have served a term in prison, and I know, from the inside, the plain facts of crime. I offer here, by way of reparation, the real truth, for the first time." The other articles in this series will tell you how to beware of pickpockets, to protect your checks from "the scratch man", to make sure that yeggmen can't get at your safe**

Later on, I talked to the burglar who had done the job and who in the meantime had been apprehended.

"It was a measly flat job," he said. "I 'jimmied' the door (forced it with a chisel, the end of which is bent for increased leverage) an' heard the lock snap out of its socket, but the door wouldn't open. It had me puzzled. I tried the door in three or four different places an' it would not open all the way. It was a big, heavy door, an' I was mad. I tried once more. I pushed with all my might, and then I noticed the door held at the bottom. The poor fish had put his lock on the bottom of the door, thinking it would make the door more secure, but he might have saved his trouble, for I broke the door down."

No lock made can resist the terrific pressure from a "jimmy." Locks and burglar insurance have, in the final analysis, but a limited sphere of usefulness. The lock only delays the burglar and the burglar insurance is at best a remedial measure. The wise course is to plan burglary prevention and it must be done by coöperation. Organize among your neighbors a protective league! For a nominal sum all the apartments in the building can be wired with burglar alarm systems. Then should a burglar attempt to gain entrance, all the tenants in the building will be immediately notified! It will do a two-fold service: prevent a burglary and help in apprehending the thief. Such a league would make its members' homes practically burglar-proof.

Mutual coöperation, then, is the most powerful weapon the people have against the burglar who threatens property and life. Locks will not keep the burglar out—or your valuables in. It makes little difference if you are at home or away; if the burglar thinks there are valuables in your home he will try to get them, and once he has broken in he is apt to stop short of nothing—not even murder.

Burglars gain their information about you in various ways. They know, for instance, when you are not at home. There is always a small space between the bottom of a door and the floor. By lying flat on his stomach, a man can get a fairly comprehensive view of the inside of the room. With senses alert and tense, the burglar sees with his ears almost as much as he does with his eyes. He hates to be interrupted or disturbed at work, and so he makes certain that you are not in before he enters your door. I have been told that the ears of the burglar are so sensitive that he can hear the breathing of a sleeping person. If the space between the floor and the door is not large enough for the burglar to see what is going on within, he can, without the least bit of noise, by the assistance of his "jimmy," raise the door a little higher, and you may be in the same room without hearing it. There should be some kind of curtain over the keyholes and bottom of the doors.

Failure to remove the mail from your letter box is a sign that you are away; so are drawn shades.

The houses of the rich are of course a frequent target. Burglars read the newspapers, you know, and they very often get important information from them. They know then that Mrs. Blank is to attend the opera and that she has had her jewels sent to her home from the safe deposit vaults; the burglar knows that those jewels must be left somewhere in the house before they are put on for the opera, and naturally he makes it his business to find out where.

Burglar alarms, remember, are of no earthly use should you leave your home with a window open—no matter if you do live on the fourth or fifth floor. It is almost as easy for the burglar to gain entrance to your home from the fifth floor as it is from the street floor. Rope ladders are used far more than the police care to admit, and they are long enough to reach three or four stories. *Close all your windows* when you go out! If you have not electrical protection—i. e., a burglar alarm system—place a heavy object against the window most easy of access, so that when the window is opened from the outside the object will fall to the floor, warning the family below that all is not right upstairs.

A telephone to the police will do the rest.

Keep an eye on your dumbwaiter shaft! In seven cases out of ten, the burglar will gain entrance to your home via the dumbwaiter. The catch the builder puts on the dumbwaiter door is of practically no value. Immediately on entering a new home the first thing to do is to place a bar across your dumbwaiter door and leave it there whenever you go out.

Remember always: "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

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*Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall*
*Humpty Dumpty had a great fall,*
*All the King's horses and all the King's men*
*Could not put Humpty Dumpty back again**

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# This Changing World

## A New Series of Articles

### By Edwin E. Slosson

## II—The Fall of Energy and the Rise of Man

IN last month's article of "This Changing World" I showed that the expansion of personality, which is characteristic of advancing civilization, is accomplished thru the utilization of external energy, that the unprecedented increase in world's wealth and population in recent times is due to the fact that man has discovered how to supplement his limited muscular power by the power of the engine, run by some sort of natural energy such as burning oil and coal. But these external sources of energy, tho vastly greater than merely human energy and still imperfectly utilized, are nevertheless not unlimited. The world's oil tank is already running dry and the coal bin is beginning to be scraped bare in places. We have built up our splendid civilization on fossil fuel, the accumulations of the Carboniferous Era. What will happen when it runs short as sometime it must?

Arrhenius, the great Swedish scientist, looks forward to a time when England and Germany, owing to the exhaustion of their fuel supply, will cease to be the industrial centers and will revert to primitive conditions of agriculture and forestry.

Probably a great part of these countries will again be covered by forests as they were in the time of Tacitus. It seems very probable that when fossil fuel has been consumed, civilization and culture will return to its birthplace about the Mediterranean and in Mesapotamia in the old world and to Central America and the land of the Incas in the new.

This is not a remote and speculative question, but the most vital question of our day. The two essential sources of energy are:

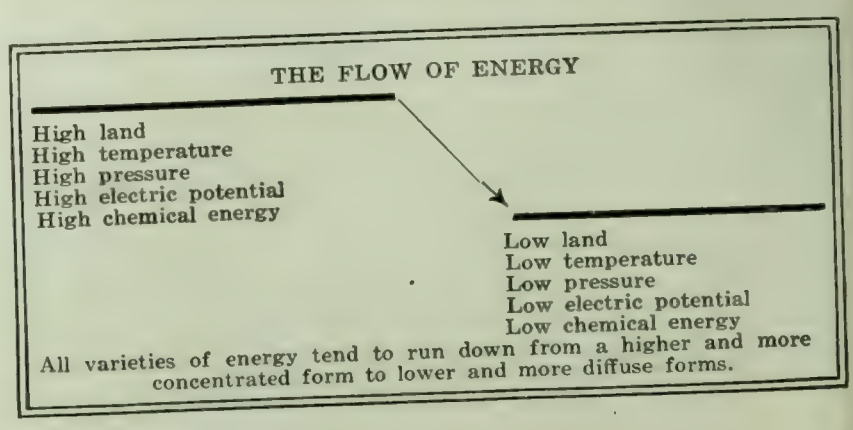
1. Food, which provides the internal energy of the human body and is irreplaceable.

2. Fuel, which provides the external energy of engine power and for which no adequate substitute is in sight.

Man's life depends on food. Man's civilization depends on fuel. Both are restricted in amount, altho they can by cultivation and economy be considerably increased. But as their limit is reached, the progress of civilization, which consists in the multiplication and magnification of man, must slow down or stop.

In primitive times men fought for food. Pastoral peoples, driven out by drought, invaded more fertile lands. Nomadic tribes took possession of the hunting grounds of their neighbors. Savages were dispossessed by settlers in search of fresh fields and pastures new.

In modern times the food problem is not pressing. Thanks to the improvement in agriculture and development of transportation by steam power there now is normally enough food to go around, except when as in Europe war diverts the energies of men to destruction or when as in China modern methods of cultivation and distribution have not been adopted. So nowadays the fight for fuel has replaced the fight for food. When nations go to war or compete with one another commercially, it is most often for the sources of external energy. The bones of contention





The ancient Egyptians drew water from a well, a bucket at a time, to irrigate their land. In 1921, the Roosevelt Dam stores enough water to cover the state of Delaware a foot deep, providing permanent irrigation for 200,000 acres of land in the Salt River Valley surrounding Phoenix, Arizona. The dam is 1080 feet long and 280 feet high; it cost more than $3,000,000. Its falls develop 7500 horse power



now are the coal fields of the Saar and Ruhr, the oil fields of Mesopotamia and the Caucasus. Some time in the future nations may go to war for waterfalls, or for the overheated and over-humid lands of the tropics where alcohol and oil may be produced as motor fuel, or for arid deserts where sun engines may be set up.

This question of future energy supply is engaging the attention of the far-sighted statesmen of all countries tho its importance is not yet realized by the public. It lies at the basis of most questions of national policy today. For instance, the worldwide commercial supremacy of England has been built upon the utilization and exportation of her coal. British ships have carried coal to all parts of the earth and for the return voyage filled their empty holds with food for the home population and with raw materials to be worked up into marketable manufactures by means of coal. This period of industrial expansion and prosperity began thru the invention of the steam engine about a hundred and fifty years ago. Will it cease after another one hundred and fifty years when British coal will be scarcer and deeper and dearer? Should the British Government adopt a conservation policy and put a stop now to the exportation of coal? If so, would not that bring ruin to the commerce on which Britain's prosperity depends?

The United States confronts a similar dilemma. We have made money—some of us have made a great deal of money—thru the sale of American petroleum abroad. But our geologists tell us that our oil fields will be largely drained within fifteen years. Shall we then, like the five foolish virgins, have to go begging for oil to fill our lamps—or automobile tanks? If so, are we likely to meet with any more favorable response?

Since the whole future of civilization depends upon the supplies of free energy available for human aims, it will be profitable for us to survey in turn all the known sources of energy to see which of them can be used and to what extent. This will necessitate first the consideration of the fundamental principles governing all forms of energy.

The fundamental laws of the science of energetics are not nearly so hard to grasp as is commonly supposed. In fact we all know them intuitively in a general way as we do the laws of geometry. A man may never have heard of the Law of the Conservation of Matter. Ask him about it and he may say "Search me!" But if we search him we will find that he really has it in his possession. If, for instance, you sell him a ton of coal and he finds that he has only half a ton delivered in his cellar, you can't persuade him that the other half just spontaneously faded away into nothingness. He will stand up for the Law of the Conservation of Matter as stoutly as any physicist, and if he takes the case into court the judge will rule according to that law, altho he cannot find it in the statute books.

This same man will also profess ignorance of the Law of the Conservation of Energy, but if he finds that the ton of coal you sold him gives out only half so much heat as former tons did, he will accuse you of running in slack on him. You never can persuade him that coal of the same quality burned under the same conditions gives off an uncertain amount of heat, depending on its mood; that sometimes it will make a whole house hot, sometimes only mildly warm, or sometimes, if it happens to feel like it, it will act like a lump of ice and radiate coolness instead of caloric.

But altho we all may have unconsciously acquired a vague idea of these fundamental laws it is well to see them definitely formulated and consider their scope and bearing on the vital and political questions of our time. You will find them properly stated in mathematical form in any work of thermodynamics or physics, [*Continued on page 172*

# O'Neill and "The Emperor Jones"

## A Climax in Our Lately Developed Interest in One-Act Plays

By Montrose J. Moses

Author of "The American Dramatist"

AMONG the younger American dramatists, the writing of one-act plays is rapidly increasing in excellence. In the renaissance of the theater, which distinguishes the last quarter of a century, the one-act play form has played an important part; our best known writers for the theater, both in America and in Europe, have used it with distinction and success. As we know the form today, it has gained strength from the demands of modern condition, rather than harping back to ancient formulas.

Somehow, a one-act play is related to the times by reason of its sharpness and quickness. We have created it, so to speak, with our own hands; it has been quickened by our violent impulses. It has responded to our restlessness, with an incisiveness which has immediately bitten into our sympathies, and impressed itself on our imaginations in a short time. Its tabloid form demands economy of attention. In a one-act play we can stand what we would not permit in a long play. Hence, the one-act form can maintain its integrity thruout, where often a serious, long drama has to resort to comedy and happiness as a relief for popular taste. There is no experiment in the theater today more interesting than this.

For the one-act form is pervasive; its area of appreciation is much wider than any other type of drama. It can be played in the smallest hamlet by the most amateurish group of amateur actors: for it is within their capabilities, calling for not too long a sustained piece of acting; and it is within the economic means of church or sewing circle, because the scenic resources are not exacting. Its growth in popularity is coincident with the growth of the Little Theater movement in this country.

The one-act form has been an excellent tonic for the theater everywhere: it has helped Antoine in Paris, the artists of the Uberbrettl' in Germany, the insurgents in England and America, the Horniman players in Manchester; and it has been the life of W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and their "school" at the Abbey theater, in Dublin. It has become no longer a "stunt," such as the vaudeville sketch used to be; it is built of finer stuff, tho it demands no longer time to perform. Nor is it a large drama cut down—a sort of dwarf of the stage. There is no lilliputian precociousness to Synge's "Riders to the Sea" or to Dunsany's "The Gods of the Mountain." These supreme one-act examples are tremendous entities—perfect essences of strength and irony, of spiritual atmosphere and imaginative mood. Maeterlinck's "The Intruder," "The Interior" and "The Blind" are not playthings in their smallness; they are rather soul-stirring states of mind—all the more sharply felt because they are sharply etched with a certain exquisiteness. In their instantaneous beauty they stir our emotions to their depths, whereas if they were to be stretched into four acts, they might depress by the attenuated gloom of their mood.



Eugene O'Neill, the playwright who has made one of the most important contributions to the development of the one-act play

In its content, the one-act play deals with a single episode. It has a unity of time, place and manner as rigid as that in Greek drama. If it oversteps this simplicity, it becomes complicated in its presentment, because it necessitates a change of scene. O'Neill's remarkable "The Emperor Jones" is a one-act story told in seven scenes, but they are a panoramic successiveness of the same strange adventure, and their intensification of the same mood overcomes what might have been, in less skilful hands, a diffuseness of impression.

But even in its limited length, even tho its developments are short, its climatic values trembling for immediate solution, its beginning thus crowding upon its end, the one-act play admits of vast variety. It can make use of the symbol better than a longer play: Charles Rann Kennedy's "The Terrible Meek" is an example of that; it can contain a national message, as in Yeats' "Kathleen ni Hoolihan"; its humor may be swiftly cumulative, as in Lady Gregory's genial "Spreading the News"; it may become like a small canvas of genre portraiture, as in "The Workhouse Ward."

In such a form, Eugene O'Neill has chosen to work. He has become known to us thru the increasing mastery of his original materials; he has developed directly out of the Little Theater, for the Provincetown Players, like the Washington Square Players, and similar devoted upholders of the non-commercial drama, have created their own "school" of writers; they now have the distinction of nurturing O'Neill when the theater managers would not have him—even tho he was the son of James O'Neill, long known to the theater as an actor of romantic ability.

Let the amateur take example by O'Neill; his success has been wrung from the most dispiriting surroundings. Even now, tho they have been established for many seasons, and are regarded as an annual feature in the theatrical life of New York, the Provincetown Players, born on a wharf in Provincetown, R. I., are not ambitious to spend the small money they earn, either on their theater in Greenwich Village—this time a converted stable—or on their actors, or on their scenic garniture. Their lighting effects are still bad, their stage still cramped, their acting still wofully lacking in technique and illumination. But their repertory usually contains something unusual. They found themselves this year with a popular success: they had to send it uptown, so insistent was the demand to see it. The play was O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones."

Here is a young man who has had the most unusual and picturesque experience. It would seem that all heroes who run away to sea escape the humdrum of sedate and proper living. I do not mean that all sons should rebel at being sent to college, or should court the parental anger, as was the case with O'Neill. But I do say that he could not have filled his mental notebook with more graphic color of life in the rough than he did, in his capacity as ordinary sea-

man in the forecastle of a British tramp steamer, or as an able seaman on an American passenger liner.

He returned home, we are told, in a semi-state of capture, and was sent for the winter to New London, Conn., where his father kept a warden's eye upon him. He was still untamed and not too robust in health. But in his mind he had seething all the tragic color which afterward came out in his first volume of one-act plays, entitled, "The Moon of the Caribbees." It may be that, like John Masefield, whose career at sea he parallels, in the still watches of the night he determined that some day he would write. But Clayton Hamilton, in his book, "Seen on the Stage," describes how he met O'Neill in New London and was instrumental in advising his father to send the wild sea-gull to Harvard to study dramaturgy under Professor Baker. This decision was based on some one-act manuscripts which Eugene had hammered out alone in his boarding-house bedroom. The boy had been on the stage for the fraction of a season with his father, but had shown no histrionic ability. But even a bad actor on the stage brings to his work, when he becomes a good dramatic writer, a sense of the theater which is invaluable. Pinero was an actor, Clyde Fitch was exceptionally brilliant as an amateur player. But this does not mean that to write one-act plays you must necessarily go on the stage.

After his Harvard study—and Professor Baker confesses that he never had a more apt pupil—O'Neill just wrote, and his plays, while technically they are not as perfect as many of Dunsany's, have the quality of haunting imagination which wrings poetry from realism. The sea lives, not spiritually, but humanly rough in "The Moon of the Caribbees," "Bound East for Cardiff," "The Long Voyage Home" and "In the Zone." They are one-act films, and are related, in so far as the same characters appear in each. The sailor is a superstitious mixture, with hasty morals and grim fears. O'Neill delights in the Jack London type of life. "The Sea Wolf" is off the same tree, or rather it's the whole tree, while O'Neill contents himself with the twig. In most of his work the motive of the sea enters—shipwrecks, icebergs, the tremor of wireless, uncouth decks, the rush of water, the cruelty of wind, and the calm of sun and starlight. There is something outside of faith, something fatalistic in his ironic playing with life and death. It is the working of mere chance that starts the tragedy in the one long play he has thus far written—"Beyond the Horizon"—which deservedly won the Pulitzer prize for the best piece of work turned out in the theater last year. But whether he deals with the sea or the land, O'Neill is bitter. He must have gone to sea not with the light hope for adventure.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his plays are not fervent in spirit, but rather taut in their dealings with life. In "Warnings" you get a statement of agony, when the wireless operator, hiding his deafness from his employers, fails to catch the message which means life or death, but there is wanting the actual agony itself. O'Neill gives us the picture, but you do not get the overpowering mood—which is Dunsany's chief excellence; which Masefield gives us in "Dauber"—the most wonderful sea narrative in the range of modern poetry—or which Kipling suggests in "Wireless."

The sea has failed to leave O'Neill with any lyric impulses; and when he writes plays of the land he is just as grim, just as joyless, as relentless. "Before Breakfast" has the sordidness of poverty about it; "The Dreamy Kid," an essayal at delineation of negro weakness, foreshadows the superstitious dread of "The Emperor Jones." And what keeps "Beyond the Horizon" from first rank is its lack of spiritual determination. Otherwise, critics are not far wrong in pronouncing it the one great tragedy thus far written in American drama. O'Neill does not relent one jot in his arraignment of the crushing demands of farm life on the dreamy poetic nature of his hero. Here is the story of two brothers, the one looking toward the far horizon, the other expert at the plough; the poetic lad marries the wrong girl and stays at home; the matter of fact brother ships to sea. The farm runs down, the marriage goes to seed, dreams become sordid realities; while death, consumption and domestic unhappiness are relentless in their progress. The scales are weighted by O'Neill; he stamps out life as tho it were a conflagration. Youth has its minarets of gold beyond the horizon; but the New England hills may bind and the only escape is death. The play made me totally unhappy, but I recognized its pain and power.

The drama that New York is talking about at present is "The Emperor Jones." Here O'Neill, even tho writing a grim tragedy of negro weakness, shows his capability in handling humor, which is part of character. In the Provincetown production it was fortunate that the services of an excellent negro actor—Charles Gilpin—were procured. Jones is an ex-Pullman porter; he is also an ex-convict. In expert ways, known to the criminal, he makes his escape from prison, and goes to the West Indies. There he sets himself up as royalty among the natives, and turns his necessity into profitable deceit. They—the natives—begin to be suspicious of his royal claims, and they try him. While they sit in judgment, amidst the beating of the savage tom-tom—which thuds thruout the scenes and in the intermissions—Jones makes his escape, and is caught in the night, in the density of the woods. His majesty falls from him and he stands in the grip of his negro fears, his racial superstitions. The psychology of crime is externalized in the succeeding scenes, and in the end he is killed. Here is novelty worked up to a high tension of psychological truth. He has created a big thing in small compass.



Charles Gilpin, the negro star whose intense and somber acting is the focus of interest in "The Emperor Jones," the O'Neill play which was produced by the Provincetown Players

And that, to my mind, is the aim of the one-act play.

O'Neill's plays are all available in print. "Thirst, and Other One-Act Plays" (Boston: The Gorham Press); "The Moon of the Caribbees and Six Other Plays of the Sea" (New York: Boni & Liveright); "Beyond the Horizon" (New York: Boni & Liveright); "The Dreamy Kid," in *The Theater Arts Magazine*, January, 1920; "The Emperor Jones," in *The Theater Arts Magazine*, January, 1921; "Before Breakfast," in The Provincetown Plays, series 111 (New York: Frank Shay).

*New York City*

# C. E.

## And What it Means to the Young People of Eighty Nations

### By Francis E. Clark, D.D., LL.D.

*The founder and president of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, Dr. Clark, has traveled five times round the world in the interests of Christian Endeavor work*

AT the most recent national convention of the Christian Endeavor societies of Germany, held in Darmstadt last autumn, the first session was opened, so the papers informed us, "by a flourish of many trumpets from three of the tallest church spires of the city."

Tho this literal flourish of trumpets ushered in the Darmstadt convention, figuratively the Christian Endeavor movement has flourished no trumpets, but has steadily gone forward for forty years, multiplying its societies in every land, and cementing ties which, in the course of these years, have bound together in fellowship some twenty millions of young people representing scores of nationalities.

The beginning of the first society, which was formed on February 2, 1881, gave promise of no international or interdenominational relations. Some fifty young people came to their pastor's house in Portland, Maine, on the evening of that day, for the commendable purpose, as the constitution declared, of "increasing their mutual acquaintance and making them more useful in the service of God."

Their "mutual acquaintance" referred to the fellowship of that little group alone, but in the course of two-score years it has come to mean a real, tho "long-distance" friendship between the young people of eighty nations and more than a hundred denominations, united locally, nationally and internationally, in some 2,000 unions, by common principles and for a like Christian service. The fact that this service is largely for the individual churches to which the societies belong, and is always under the control of these churches, does not make the fellowship the less real, or the bonds of sympathy less effective in promoting good-will, international and interdenominational.



**It was on February 2, just forty years ago, that the United Society of Christian Endeavor was founded in this little Williston Church of Portland, Maine, where Dr. Francis E. Clark was then pastor. Since then it has spread thruout the Christian world, bringing into its fellowship some twenty millions of young people in eighty nations. The fortieth anniversary of the Christian Endeavor is to be celebrated this year by a world convention held in New York**

On two occasions—in Boston in 1895, and in London in 1900—over 50,000 young people and their friends came together in World's Conventions, the largest organized religious meetings ever held, it is said, in Christian lands. A similar World's Convention will be held in New York City next July, to mark the fortieth anniversary of the movement. For this great gathering extensive preparations are being made under the leadership of Hon. Frederick A. Wallis, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, who years ago started the Endeavor societies for prisoners, which have accomplished so much good.

At the World's Christian Endeavor convention held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1906, delegates speaking thirty-one different languages responded in their own tongues to the roll-call of the nations, while parts of the program were printed in twelve languages, including Hindustani and Esperanto.

At another World's Convention in Agra, India, in 1909, attended by four hundred missionaries, four thousand native Christians and many foreign delegates, the hymns of a score of nations were sung in as many languages in a remarkable song service called the "Praise of the Nations." In the service of consecration, which closed the convention, the responses came from thirty-three groups, each individual of the groups speaking in "the tongue in which he was born."

The literature of the society is printed in some scores of languages, including Icelandic, Choctaw and Catalan, which, by the way, is quite different from modern Spanish.

I mention these facts because, when brought together, they indicate that such conventions and such common ideas and plans of service cannot be thus promoted in practically all nations and languages, without promoting at the same time a new and intenser spirit of fellowship and good-will. To be sure, in the world war, the old god Mars dealt this spirit, wherever manifested, a body blow, from which, in Europe at least, it has been slow to recover.

But even there, in Endeavor circles, there are signs of rapprochement which must precede any real prosperity, material or spiritual. In Berlin recently groups of leaders in this movement from Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia and Finland met together, and the thousand societies of Germany (an increase of 100 per cent since the war began) have sent aid to the Endeavorers of Poland and neighboring countries, tho many of their own members were removed but a few degrees from actual starvation. The Finnish Endeavorers out of their extreme poverty have sent their field secretaries to Esthonia and Latvia, where many flourishing societies have been established and a remarkable spiritual awakening has occurred.

It is a fact, perhaps not a singular or unexampled fact, that the countries that have suffered the most, that have been humiliated, beaten down and starved, have developed the most intense and outspoken religious life. Like David, they seemed to say, "In my distress I called upon the Lord." The hoped-for increase of religious devotion has been less felt in comparatively [*Continued on page 174*

# The Limitation of Armaments

## By Hamilton Holt

TO limit or not to limit armaments, that is the question. Secretary Daniels says we must have the largest and most powerful navy in the world, unless we enter the League of Nations. Senator Borah, anti-leaguer and bitter-ender, rejoins by introducing a bill into the Senate requesting the President to open negotiations with Great Britain and Japan, to the end that these three greatest naval powers may agree to take a naval holiday and to work out feasible plans for proportional armament reduction.

What ought to be the attitude of the American people on this great question? In order to understand the problem it will be necessary to go back a little and survey some recent history.

When the Tsar of Russia called the First Hague Conference of 1899 his fondest hope was that the burdens of overgrowing and ever-growing armaments that were impoverishing the peoples of the world might in some way be taken off their backs. He did not see that disarmament cannot take place until the world is politically organized and that it is just as absurd for nations to disarm before the existence of international courts, parliaments and executives as it would be for cowboys to discard their pistols before there are sheriffs and justices of the peace. The First Hague Conference started in bravely enough. The limitation of armaments was the "frontispiece" of the Circular of the Russian Government. The Russian delegation strained every nerve to have the Conference take some action in the matter. Yet despite all Russia's efforts to the contrary, the Committee which had the matter in charge made the following report:

"IT would be very difficult to fix, even for a term of five years, the number of troops, without regulating at the same time other elements of the national defense; second, that it would be no less difficult to regulate by an international agreement the elements of this defense, organized in each country upon very different principles. Hence, the committee regrets its inability to accept the proposition made in the name of the Russian Government. The majority of its members believe that a more thorough study of the question by the governments themselves would be desirable."

The Conference accepted this memorial from the Committee and adjourned after having passed the following resolution:

"The Conference is of the opinion that the restriction of military charges which are at present a heavy burden on the world is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind."

It also added the following wish (*voeu*):

"The Conference expresses the wish that the governments taking into consideration the proposals made at the Conference may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea and of war budgets."

During the interval between the First and Second Hague Conferences the governments paid no attention to these suggestions, but went ahead increasing their armaments at a rate and on a scale hitherto unprecedented. The only two utterances by responsible heads of States against this militaristic aggrandizement that I recall were made by the British Prime Minister and the President of the United States. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in a notable speech at Albert Hall, London, in December, 1905, said:

"I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. A policy of huge armaments keeps alive, and stimulates, and feeds the idea that force is the best, if not the only, solution of international differences. It is a policy that tends to inflame old sores and to create new sores, and I submit to you that as the principle of pacific arbitration gains ground, it becomes one of the highest tasks of a statesman to adjust those armaments to a newer and happier condition of things. What nobler role could this great country assume than at the fitting moment to place itself at the head of a League of Peace through whose instrumentality this great work might be effected?"

And Theodore Roosevelt, in a letter to the New York Peace and Arbitration Congress held in April, 1907, wrote:

"The most practical step in the diminishing of the burden of expense caused by the increasing size of naval armament would, I believe, be an agreement limiting the size of all ships hereafter to be built."

England and the United States accordingly "reserved the right" to bring up the discussion of the limitation of armaments at the Second Hague Conference, of 1907, especially as Russia had abandoned her championship of the cause and was proposing to bar it out of the discussion. Not, however, until after the Conference had been in session over eight weeks was the subject introduced. Then England made the following tentative proposition, although Germany, Austria, Russia and Japan had announced that they would take no part in the discussion:

"The Government of Great Britain will be ready to communicate each year to the powers that will do the same, its plan of constructing new warships and the expenditures which this plan will require. Such an exchange of information will facilitate an exchange of views between the governments on the reductions which by common agreement may be effected. The Britannic Government believes that in this way an understanding may be reached on the expenditures which the States that agree to pursue this course will be justified in entering upon their budgets."

After Mr. Choate in behalf of the American delegation had "expressed his sympathy for the views which have been stated by His Excellency the First Delegate of the British Delegation," the discussion was solemnly dropped and the whole question was tabled again in the following resolution:

"The Second Peace Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure; and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**A visit from the financial backers might help**

country since that time, the Conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the governments should resume the serious examination of this question."

Thus the matter rested until the Great War began. Naturally under these conditions the greatest issue before the nations was not how to limit armaments, but how to increase them. But the war had not progressed many months before far-seeing men in every land began to perceive that the war would be fought in vain unless plans were worked out at the peace table to make future wars impossible. The Great War thereupon became the war to end war.

When I went to Europe in those black days just before the tide turned in 1918 it was quite evident that the peoples of the world, no matter what the Kings and Captains might say, were determined that when the war was over armaments should be reduced. It was the first issue in the hearts of the people, and it was evident that any government that should dare to thwart the popular aspiration would be swept out of office bag and baggage. In the United States there has never been a widespread fear of militarism. Our people have never been cursed with an arrogant and overbearing military caste who have attempted to arrogate to themselves social and political power. Nor have we been taxed to death to support a colossal army. In Europe, however, things are different. There they have seen and felt all these things, and I am sure I am speaking within the bounds of truth when I assert that they are sick and tired of the whole military system.

While in Paris as a delegate of the League to Enforce Peace I conferred with representatives of other organizations from other countries pledged to the establishment of a League of Nations. I was instructed by the Executive Committee of the League to Enforce Peace not to commit the League to any program of armament reduction in our joint deliberations, as the League had never expressed itself one way or the other on that issue. But I very soon learned that the limitation of armaments, if not disarmament itself, was not a question at issue at all, but a settled policy which all Europe, except, of course, the little pro-military and reactionary groups, were bent on carrying into effect at the earliest possible moment. So when the Covenant was framed I was not at all surprized that it contained Article VIII, the first sentence of which reads:

"The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international agreements."

THE League of Nations began its official existence on February 10. At the eighth meeting of the Council held at San Sebastian, Spain, from July 30 to August 5, a permanent Armaments Commission was created under Article IX of the Covenant to advise the Council on military, naval and air questions. This Commission consists of one military, one naval and one air representative nominated by each of the powers having membership in the Council. It was decided to have on the Commission only military experts so as to forestall the military parties within the respective nations from charging the League with tackling the problem amateurishly.

The Commission immediately organized itself and started to work. But manifestly it will naturally take much time before it can properly investigate the problems awaiting it, let alone making any report to the Council.

When the Assembly met on the 15th of November one of the first things to engage its attention was the question of the reduction of armaments. As I wrote in The Independent of January 29, the Assembly was not unmindful of the "cosmic urge" for disarmament now so prevalent thruout the world. It felt, however, that as the Armament Commission had scarcely had time to begin work, and as Germany was still outside the League, and as America was holding up the world with her fiddling and fuddling (the Assembly of course was too polite to use such terms) it was time to take things a little leisurely. So all the Assembly did was to recommend that the Council suggest to the member states that they should not increase their military budgets for the next two years, and that a temporary committee of political, economic and social experts be added to the Commission, it being felt that the question of disarmament was a problem for statesmen and students as well as for generals and admirals. The Assembly further recommended that the large stock of implements accumulated during the war should not be permitted to find their way into the less civilized zones of Asia and Africa.

Here the whole matter rests at the present moment. The world has evidently learned something since 1914. The failures at the two Hague Conferences have given way to the unequivocal acceptance by all nations of the principle of the limitation of armaments and the League is already engaged in working out the problem.

WILL the League succeed where the Hague Conferences failed? It will if it apprehends the problem aright. The problem is of course nothing but the problem of the use of force. This has always been the bone of contention between the militarists and the pacifists. The militarists claim that armaments insure national safety. The pacifists declare they inevitably lead to war. Both disputants insist that the Great War furnishes irrefutable proof of their contentions.

As is usual in cases of this kind the shield has two sides. The confusion has arisen from a failure to recognize the threefold nature of force.

1. Force used for the maintenance of order—police force.
2. Force used for attack—aggression.
3. Force used to neutralize aggression—defense.

Police force is almost wholly good.

Offence is almost wholly bad.

Defence is a necessary evil, and exists simply to counteract force employed for aggression.

The problem of a League of Nations is how to abolish the use of force for aggression, and yet maintain it for police purposes. Force for offense will of course automatically cease when force for aggression is finally abolished.

How can this be done? The principle is very simple. Let the League always keep a force sufficiently large to protect it from any nation or group of nations using aggression against it either within or without the League. Evidently then, the nations can only in safety disarm as far and as fast as they are assured of equal or greater protection from the League than from their own might. But they will only come to trust in the protection of the League after the machinery is provided whereby their differences may be settled by courts and councils and assemblies and there has been proof that these agencies for arbitration, conciliation and adjudication work and promote international justice.

Now it happens that the existing League of Nations is so constituted that it meets all the above conditions for international disarmament. If the new administration or Senator Borah or any other group or individual is seriously desirous of having the United States disarm it must see that we enter the existing League or one so nearly like it that only a microscope could detect the difference. All talk of any other method of disarming is so much time and effort wasted.

But what of Senator Borah's proposal for a joint naval holiday for Great Britain, Japan and the United States? It will manifestly not solve the problem of disarmament

since disarmament must be universal to be effective. But as Germany is now militarily impotent and will continue to be so for another generation at least; as France and Italy are no longer in the running; and as both Britain and Japan are straining every nerve to maintain and extend friendly relations with us we have everything to gain and little or nothing to lose by entering into a naval holiday with them. It will save the staggering taxpayers of each nation a pretty penny. In this country for instance approximately 90 cents out of every dollar collected by the Government is spent for military purposes. It will also set a good example to the less wealthy nations of the world by calling a halt to this mad scramble for greater and ever greater armaments whose end is bankruptcy for every competitor except the richest, and moral and material ruin for all.

Let the United States, therefore, invite Britain and Japan to take a Naval holiday with us. It will not interfere with our taking up later thru the agency of a League of Nations the fundamental question of a scientific program for disarmament.

The sensible thing to do is to push both programs. Unless the United States soon joins her sister nations in promoting international justice and progress we shall succeed, if we have not already succeeded, to Germany's former place as the chief obstacle to the peace of the world.

## We Hope

That the Cabinet picked at Marion will not be composed of marionettes.

## Fashion Note

"THRU the coldest winter weather, shivering, half-clad women, whose skirts barely reached their knees and whose thin stockings could not keep out the cold, tramped the city streets."

Austria? Poland?

Not a bit of it! Any American city.

## Our New Diplomats

PROBABLY no foreign diplomat ever came to our shores who had greater influence with the American people than James Bryce. Why? Because he knew us better than any Englishman of his time and because he liked us.

Is there not a lesson here for Mr. Harding when he comes to choosing his foreign Ambassadors and Ministers? If he will only appoint to Italy, for instance, some one who was as well known and beloved by the Italian people as was Robert Underwood Johnson before he went to Rome, or if he will send someone to China as acceptable to the Chinese people as Charles R. Crane, he will make ideal appointments. Speaking of the China post, there is probably no better American beside Mr. Crane than Dr. Charles D. Tenney, a New Englander, who went to China as a missionary and educator years ago, and who has devoted himself ever since to China and the Chinese. As President of the Imperial Chinese University at Tientsin, 1895-1900, he has educated many of the men who are now leaders in China's new life. He has served as Secretary to the Provisional Government set up by the Powers at Tientsin, 1902-1906, in 1909 was one of the American members of the joint International Opium Commission, and is now Secretary of the American Legation. Dr. Tenney is a Chinese scholar of wide reputation even among the Chinese and has as wide an acquaintance among the Chinese as any foreigner.

This is the type of man our President should have in mind when selecting those who are to have the honor of representing the United States abroad.

# Success Should Have No Secret

## By Talcott Williams

THE just distribution of the total product of organized society is the first and most important object and duty of any organization of society. Unless this duty is discharged with justice, society is unjust. It has failed and will perish.

The building frauds in New York City sting the public conscience because they frustrated the discharge of this primal duty. The housing of the growing population of greater New York was checked because a few corrupt and thieving men made agreements by which money, which should have gone to improving and cheapening the housing of business, manufacture and babies, went instead to the corrupting head of a false labor organization and to realty owners, builders, makers and sellers of cement, brick and steel and to the men that worked on the buildings as they were erected, because they could charge more under this semi-monopoly.

Everybody yielded to the demands of a labor organizer, and they yielded because they could make more money by yielding than by fighting. They paid him the sums he asked because by these payments their business and their profits were more secure.

This duplicity was possible because of secrecy. If the cement companies had been required to file reports and keep accounts on a uniform plan, prescribed by law, they could not have raised prices and profits with impunity. If the builders and "erectors" had had no business secrets, they would not have entered on these business frauds.

Publicity brings social justice. The railroads were socially unjust, with their secret rates, rebates, free passes, contracts and agreements, until all their transactions were recorded in uniform accounts, required by law, and equality was enforced by punishments. The statutes doing this were all part of the common law for common carriers, but this law could not be enforced until all transactions were public.

The "trusts" and other big corporations will cease to make exorbitant profits when their transactions are all made public by law. The Senate has passed a bill imposing this publicity on meat packers, but this will do nothing until the business of retailers is also public.

Why are there business secrets? If business had not something it wanted to conceal, there would be no business secrets. If every price tag in all trade had to carry the original cost, the "overhead charges" and the profit, the customer would be satisfied, a satisfied customer would buy more and social justice would bring social prosperity.

The banks once loaned money in the dark, on "credit." First the mercantile agencies in 1857 began to ask all business to be socially public. Some men long resisted. They had to give way and fill out credit blanks. Next, I think, it was John Wanamaker, who began in 1878 to send to the banks a minute monthly statement of his condition. It was a dreadful shock to business Philadelphia. "No business secrets," men said, "he will surely fail." He did not. He is prosperously in business still.

Suppose all business was public so that every employed man or woman knew in just what condition the business was? Would not labor friction be less, if social publicity brought social justice, as it would? If profits are fair, their publicity could not do harm—good rather. If profits are not fair, why should they exist?

The family would be safer, sweeter, happier, more secure, if husband, wife and growing children—say above the grammar grades—knew the facts as to income and outgo. Why not? Why should not the wife know all about her husband's income and expenditures and he about hers? Each reader whose eyes fall on these lines knows of tragedies due to the lack of this knowledge. How many

defalcations would be prevented, if there were no secrets in the family as to the husband's income and its source. How many fewer penniless widows would be known to us all? How much more honest and open and free life would be if every man's income were known and every woman's if she owns or earns one.

Would not social justice be more certain thru universal social publicity?

Do you know what master of social economics first taught this? Read Matthew 10:26 where He said: "For there is *nothing* covered that shall not be revealed and nothing hid that shall not be known."

## The League Question

IT is not "Shall we go in?" but "How long can we keep out?" The warm Gulf Stream of world politics and world finance is certain in the end to melt the iceberg of pride and obstinacy.

## Homer Caught Napping

GOVERNOR Miller of New York has exceptional courage, an independent and active mind and a forcible literary style. We would like to say nothing but good of him. But his wits certainly "went visiting" the day he told the League of Women Voters that "any body, not organized as a political party, which seeks to exert political influence, is a menace." This would cover the Bar Association, the Citizens' Union, the Anti-Saloon League, the Bureau of Municipal Research, the American Federation of Labor, the chambers of commerce, and most of the churches. There are those who think that disinterested organizations for municipal improvement or for particular reforms are better political instruments than professional party machines and that their "menace" is mainly a menace to the monopoly of political power which party bosses seek to secure.

## Dragons' Teeth

### By Franklin H. Giddings

THERE are three million unemployed industrial working persons, men and women, in the United States now, and probably there will be more. Wages are being reduced. These reductions of force and pay were foreseen, and, by and large, they were inevitable. The wage reductions for the most part are proper in relation to the partial breakdown of industry and the downward tendency of prices.

Unhappily there is another factor in the situation that is neither necessary nor justifiable. It is altogether deplorable, and so perverse and foolish that men of good sense are frankly amazed by it. This is the vindictive and rather brutal spirit in which a great deal of the squeezing and cutting is being done, and the quite unnecessary extent to which constructive measures, the product of much patient thinking and careful experimenting for the better adjustment of relations between capital and labor, are being thrown into the discard. Let it be said at once that the wiser and more far seeing employers are not guilty. But there is a rabble of industrial upstarts, new-rich profiteers, unintelligent, vulgar ruffians, who have made millions of ill gotten gains out of war conditions, who are now drunk with new power and obviously disposed to go the limit in displaying it. If the cooler heads in the big corporations, the manufacturers' associations, the boards of trade and chambers of commerce, and in the political parties, do not sit on this preposterous element soon and hard, there is trouble coming. And decent people will not put the blame for it on organized labor.

Everywhere, from Maine to California and from Canada to Mexico, one hears mischievous talk. A program of smashing and repression is proclaimed. Labor legislation is to be attacked and, wherever possible, repealed; labor organizations are to be crippled or broken; and "the welfare stuff" cut out. The "fool machinery" of adjustment boards, protocols, industrial relations committees, employment secretaries, and "all that sort of thing," are to be scrapped, and employers will get back to "the good old way, the simple plan" of dealing with "the hired help" on the take it or leave it basis. It is no secret that this attitude and talk was a big factor in the election, and that it will play a large part in state and national politics throughout the present year and perhaps for a longer time.

It is a wild and foolhardy sowing of dragons' teeth. Grant that there has been provocation. There has been plenty of it. Labor has been arrogant. Thruout the war it had the whip hand and took advantage of its opportunity. Revolutionary influences controlled some of the organizations and professional agitators did immeasurable harm. Crazy talk about a social revolution became organized propaganda and often developed into direct action. A great deal of unwise and coddling legislation has been put on the statute books. The saner and more conservative labor organizations, as well as the radical ones, have stupidly maintained the policy of restricting production, of penalizing energetic and faithful service, and of carrying incompetents at full pay. They have fought discharges of worthless and crooked employees and made "organization issues" out of their cases. It is human nature to return evil for evil, and now that employers have the whip hand retaliation is to be expected. Nevertheless it is folly. Wisdom prescribes a thoughtful study of the entire problem, a firm insistence upon the rights of property and of management, a cool-headed resumption of control over production, and a patient attempt to adjust real differences of interest where these do not involve sacrifice of personal liberties, efficiency and honorable keeping of agreements.

It is not creditable to American intelligence and morality that our men of enterprise and business ability should behave angrily and childishly. The nation looks to them to extricate society from a dangerous situation. Much is required from those to whom much has been given. They cannot escape responsibility by pleading that they have been irritated and injured. They cannot decently denounce their employees as ignorant, misguided and revolutionary and in the same breath demand of them a self-restraint and a passionless intelligence, which is not found in the rank and file of employers.

Never were constructive measures, enlightened views and patient effort more imperatively needed than now.

## The Case for Capitalism

AUSTRIA is talking of declaring national bankruptcy and going into the hands of a financial commission to be reconstructed. The assets of the United States so far outweigh its liabilities that there is no chance of our following the Austrian example. None the less it would be interesting to see how a "dictatorshop of the financiers" would govern the United States. Socialists say that capitalists now govern America. Perhaps they do, but only indirectly by pressure on the professional politicians who do the actual governing. No governing commission of business men would tolerate the clumsy political machinery, the bureaucratic routine, the unscientific taxation, the careless expenditure of money, the haphazard law-making, the mimic warfare of the parties which characterize national government even in the most advanced countries. When public business is handled as efficiently as private business Socialism will be common sense. At present the successful business man looks on the politician with something very much like contempt, even tho the politician may be a handy tool for his purposes, and when a business man holds lawmakers in contempt he will not respect the law.

# The Story of the Week

## Allies Fix Reparations

THE Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers has adjourned after reaching a decision on the German indemnity. In the note transmitted to the German Government the following terms were laid down:

Reparations payments do not relieve Germany from the responsibility for returning private property taken by Germany during the war;

Between May 1, 1921 and May 1, 1923 Germany shall pay two annuities of 2,000,000,000 gold marks each;

Between May 1, 1923 and May 1, 1926 Germany shall pay three annuities of 3,000,000,000 gold marks each;

Between May 1, 1926 and May 1, 1929 Germany shall pay three annuities of 4,000,000,000 gold marks each;

Between May 1, 1929 and May 1, 1932 Germany shall pay three annuities of 5,000,000,000 gold marks each;

Between May 1, 1932 and May 1, 1962 Germany shall pay thirty-one annuities of 6,000,000,000 gold marks each;

Payment is to be made in fixed half-yearly instalments, but "Germany shall be at liberty at any time to make payments in advance on account of the fixed portion of the sum owing;"

In addition to this schedule of fixed payments, Germany is to pay forty-one annuities running from May 1, 1921, equal in amount to 12 per cent. ad valorem of German exports, payable in gold two months after the close of each half year;

The Allied Reparation Commission shall be given every facility for verifying the amount of the German exports and for establishing the supervision necessary for this purpose;

Germany shall not embark on any credit operation in foreign countries without the approval of the Reparation Commission;

The proceeds of the German customs, including all import and export duties, shall constitute security for the execution of the agreement, and in case Germany defaults payment the Reparation Commission may itself undertake the administration of customs duties;

Qualified delegates of the German Government will be invited to a meeting in London at the end of February to discuss these terms with the Allies.

## The Story of Reparations

THE fixation of the German indemnity is a long story. It began with the first day of the Great War, for the Allies were insistent from the start that a victory over Germany would mean not only territorial rearrangements, but that Germany as breaker of the peace should pay so far as possible for the cost of breakage. Had the war ended in a few weeks or months, as did the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, it would have been possible to base the indemnity on the costs of the war, as in the case of the indemnity which France agreed to in 1871 by the Treaty of Frankfort (Professor Turner of Michigan estimates that this indemnity was approximately twice the entire cost of the war of 1870 to the German States which took part in it). But the length and destructiveness of the Great War made the "war costs" basis of indemnity impossible for a double reason; first, that the expense of the war was so great that no one country could possibly pay it, and, secondly, that Germany's wealth at the time of the armistice was much less than when the war began, so that indemnities had to be extracted not from the prosperous Germany of 1914 but from the ruined and poverty-stricken nation of 1918. It is, of course, impossible to make any real estimate of the direct and indirect damages which the Great War has inflicted on civilization; but some measure of the scale of damage can be gathered from a statement issued in 1920 by Francis Sisson of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York that "it may be helpful to remember some reasonable estimates which conservatively place the gross monetary loss at approximately $200,000,000,000, altho other estimates run as high as $337,000,000,000," making no allowance for the economic loss caused by the killing and wounding of upward of ten million soldiers and by the deaths or injury from underfeeding among the civilian populations of Europe. If all the land and property of Germany and her allies were sold outright to satisfy the ruin wrought by the war the debt would not be satisfied.

All this being so, the Allies decided to abandon the "war cost" basis of indemnity and to pay out of their own pockets for all purely military expenses, demanding from Germany only "reparations," that is, payments for destruction wrought by Germany and her allies. In the armistice negotiations "reparations" was officially defined as meaning that "compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air." The exact meaning of this phrase was a subject of bitter dispute at the Peace Conference, which proved unable to agree as to the exact sum which Germany either should or could pay and was forced to postpone the actual fixation of the indemnity and instead to formulate general principles on which it should be based and provide a method by which the sum to be demanded could later be established.




*Kirby in New York World*

Himmel! Twelve years more!

Part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles, dealing with reparations, divided Germany's debt to the peoples injured by her aggression into ten classes: (1) damage to civilians by bombardments and military operations; (2) damage to civilians by acts of cruelty and violence; (3) damage to civilians by "all acts injurious to health or to capacity to work"; (4) damages to prisoners of war by any mistreatment; (5) pensions to naval and military victims of the

war in Allied countries; (6) assistance to prisoners of war and their dependents; (7) separation allowances to families and dependents; (8) damage to civilians caused by forced labor; (9) all forms of damage to property with the exception of military materials; (10) damage in the form of levies and fines in occupied territory. All this was in addition to: (1) the return of plundered material of all sorts from works of art to cattle seized in Allied territory; (2) repayment to Belgium of sums borrowed by Belgium from other Allied and Associated Powers during the war and interest on said sum; (3) the loss of ceded territories, colonies and the coal mines of the Saar; (4) the upkeep of the army of occupation on German soil, the payment of which particularly interests the United States since until recently we have kept a considerable force on the Rhine.

To evaluate these damages and other categories of payment a Reparation Commission was created with delegates nominated by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Yugoslavia and the United States. Our failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles has had the unfortunate result of practically shutting the United States out of the work of establishing the German indemnity. This Commission was authorized to establish the amount of damage for which Germany was liable not later than May 1, 1921, and to draw up a schedule of payments covering thirty years from that date in which Germany was to meet her debt.

The Treaty also made provision for some payments by Germany before the full sum was fixed; to be credited to Germany as installments of what she owed. Coal, ships, cables and chemicals were among the forms of payment stipulated. Germany is far behind on the payments already supposed to have been made, and in the case of coal in particular the Allies have had to make concessions in order to bring the amount of coal delivered within the range of Germany's possibilities. Yet it would be a mistake to say, as some do, that Germany has thus far paid "practically nothing" by way of reparations. Up to December 31, 1920, according to a report of the Reparations Commission, Germany has paid 17,818,840 tons of coal; 10,787,827 kilos of dyestuffs (some of which have gone to the United States); 2,054,729 tons of shipping; 38,730 tons of inland navigation material; 360,176 head of livestock; 6,802,588 kilos of seed; 19,000 tons of ammonium sulfate; 57,823 kilos of drugs; 4,571 railroad locomotives; 129,555 trucks; 5000 motor lorries; 140,000 tons of fixed railway materials; 131,505 pieces of agricultural machinery; and seventeen lines of cables in various parts of the world. A great deal of loot taken during the war has been returned, including some treasures of art carried off in the sack of Louvain. The Germans estimate the value of what they have paid in money or in kind to the Allies at 20,000,000,000 gold marks, or about $5,000,000,000, the amount stipulated in Article 235 of the Treaty to be paid before May 1, 1921. The Reparation Commission, however, claims that the German valuation is a serious over-estimate.

## Variant Views on Reparations

FROM the very first the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were subject to criticism from all standpoints. Some denounced Premier Lloyd-George for "breaking his election pledges" in not exacting from Germany the full costs of the war. Others, most ably represented by John Maynard Keynes the author of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, claimed that the terms of the peace were in violation of the armistice, since the Allies had originally claimed only "damage done to the civilian population" of their countries, whereas the Treaty made Germany also liable for pensions and separation allowances to soldiers' dependents. This school of opinion also held that the full sum of the indemnity should be fixed promptly and at a very moderate figure, since uncertainty retarded the commercial recovery of Germany and demands that were beyond Germany's capacity to pay would never be paid. It is needless to say that this point of view was also that of the Germans, without distinction of party.

Between these two extremes of opinion stood the ministries of the Allied nations; seeking a common basis of agreement as to the sum to be demanded from Germany, the form of payment and the method of collection. Germany's two chief creditors were Britain and France. Both countries had spent enormous sums after the end of the war in repairing the damage the Germans had done in their raids by land and sea and air; both countries were taxed to the breaking point; both countries were heavily indebted to the United States for war loans. On all three counts it was more than desirable, it was imperative, that they obtain large sums of money or equivalent values in needed goods from Germany. They could not make their budgets balance or pay even the interest on their American debt until Germany began to pay what she owed. But there were complicating factors. Germany had made a slow recovery from the war and her finances were still in a state of chaos in 1921; whereas it became every day more evident that Germany's allies, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were in no condition to shoulder even a small part of the burden of indemnity, it must be paid by Germany or not at all. Germany did not have the gold to pay what she owed and her paper money was so depreciated that no foreign nation wanted it. Payment would have to be in goods. But if that meant that German manufactures were to be stimulated so that cheap exports would be "dumped" on the Allies the industrial interests of France, Italy, Belgium, Britain and the United States would demand protection from German competition. As Lloyd-George put it:



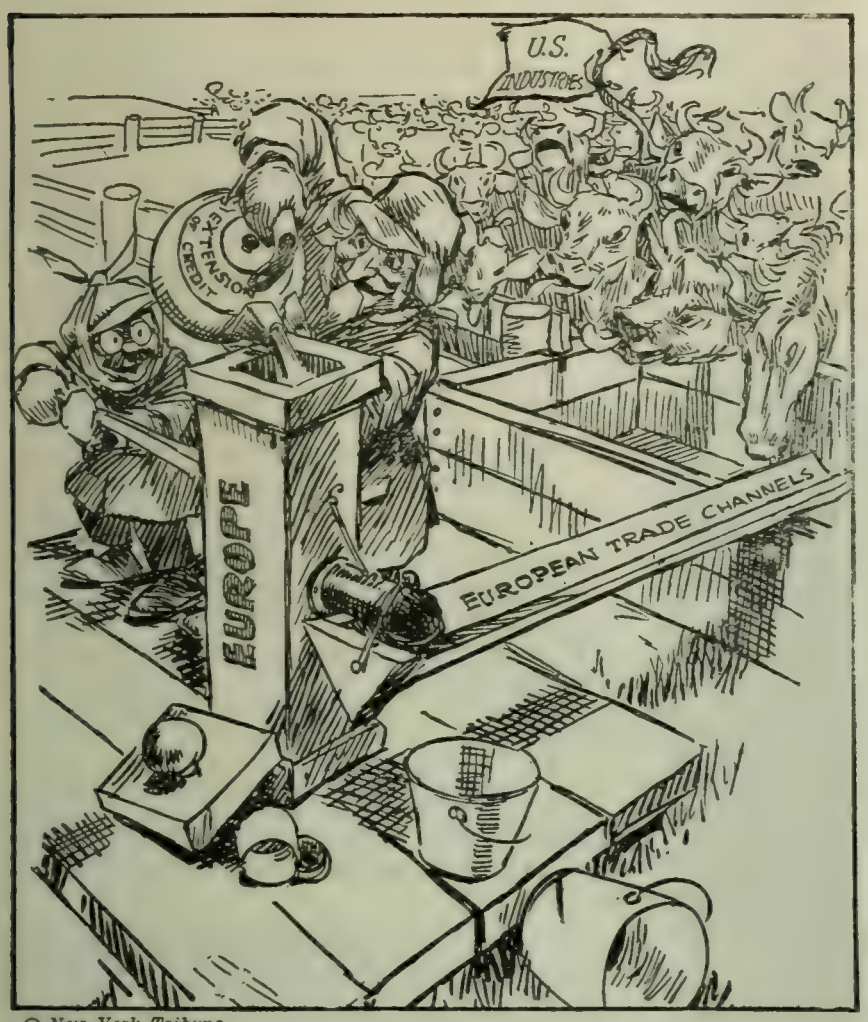

*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

**Waiting for the obstruction to be removed**

> France thinks England should take German exports and enable Germany to pay the reparations with what we would owe. We think France stands much more in need of German exports than we do. And your own Mr. Harding said he was determined on one thing—that Europe should not pay her debts to America by sending goods.
>
> Every nation wants to protect its own industries. Every nation wants to collect its debts. Germany has not gold enough to pay the Allies. The Allies have not gold enough to pay America.

And everybody wants to be paid in gold. To find the answer to this situation is not only the hardest reparation problem, it is the hardest problem of the whole world today.

Such were the common factors affecting Britain and France and determining the point of view of their Governments. But in other respects French and British interests and opinions were divergent. Altho Premier Lloyd-George did not accept Mr. Keynes' estimate of what Germany could pay, he agreed that the sum should be fixed at a definite figure and that this figure should be within Germany's capacity. The British were eager for a general trade revival in continental Europe and disapproved of any policy which would retard Germany's economic recovery. But the French were afraid that Germany was "shamming dead;" that Germany would pretend to be ruined and bankrupt until the sum was fixed and then German industries would revive, Germany would outstrip France in the race for world markets and perhaps become again a formidable factor in world politics. Moreover, French politicians had




© *New York Tribune*

**There's nothing revolutionary about priming a pump to get the water started**

encouraged exaggerated hopes as to the amount of reparations which would be obtained from Germany and to disappoint those hopes too abruptly would mean the overthrow of any Ministry which was in office at the time. The mere whisper that Premier Leygues was inclined to be "easy" with Germany had cost him his place, and Premier Briand was not minded to share his fate.

The negotiations in the Allied Supreme Council, therefore, reduced itself practically to a debate between Premiers Lloyd-George and Briand. Briand urged, with no little point, that the present was a bad time to fix the German indemnity, since German industrial and financial conditions were at their worst and an estimate of what Germany could pay if made immediately after a great war would almost certainly be an under-estimate. At a meeting of the Supreme Council at Boulogne in 1920 the German indemnity had been provisionally placed at 269,000,000,000 gold marks, to be paid in forty-two annual installments. But the French objected not only to the figure but to the whole idea of establishing a rigid maximum which would prevent the Allies from getting the benefit of Germany's future economic recovery. Briand proposed that Germany should pay fixt annuities over a period of five years and that the total amount of reparations be ascertained at the end of that period, when presumably Germany would have returned to approximately normal peace time conditions. The British objected that continued uncertainty would retard Germany's recovery and thus disappoint the French hopes.

Finally, after much discussion, a compromise was reached. A definite sum was fixed for Germany to pay, amounting in all to 226,000,000,000 gold marks, but in addition there was to be an export tax of twelve per cent. which would yield increasing sums as German industry and commerce prospered and expanded. Bernard Baruch, one of the chief financial experts of the United States at the Peace Conference, points out that the German indemnity is not as large as it looks. Two hundred and twenty-six billion gold marks, would be about $55,000,000,000, but as the payment of it covers forty-two years this would represent a present cash payment of about $21,000,000,000 plus interest. This sum is less than the war debt of the United States. Mr. Baruch thought it doubtful if Germany could pay all that is asked, but said that it was a great advantage in stabilizing conditions that the indemnity should be definitely fixed, and "If the amount as now fixed proves not to be unreasonable, if Germany accepts it and sincerely sets about meeting the payments and there is not too much outside interference with her, there should be certain, if gradual, resumption of normal world intercourse."

Of course, under the terms of the Treaty Germany would have the right to demand not only that the exact sum of the indemnity be fixed by May 1, 1921 but that the payments cover a period of thirty years instead of forty-two. Since the new arrangements have altered the terms of the Treaty by extending the period of payment, it is necessary that Germany consent to the new arrangements before they become valid. But the Allies have it within their power to compel German assent by presenting as an alternative the full bill for all the categories of reparations mentioned in the Treaty and demanding payment in thirty years; and since the Allies' own Reparation Commission would fix the sum it might easily be worse for the Germans to hold to the letter of the Treaty than to agree to the modified plan worked out by Premiers Briand and Lloyd-George.

## Unfinished Business

ONE of the problems which the Wilson Administration will bequeath to President Harding is the matter of recognizing the Obregon Government in Mexico. President Wilson and Secretary Colby have been markedly friendly in their attitude toward President Obregon, but they have stopped short of granting full recognition; either to avoid committing the incoming Administration to a policy which President Harding might not have chosen of his own accord or because President Wilson was not himself fully satisfied with Mexican assurances. The first objection to recognizing the existing Mexican Government was that it came into power by a violent revolution during the course of which the lawful President of the country, Carranza, was killed. But the subsequent peaceful election of Obregon has transformed the Government from a merely provisional and *de facto* rule to a constitutional authority. The second objection to recognition has not been completely resolved. It lies in the fact that Mexico has not yet embodied in law or treaty the assurances of her Government that existing foreign concessions in Mexico will be respected.

The gist of the matter lies in Article 27 of the Mexican revolutionary constitution, respecting foreign concessions. The American Government is playing the diplomatic game to safeguard concessions which have in the past been granted to American citizens; of course, the Mexican Government has the right to determine for itself what policy it will pursue in the future. President Obregon and his

confidential agent to America, Robert Pesquiera, have both given repeated and most explicit assurances that Article 27 was not retroactive and that American and other foreign properties in Mexico, lawfully granted by any previous Government, are safe. But Secretary of State Colby has urged that these assurances be given legal force by a definite treaty and this has not been done. On the contrary, in a recent interview, President Obregon informed a group of foreign correspondents that "We do not need treaties to force us to meet our moral debts." Whether Mexico is holding out on a point of pride and intends to meet all lawful obligations on the principle "my word is as good as my bond," or whether Mexico dislikes being held to the definite obligations of a treaty, in either case this attitude has delayed recognition and may delay it until President Harding frames his own policy.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**Hitting the long trail back**

# The Army of Unemployed

THE Department of Labor has published statistical estimates which place the number of persons employed in American industry in January, 1921, as 3,473,466 fewer than in January, 1920. This does not mean that this number of persons are out of work; some who were employed a year ago in industry may have found other occupations—agriculture, for example—and, on the other hand, it does not include unemployment in non-industrial occupations. Michigan was the hardest hit by the increase in unemployment; 82 per cent. reduction having taken place during the year in the number employed. Ohio and Indiana have laid off about half their working force; Illinois 44 per cent; Connecticut 43 per cent; Massachusetts 38 per cent; Wisconsin 32 per cent; New York 28 per cent; New Jersey 22 per cent. The greatest number of unemployed, tho not the greatest proportion, was in New York City, where 234,243 have been laid off. Next in order came Detroit with 160,000, Chicago with 86,000 and Cleveland with 81,000. Of particular branches of manufacture the automobile industry suffered most. The number engaged in the manufacture of automobiles and their accessories decreased by 69 per cent from the level of a year before. Every industrial depression, such as the present, is certain to be reflected in automobile sales, because fewer people of the millions who stand on the verge of buying their first machine or of replacing it with a later model venture to "plunge." The building trades also show a marked decline in employment, as much as 52 per cent, altho the need for housing is probably greater than at any previous time in the history of the country. No doubt the reason for this is that a house or store, like an automobile, represents a large capital investment and money "comes harder" to most people than a year ago. There has been a decrease of 35.5 per cent. in employment in the textile industries and an almost equal decrease in the number of those that were making boots and shoes and leather goods generally.

The growth of unemployment has made it possible for employers to reduce wages, since now several men are looking for one job, whereas during the period of inflation several jobs were looking for each reasonably competent man.

In this issue Professor Giddings points out the danger of employers abusing their new power.



© *Keystone View*

**The election of Dr. William T. Manning of Trinity Church as Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York roused more comment than metropolitan dailies usually give to church affairs. The Hearst newspapers attacked Dr. Manning's candidacy in an editorial headed "Is an English Bishop Necessary?" and went on to paint the dangers of English control. Since Dr. Manning was educated in this country and has lived here since childhood it seemed possible that the real objection of the Hearst papers to him was that he took prominent part in denouncing Mr. Hearst's attitude during the war. At any rate the result of the editorial was to bring out considerable additional support in favor of Dr. Manning's election. The new Bishop of New York stands out as one of the church leaders who has done much to further Christian unity. He is also known as a fearless advocate of the church's obligations toward the economic as well as the religious welfare of the people**

# Root versus Borah

THE Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has approved a resolution by Senator Borah in the following terms:

> That the President of the United States is requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to advise the governments of Great Britain and Japan, respectively, that this Government will take up directly with their governments and without waiting upon the action of any other nation the question of naval disarmament, with a view of promptly entering into a treaty by which naval building programs of each of said governments . . . shall be reduced annually during the next five years to such an extent and upon such terms as may be agreed upon.
>
> That the proposition is suggested by the Congress of the United States to accomplish immediately a substantial reduction of the naval armaments of the world.

In its original form, the Borah resolution stipulated a 50 per cent reduction of naval armaments, but the definite limitation was removed in committee. Another resolution, unanimously passed by the Senate, calls upon the Committee on Naval Affairs to report as to the feasibility of suspending our naval construction for six months pending an investigation "as to what constitutes a modern fighting navy" and the utility of surface ships in modern warfare.

Ex-Senator Root is as much a friend of disarmament as Senator Borah and much more a friend of international coöperation, and yet he has come out with a statement to the House Committee on Naval Affairs pleading for a postponement of the whole question of disarmament until after March 4, 1921. This is because he considers it futile to undertake any far-reaching policy in the last days of a dying administration and wishes to give President Harding a

free hand in the whole matter, and not hamper him.

The precise method of procedure thru which the attempt should be made I think ought to be determined after and not before Mr. Harding and his Secretary of State have had an opportunity to inform themselves and to reach conclusions as to the way which affords the best prospect of success.

To which Senator Borah rejoins that delay is a serious menace to any program of disarmament.

## Getting After the Packers

ON January 24 the Senate passed the Gronna bill for Federal control of the meat packing industry. In favor of the bill were twenty-eight Democrats and eighteen Republicans; opposed, ten Democrats and twenty-three Republicans. A close vote had been expected and the wide margin won by the supporters of the measure was a surprize even to themselves.

The general principle of the bill is similar to that of the Calder coal bill; to check profiteering and monopoly in a closely organized essential industry by providing for Federal supervision and due publicity as to trade practices. A Federal Livestock Commission of three members is established to supervise interstate trade in livestock and meat. It will have all the powers and duties exercized by the Bureau of Markets in the Department of Agriculture with relation to the obtaining and dissemination of information about the livestock industry, and the powers of supervision hitherto exercized by the Federal Trade Commission in the same field. Unfair and discriminatory practises are forbidden; also attempts to establish a private monopoly by apportioning territory with other packers or making agreements as to prices for the purpose of stifling competition. After two years from the date at which the bill becomes effective, "no packer engaged in commerce shall own or control or have any interest in, by community of stock ownership or otherwise, any stockyard." Packers are required to keep such records and make such reports and returns as the Livestock Commission may require. Farmers and stock raisers are exempt from the provisions of the measure.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

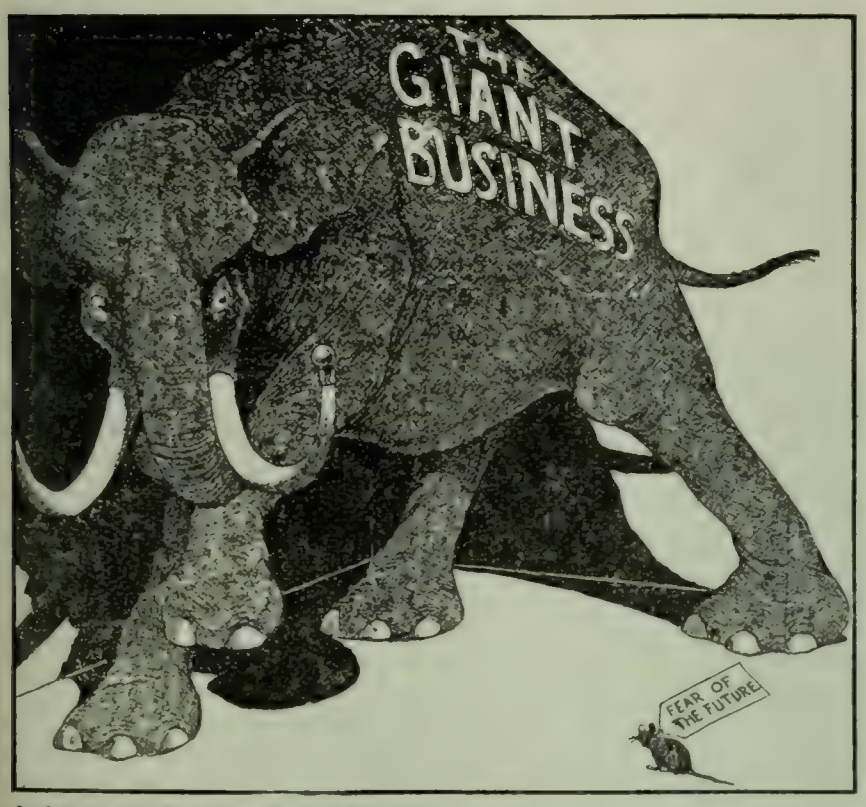
**Can he keep them both?**

On behalf of the proposed legislation it is urged that the great packing houses have a virtual monopoly of the industry, that they make huge profits and that they oppress both the stock grower and the consumer. Opponents say that the bill is "state Socialism," that the profits of the packers while perhaps large in the aggregate are among the smallest in any industry on each sale, and that the close organization of the industry and the size of the corporations engaged in it alone make possible many economies in handling and preparing meat products, so that an attempt to restore competitive conditions would increase the price of meat.

## Debs Pardon Refused

EUGENE V. Debs will not be set free during the course of the present Administration. The Department of Justice recommended that the balance of his sentence be commuted, pointing out that Mr. Debs was an old man, in poor health, and that he had conducted himself as a "model prisoner" since he was incarcerated. But President Wilson refused to approve the recommendation.

Debs was sentenced under the Espionage Act for a speech made in Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918, in which he attacked the war and praised other Socialists who had been sentenced to prison for anti-war propaganda. He was sentenced the following September to ten years' imprisonment and this was reaffirmed by the Supreme Court on appeal on March 10, 1919. In 1920 he was nominated for President by the Socialist party and polled nearly a million votes. Many petitions were brought to President Wilson and Attorney General Palmer for his pardon on the ground that since the armistice his anti-war propaganda could no longer be considered as a menace to the nation. It is probable that sympathy for him personally increased the Socialist vote somewhat in last year's election. With "time out" for good behavior Mr. Debs's sentence will expire in 1925 and it is possible, tho apparently not probable, that President Harding may decide to pardon him before his full term in prison is served.




*McCay in New York American, © Star Co.*

**Just a state of mind**

About the same time that the public was informed of the refusal of President Wilson to pardon Debs, it learned of the decision of the Supreme Court ordering a re-trial of Victor Berger, Socialist and ex-Congressman, who was also under conviction of violating the Espionage Act by opposing the war. The case also involved the sentences of William Kruse, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl and Irwin St. John Tucker, sentenced at the same time as Berger. The decision of the Supreme Court was on somewhat technical grounds. It was held that Federal Judge Landis, who tried the case, should have retired from it after the defendants had submitted their affidavit that he was prejudiced against some of them on account of their German origin. Justice McKenna, supported by Justices Holmes, Clarke, Van Devanter and Brandeis and Chief Justice White, ruled that the legal provision barring a judge from trying a case on the filing of an affidavit of prejudice is imperative. Justices McReynolds, Day and Pitney dissented.

# Here Are Books—and Books

## The Workingman's World

There is a question which no one has solved yet, save locally and temporarily, which no one seems able to pass by without attempted solution. This problem—or maze of problems—is the position which labor, especially organized and self-conscious trades-union labor, ought to occupy in our modern civilization. The recent flood of books on this topic has swelled to such proportions that we can do little more than list the titles of some of the more important volumes. Perhaps first in importance comes the study prepared by a committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America under the title *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction.* Anyone who still holds to the outworn notion that there is any antagonism between the orthodox churches and the aspirations of labor is invited to read this book and learn better.

Several good general studies of the labor problem have appeared, accenting one phase or another of the question. Thus Edward Thomas, in *Industry, Emotion and Unrest,* stresses the psychological side, the importance of finding for every man the work he can do not only efficiently but loyally and whole heartedly. Samuel Crowther, in *Common Sense and Labor,* emphasizes the economic background; the correlation of income with production; the necessary war with nature which is so often forgotten in the wars between labor and capital. Professor Friday, in *Profits, Wages and Prices,* deals mainly with the financial aspect of the labor question, especially the influence of the war and post war needs of Europe in raising prices and wages in America.

*Labor and the Employer* is a collection of articles and addresses by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, giving the orthodox trades union viewpoint on the industrial question. Two books, the first hostile and the latter somewhat sympathetic, describe the permeation or "boring from within" the conservative trades unions by radical and socialist ideas. *Labor and Revolt,* by Stanley Frost, is an estimate of the strength of the revolutionary elements in American labor and the circumstances which may aid or hamper their plans. *The New Unionism,* by J. M. Budish and George Soule, is a study of the rise of unionism of a radical type among the garment makers.

Whiting Williams spent several months as a manual laborer in various wholesale industries in an attempt to find out *What's On the Worker's Mind.* The narrative of his adventures is of extraordinary interest and his conclusions are worth attention. His chief conclusion, based on rigorous personal experience, is that the most deeply felt grievance of labor is the unsympathetic and bullying attitude of some individual foremen and bosses, and that the industrial question is largely one of psychology and the chief element in its solution a higher type of personnel among those who direct the daily task of the laborer. The attempt to make a high standard of living for labor world wide is ably surveyed by Dr. Ayusawa in *International Labor Legislation,* which contains an account of the Washington Conference of 1919.

*The Church and Industrial Reconstruction.* Association Press, New York. *Industry, Emotion and Unrest,* by Edward Thomas. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. *Common Sense and Labor,* by Samuel Crowther. Doubleday, Page & Co. *Profits, Wages and Prices,* by David Friday. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. *Labor and the Employer,* by Samuel Gompers. E. P. Dutton Co. *Labor and Revolt,* by Stanley Frost. E. P. Dutton Co. *The New Unionism,* by J. M. Budish and George Soule. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. *What's on the Worker's Mind?* by Whiting Williams. Scribner's Sons. *International Labor Legislation,* by Dr. Ayusawa. Longmans, Green & Co.

## Neat but Not Gaudy

In the mood of leisurely philosophy—that comes now and then to every man—when you care more for manner than for matter, read *Mainwaring,* by Maurice Hewlett. It is a bland, accomplished, suavely modulated tale, in which nothing very stirring happens, but happens beautifully. Mr. Hewlett makes people who live and move before your eyes, and whose fortunes you follow with a gentle glow of interest. This time it is the fortunes of Mainwaring, an engaging, tragic, irresponsible Irishman. In one of Mr. Hewlett's happy phrases, Mainwaring's "good pleasure was his law. The policeman was simply fate."

*Mainwaring,* by Maurice Hewlett. Dodd, Mead and Co.

## A Loose-Leaf Anthology

Experiments in issuing good books at small prices are always worthy of attention, and the latest one, by the Poets' Guild of Christodora House in New York City, has some unique and interesting features. The Poets' Guild has begun to publish *The Unbound Anthology,* which will be made up of poems by modern poets, reprinted from their published works, each one on a single sheet of heavy white paper, and sold for five cents apiece. The form is the simplest possible, the paper and printing are good, you choose the poems you want and make your own anthology. The idea has distinct possibilities not only for the individual impecunious poetry lover but for schools and libraries. As three of the poets, Anna Hempstead Branch, Grace Hazard Conkling and Fannie Stearns Gifford, are Smith College graduates, the Smith College Alumnae Association is coöperating with the Poets' Guild in the publication of their poems in this new form.

The first poem in the Anthology is Miss Branch's "My Mother's Words," issued in honor of Mother's Day. It is reprinted from her volume, *The Shoes that Danced,* and is particularly appropriate as the first verse of an anthology because it glorifies so charmingly the power of words:

God wove a web of loveliness,
  Of clouds and stars and birds,
But made not anything at all
  So beautiful as words.

They shine around our simple earth
  With golden shadowings,
And every common thing they touch
  Is exquisite with wings.

*The Unbound Anthology.* Price list of poems may be obtained from the Poets' Guild, Christodora House, 147 Avenue B, New York City.

## A New Neighbor

It is a queer change to find some one writing about a Russian as tho he were a normal human creature like the rest of us. Of course it is because Maxim Gorky is a Russian too that he can do this, in *Reminiscences of Tolstoy.* In the slimmest of volumes, in vivid flashes that never wait to complete a picture, Gorky rescues Tolstoy for you from exotic Russian remoteness and makes him as accessible as your next door neighbor. Here is a Tolstoy who seldom talks about literature, and whose fingers tremble with excitement when he plays cards. But this is not saying for a moment that the book does not bring you as close as perhaps you have ever been to the mystery and strangeness of genius.

*Reminiscences of Tolstoy,* by Gorky. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

## The Age of Humanism

Henry Osborn Taylor is unlike most historians. He has no favorite age, no era closest to his heart, it would seem, for his mind wanders lovingly thru all ages and he has constituted his sphere of history in the life and works of the brave spirits of all time who have ventured into the realm of speculation, experiment and artistic striving. His new work is on the Renaissance, or as he prefers to say, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century,* to avoid the pitfalls of other writers who have emphasized the rebirth of knowledge rather than the fruition of the accumulated information and speculation of the Middle Ages and the reviving interest in the learning of ancient Greece and Rome.

There is impressive learning in this book which takes up the story of the "Mediaeval Mind," but the learning is inspired and the writing moving. Taylor does not worship his heroes but interprets them. The self-conscious Petrarch, the vain Bacon, are pictured in their human attitudes. And above all, the reader feels the conflict of this age which looked back to Dante and Aquinas as well as to Cicero, Plato and Aristotle, but which thru eyes such as those of Galileo, Vesalius, Copernicus and perhaps most of all, Francis Bacon, was seeking to peer thru the mist of ignorance and superstition that enveloped human thought and retarded scientific inquiry.

*Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century,* by Henry Osborn Taylor. Macmillan.

## The Craft of Writing

DESK STANDARD DICTIONARY (Funk & Wagnalls). A convenient abridged edition of the New Standard Dictionary, amended to include words of recent interest, such as blimp, soviet, jazz.

CINEMA CRAFTSMANSHIP, by Frances Taylor Patterson (Harcourt, Brace & Howe). A sensible, informing and interesting book of instruction on the art of writing for the movies. Contains a bibliography of the principal books and manuals already written on the subject.

PRACTICAL HINTS ON PLAYWRITING, by Agnes Platt (Dodd, Mead & Co.). A pleasantly written little treatise on the difficult art of writing successful plays. Sensible "do's" and "don'ts"; contrasts of good and poor plays and, finally, advice on selling, casting and producing the finished play comprize the dozen chapters.

TALK TO WRITERS, by Lafcadio Hearn (Dodd, Mead & Co.). Professor John Erskine, of Columbia University, has compiled from Lafcadio Hearn's lectures to his Japanese students an attractive volume of stimulating essays on literature, which "rouse in us something of Hearn's own desire to see the beauty of life and to tell the truth about it."

## The World We Live In

THE STATES OF SOUTH AMERICA, by Charles Domville-Fife (Macmillan). A survey of the resources and development of the South American continent from the point of view of the foreign trader and settler.

REAL DEMOCRACY IN OPERATION, by Felix Bonjour (Stokes). A study of the Swiss constitution in theory and practice. An interesting account of the thought and action of the most truly "politically minded" community in continental Europe.

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY, by Professor Graham H. Stuart (Century). A survey of French diplomacy from 1898 to the outbreak of the Great War, with particular attention to the Morocco question. A valuable work of reference in an important field.

A WORLD TO MEND, by Margaret Sherwood. (Little, Brown & Co.) A chronicle of America's rise and reaction to the war told in the form of a diary kept by a man of education who, to study democracy at first hand, became a cobbler in a little New England town. True, but not startlingly original.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES OF AN AMERICAN LAWYER, by Henry W. Taft (Macmillan). Timely discussion of the great questions of the day—Bolshevism, The League of Nations, Railroads, State Control of Navigable Waters, and so on. Mr. Taft brings to his consideration of these subjects sound information and a forceful dignity of judgment.

INTERNATIONAL FELATIONS OF LABOR, by David Hunter Miller, Legal Adviser of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (Alfred A. Knopf). This small book, made up of lectures delivered before the Summer School of Theology of Harvard University, gives an admirable summary and commentary on recent international labor tendencies, especially with reference to the labor program of the League of Nations as worked out at the labor conference at Washington, D. C. It is the sanest and best and most up-to-date resumé of the subject.

## Leisure Hours

COME SEVEN, by Octavus Roy Cohen. (Dodd, Mead & Co.) Darkey stories, not the Swanee River kind of darkies but the "colored pussons" of the southern cities. Really funny.

THE DEVIL'S PAW, by E. Philips Oppenheim. (Little, Brown & Co.) Another German spy story, not quite in a class with "The Great Impersonation" but vastly ingenious and full of thrills, poison gas and taxi cabs.

DEAD MAN'S PLACK AND AN OLD THORN, by W. H. Hudson (E. P. Dutton). These two legendary stories of bygone England show Mr. Hudson's distinction of style and clarity of description in a new literary field.

THE SONG BOOK OF QUONG LEE OF LIMEHOUSE, by Thomas Burke (Henry Holt & Co.). The author of "Limehouse Nights" has put into verses written from the viewpoint of an Oriental teashop philosopher some impressions of London's Chinatown.

THE ENEMIES OF WOMEN, by Blasco Ibanez (E. P. Dutton). A novel that accentuates both the famous Spanish author's genius for analytical description and his tendency to encumber narrative with over-abundance of detail. An Anglo-Saxon will find little sympathy for the Latin philosophy of sex on which the story is founded.




*Hotel Galvez, Galveston, Texas*

# *How to Maintain Beautiful Lawns at Minimum Expense*

For a number of years Ideal Power Lawn Mowers have been demonstrating their efficiency in caring for large lawns. Many of the largest and best kept grounds in the country are cared for the Ideal way.

Because actual use by thousands of Ideal owners has shown conclusively that this combination *power mower* and *power roller* keeps beautiful lawns in better conditions than was ever possible with hand mowers or horse drawn mowers.

Not only does the Ideal permit better care, but also effects a genuine economy in up-keep. For one man with an Ideal Power Mower can cut from four to five acres of grass per day with little effort and at small cost. Then the fact that the Ideal is also a power roller practically doubles its usefulness.

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# This Changing World

(*Continued from page 157*)

so here I shall take the liberty of putting them in words of my own, which, I think, convey the main idea.

### *FIRST LAW OF ENERGETICS*

THE LAW OF THE CONSERVATION OF ENERGY

Whenever one form of energy disappears, other forms of energy appear in equivalent amounts.

### *SECOND LAW OF ENERGETICS*

THE LAW OF DEGRADATION AND DISSIPATION OF ENERGY

Whenever there is a change in the form of energy, some of it becomes evenly diffused and unavailable.

A few familiar illustrations will make these two laws plain. The sunlight falling on a tree builds up a certain amount of wood. If this wood is burned, a certain amount of heat appears. If this heat passes thru the tubes of a boiler, a certain amount of steam is formed. If this steam is passed into the cylinder of an engine it exerts a certain pressure upon the piston head. The movement of the piston rod will turn a wheel with a certain speed. If the wheel is attached to a dynamo, a certain amount of current electricity is generated. If this current passes thru water, a certain quantity of the water is decomposed into its elemental gases, oxygen and hydrogen. If these gases are mixed and ignited with a spark they combine to produce water and release a certain amount of heat which converts the water into steam which could be used to move the piston of a steam engine which could turn a wheel attached to another dynamo and generate another electric current which, when passed thru a tungsten wire in a vacuum globe, would give off a certain amount of light. We could express this chain of energy transmutations as follows:

Radiant energy of sunlight→potential chemical energy of fuel plus oxygen→heat energy→latent energy of water evaporation→molecular energy of steam pressure→translatory kinetic energy of moving piston→rotary kinetic energy of wheel →energy of electric current→potential energy of oxygen-hydrogen mixture→heat energy of oxidation→latent energy of water evaporation→molecular energy of steam pressure→translatory kinetic energy of moving piston→rotary kinetic energy of wheel→energy of electric current→radiant energy of electric light.

And so on thru endless forms of energy; the sum total of the energies remaining always the same, never any more, never any less. Such is the Law of the Conservation of Energy.

But—and on this *but* hangs the second law—there is a certain leakage all along the line. I put → not = between two successive forms of energy because the quantities on each side of the mark are not equal. The second is always a little—and sometimes a great deal—smaller than the first. That is because whenever one form of energy vanishes two or more new forms appear in its place, never one alone. And one of these new energies, say heat, gets scattered and lost. It is not destroyed, for that would be contrary to the First Law. It is still in existence somewhere and in some form, but it might as well be annihilated so far as we are concerned for it is so diffused and degraded as to be irrecoverable.

It is difficult to define the Second Law without the use of such words as "dissipation" and "degradation" of energy or "higher" and "lower," "superior" and "inferior" forms of energy. Notice that all these words here used to describe purely physical phenomena have an immoral connotation as applied to human beings. This is a natural and proper point of view. It would perhaps be improper to blame the innocent atoms and certainly it would be impossible to punish them when they lapse from order into anarchy, but we are quite right in regarding them as acting immorally for they are thwarting our efforts at a higher life. It is man's aim and ideal to create a cosmos out of chaos. In so doing he believes that he is coöperating with the Creator—or, if that sounds too old-fashioned, complying with the impetus of the *élan vital.*

The aim of Nature is equality. The aim of Man is inequality. That is why Man is in perpetual conflict with Nature. He tries to raise up; she tries to level down. He builds; she demolishes. He strives to establish an aristocracy of energies; she strives to reduce all to the dead level of communism. Given a certain number of molecules and a certain amount of energy to be divided among them—say a globe of gas at a particular temperature—and let Nature have her way and soon she will so arrange it that every individual molecule will have just the same amount of energy. The molecule of hydrogen, which weighs two, will possess exactly as much on the average as the molecule of oxygen which weighs thirty-two. This is known as the Boltzmann-Maxwell law. When this stage of equiparation of energy is reached, progress is impossible. The gas is useless, incapable of accomplishment, for nothing can be done without a difference. If left alone it would forever remain in the same state. There is plenty of activity but no action. Every individual particle is flying around rapidly, exerting its energy to the utmost, but because they are flying in different directions and bumping into one another all the time, they can accomplish nothing collectively. If they all would move in the same direction for a single instant they would smash their glass wall and be free. But they are by themselves incapable of coördinated effort.

There is an abundance of energy in the flask as a whole, but no work can be got out of the gas because the energy is individually owned and equally divided. It is mass-rule and the molecules enforce uniformity. The molecules are not actually alike. At any

given instant some are stronger and others weaker; some rich in energy and others poor. But whenever one molecule gets more than its equal share of energy the rest pitch onto it and take its surplus wealth away.

But suppose that those molecules which by some fortunate coincidence of collisions had become possessed of energy above the average and were thus enabled to lead a faster life, should straightway escape to some other country carrying with them their accumulated wealth. We should then in the course of time see two separate sections of society, one rich and the other poor. But since the law of the equi-partition of energy prevails also in the rich section, it likewise is incapacitated from doing any external work. The rich molecules could not get any good out of their wealth except by spending it, that is distributing it again among the lower classes of the other section. Here we see once more in play the natural tendency toward equalization. If then connection is made between the rich and the poor sections so that the surplus wealth of energy can be drained from the former to the latter, we should have perpetual motion thru circulation of capital.

In order then to obtain efficiency we must have differentiation. How then can we separate the rich from the poor in a molecular society? How set up an aristocracy in the midst of a communistic system? That can be done in human society by means of caste, customs and property laws, or as in Russia by means of clever manipulation of soviet power. But molecules are less manageable than men. Clerk Maxwell resorted to supernatural agencies to solve the problem. He said, suppose a partition is put down in the middle of the gas chamber. In the partition is a little door in charge of a demon gatekeeper whose orders are to let thru any swift moving molecule that comes up on one side and to let thru any slow moving molecule that comes up on the other. At first the gas on both sides of the partition will be alike. The same number of molecules, the same amount of energy evenly divided amongst them, and hence the same temperature and pressure in the two sections. But after this discriminating demon at the door has been on his job for a while the more energetic molecules will accumulate in one section and the more sluggish in the other. That is to say, one section of the gas will have higher temperature and pressure and if we connect the two by a tube and put in a turbine between we can get work out of it. This would give us perpetual motion without expending any labor, for we don't count the insignificant effort expended by the demon in opening and shutting the door. But where can we find a demon who will work for nothing? The genii of the lamp and ring have vanished from the earth and the spirits which haunt the séance room will not do anything more profitable than tip tables or rattle tambourines.

So for lack of supernatural assistance man has to depend upon himself




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to sort out the molecules and accumulate energy. He can do this all right altho somewhat clumsily, but the difficulty is that man not being immaterial is under the same natural laws as the material he works with. His body is a machine like any other. It degrades energy instead of elevating it. It consumes energy but does not create it. Man can only make use of natural forces by diverting them to his own purposes. If he wants to raise a weight he must lower a larger one. The more he would save the more he must waste. To build he must tear down. Construction depends upon destruction. Elevation is accomplished thru greater degradation. To make ice we must burn coal.

If a farmer's wife insists that she must have running water on the third floor of the new house like city folks, her husband—if he is an unusually accommodating kind of farmer—may dam the creek that flows by the house and so get a five-foot fall into which he puts a hydraulic ram. This goes chugging away, night and day, and hoists water to the tank on the housetop fifty feet above. But this is not a net gain for more than ten pounds of water goes down from the dam for every pound of water raised to the roof. Much is lowered that a little may be raised. And the water that has been raised can only be used by lowering it again. Water on a level, be the level high or low, is of no value to anybody. It is only when water is running down that it can do work. I remember when I was a boy that the Second Law of Energetics was the theme of a popular song—"You cannot run the mill with the water that's gone by."

Man cannot stop or stay this universal downward drift of energy. He can only catch and divert a minute fraction of it for his own purposes. From what little withdraws from the main stream thru this private mill-race of his he has to do his work of making over the world to suit his taste.

Next month we shall take up in turn the various sources of energy and see which are now used or may be available in the future.

---

*I believe I borrowed the Humpty Dumpty illustration at the head of this article from Prof. W. S. Franklin, who makes it the basis of his system of philosophy. But I owe so many fertile ideas to my friend Franklin since he gave me my first lesson in physics at the University of Kansas that I cannot begin to acknowledge them all.

## C. E.

(*Continued from page 160*)

prosperous America, Great Britain and France, where many churchmen declare there has been a deplorable loss in spiritual ideals.

In Berlin, a year ago, the great Kaiser Wilhelm cathedral was crowded with Endeavorers at their national convention, hundreds being unable to obtain admission, while, strangest of all, the closing meeting of consecration was held in the House of Lords of the Reichstag. To propose holding such a meeting there would have been considered a ridiculously impossible


*By Philip Gibbs*

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The title page and index for volume 104, which covers the months of October, November and December, 1920, will be off the press within a short time and will immediately be mailed to the subscribers who requested them. The index for volume 105 which will cover from January 1st to June 30th, will be printed in July.

suggestion, if made six years ago. At the most recent convention in Darmstadt, to which I have alluded, a brother of former Chancellor Michaelis led the hours of Bible study. Let not implacable foes of Germany resent or sneer at these manifestations.

In Great Britain the societies have promoted a genuine international fellowship plan by establishing a number of so-called Christian Endeavor holiday homes. These are pleasant hostels with reasonable charges, where Endeavorers and their friends can spend their vacation days, and where before the war their comrades from France, Germany, Holland, and even from Russia, were guests.

Going farther afield, we find that the Endeavor movement has been one means of bringing together in fraternal relations the Boers and the British in South Africa. As everyone knows, the animosity between these two races before the Boer war and for a time after it, was exceedingly bitter. Shortly before the war I was in South Africa and learned both from President Kruger of the Transvaal and from President Stein of the Orange Free State that, to put it mildly, no love was lost between the races. "Oom Paul" (Kruger), as he was affectionately called by his people, was especially bitter, feeling that Joseph Chamberlain was driving the Boers to the wall.

The war came and dragged its slow length along. Numbers of young Dutchmen were captured and sent for safe-keeping to St. Helena and Ceylon. Many of them were of a religious turn of mind and being acquainted with Christian Endeavor methods in their old homes they formed many societies, with a total of two thousand members.

Again I was in Cape Town a few months after the close of the war, and for the first time since peace had been declared the two races met together in the old Adderly Street Dutch Reformed Church. In the audience were many young Boers just released from St. Helena and Ceylon, and other young men who had worn the British khaki. Old enmities were forgotten. Endeavor mottoes such as "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren," in two languages, adorned the walls.

This gathering was made up not of sentimental boys and girls, remember, but bronzed warriors who had recently met on hard-fought battlefields. The fact chiefly to be borne in mind in this story of a constantly enlarging world-fellowship is its providential character. For while their elders have been talking much about Christian union, the younger generation has in a large measure achieved it without sacrificing their loyalty to their own churches and denominations. No Pope has ordained it, no Lambeth Conference has sanctioned it, but on the other hand, fortunately, few vested interests have stood in its way, and all countries except Russia (under the Czar) and almost all denominations have permitted it. It seems to some of us that God decreed it.

*Boston*




PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VALLEY AND WOODSTOCK LAKE FROM THE FRONT PORCH

# Perhaps this is the Country Home You've been Looking for

*By* HAMILTON HOLT

Having just inherited the Old Homestead in Woodstock, Connecticut, in which my great-grandparents set up housekeeping, I desire to sell to some good citizen my present country home situated in the same town.

Woodstock is one of the most beautiful, unspoiled and historic hill towns in all New England. It boasts of two churches and a free academy, all fronting on the "Common." The rest of the village consists of residences, mostly spacious old colonial homes with a few handsome modern country residences interspersed.

Woodstock is situated in the extreme North Eastern section of Connecticut, contiguous to the pretty summer resort towns of Pomfret, Thompson and Dudley. It is an hour and forty minutes by train from Boston and less than five hours from New York. It is situated in an ideal automobile region, being within from one to two hours by motor (over perfect state roads) of Worcester, Mass., Providence, R. I., and Norwich, New London and Hartford, Conn. Putnam, five miles distant, is the thriving railroad center where Woodstock people do most of their shopping and marketing.

My home is the last one in the village street before you strike the open country. It consists of three acres, which include, besides the buildings, lawn, vegetable and flower gardens, an orchard of twenty or thirty varieties of apple, pear, peach, cherry, plum, and quince trees.

From the front porch is a delightful view of the valley between Woodstock and Thompson, checkered with woods, streams, fields, and farm houses. In the center of the valley is Woodstock Lake, a mile and a half long and half a mile wide.

From the little hill behind the barn where I have laid out the tennis court, one of the most beautiful and extensive views in Connecticut can be had. On a clear day one can see the faint purple of Mt. Wachusett and Mt. Holyoke in Massachusetts, fifty miles away. There are several trout streams within walking distance of my place, and the whole region round about in the fall affords some very fair quail, partridge and woodcock shooting.

The cottage consists of nine living rooms, besides two bath rooms, three toilets, and a huge sleeping porch large enough for all the family. I have installed water and electricity in both house and barn. The house is one of those old-fashioned, low-ceilinged affairs with a Dutch oven beside the fire place in the living room. Additions have been built in all directions from time to time to accommodate the expanding needs and family of the village postmaster who owned it before me.

The outbuilding which used to be the Post Office, I have turned into a study, but of course it could be used for a hundred and one other purposes.

Besides the barn for two horses, two cows, is a garage (with running water and concrete floor), an ice house, a chicken house and a pump house.

The pump house is over the best artesian well in Woodstock. When I dug it several years ago, I tested it with a pump that registered as high as 40 gallons a minute. But the pump could make no impression on the water level. There is evidently enough pure water in that well to supply the whole township.

In fact my home is just the kind that is found only in New England—one that you can hardly refrain from planting about with old-fashioned perennial flowers and furnishing with treasures from the neighboring attics. (Yes, there are lots of pieces of antique furniture still waiting to be picked up round about. I speak with knowledge.)

On the shores of Woodstock Lake, a mile from "the Hill," is Roseland Park, famous for its 4th of July celebrations a generation ago, and today a very popular resort for picnic parties from the neighboring towns. The lake affords excellent boating and bathing in season. I once caught a bass weighing over five pounds just off the inlet, and have caught many in the lake over three pounds. Several summers ago I saw a wild deer swimming across the lake.

Connected with the Park is a sporty little natural golf links that has the most delicious spring of crystal cold water down the ravine next to the 7th hole that I have ever tasted.

In short, anybody who is looking for a New England country place—nothing elegant or pretentious, but homelike, charming, thoroly comfortable, and all in perfect condition—has here an opportunity that is worth investigating.

I am asking $8,000 for the property. I believe the price is fair and represents its true market value. I shall of course be delighted to supply any further information. Please address me care of The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York City.—(*Adv.*)



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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

**I. Abraham Lincoln.**

1. For the next few days the magazines are going to contain all sorts of reference to Lincoln. Make a collection of clippings wherever you find them, and use them as material for an essay on "Abraham Lincoln in 1921."
2. On this Lincoln anniversary, perhaps more than on any other since his own time, his own problem—the negro—is agitating the whole country. Write an address, or letter, or conversation, by Lincoln himself, in which he describes his feelings and views about the present situation. You can't expect to be as eloquent and moving as Lincoln, but read as many of his public addresses and private writings as you can, to try to catch his spirit and quality.
3. Read, if you have not, John Drinkwater's play, "Abraham Lincoln"; while you read, let the play gain what significance it can from the fact that it was written by an Englishman and played for remarkably long runs before English audiences, both in London and in the Provinces.

**II. This Changing World.**

1. "The aim of Nature is equality. The aim of Man is inequality." Expand this statement, using the material that Dr. Slosson gives you in the whole article, and also any illustrations that you can think of for yourself.
2. You will have to look very far before you find scientific and technical subjects treated as simply and intelligibly as in this series of articles. If you find that this is so for yourself, see if you can discover the method by which Dr. Slosson makes it so.

**III. O'Neill and "The Emperor Jones."**

1. Why, according to Mr. Moses—and according to yourself—is the one-act play a normal and inevitable dramatic outgrowth of the mood and life of our day? What other literary forms does the one-act play correspond to?
2. Mr. Moses makes much of the necessity of concentration, stern selection of essentials, swift suggestiveness, in the one-act play. Read "Before Breakfast," one of Eugene O'Neill's plays, for a study in method—as well as for breathless interest.
3. Do you think that in time the one-act play will take the place of the long play? Define what seems to you the special function of each form, and discuss whether or not they can be developed side by side.
4. Read five or six examples of good, representative one-act plays. Try to choose from as many different authors—O'Neill, Susan Glaspell, Barrie, Maeterlinck, the Irish group—Synge, Lady Gregory, Yeats—or any others that you care to include.

**IV. Here Are Books.**

1. Make a list of fifty poems, from all periods and poets, that you would put first into your "loose-leaf anthology." And be prepared to defend your choice in every case.
2. The Age of Humanism. (a) What is the meaning of the word "Humanism"? (b) Place for yourself Petrarch, Bacon, Dante, Aquinas, Cicero, Plato, Aristotle, Galileo, Vesalius, Copernicus. Choose one to get together material on for a three or four minute talk. (d) Find for yourself several points of comparison and difference between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and bring your material to class to contribute to a class comparison of the two periods.
3. Write an essay on Tolstoy, limiting the subject in any way you like—Tolstoy as a social philosopher, or as a literary artist, or, if you can get hold of Gorky's book, as a man. Of course, whichever aspect of him you choose, you will have to know something about all the others. And you will get your material best from his own writing, "Anna Karenine," "Master and Man," "War and Peace," etc.

**V. Reparations.**

1. Write a dialog between a Frenchman after the Franco-Prussian War and a German after the World War, endeavoring to do justice to the state of mind of each, and abstract justice to the facts in each case, as you see them. When you have tried to be fair in your dialog, add a statement of where your own personal sympathy lies in the question of reparations in 1921.

**VI. The Limitation of Armaments.**

1. State the two sides of the Japanese-American disarmament question, as a Japanese and an American would see them.
2. Write a paper connecting the question of disarmament with the League, using Mr. Holt's editorial and any other material.

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. Disarmament—The Limitation of Armaments. Root versus Borah.**

1. Why, in Mr. Holt's opinion, was the attempt of Russia to secure a limitation of armaments at the Hague Conferences a futility?
2. The twentieth century up to 1914 has sometimes been termed "the armed peace." Explain this in the light of Mr. Holt's historical survey of those years.
3. How has the establishment of the League of Nations contributed to increase the possibility of disarmament? Suppose one nation, France for instance, had abolished all standing armies and naval construction before there was a League of Nations, what risks would there have been in such a course? How far, in your opinion, is disarmament safe today? Is it safer for the United States than for other nations or not?
4. What is meant by dividing the use of armed force into the three types of (a) aggression, (b) defense, (c) police? Illustrate each by particular instances.
5. What is the issue between Root and Borah? What is your own opinion?

**II. Industrial Conditions — Success Should Have No Secret. Getting After the Packers. Dragons' Teeth. The Army of Unemployed. The Workingman's World (reviews).**

1. Read Mr. Williams's editorial and then prepare an essay on "Pitiless Publicity as a Remedy for Profiteering"; relating the general argument of the editorial to the news of the day, such as the building investigation and the proposed Congressional legislation for regulating the coal and packing industries.
2. Is there any good ground for business secrets? If you were (or are) in business for yourself what kinds of information would you prefer to withhold from (a) the Government, (b) your banker, (c) the general public, including your customers and competitors? Should the Government make income tax returns open to public inspection or keep them confidential as at present?
3. The case of the meat packers raises the general question of "trust busting." In your opinion is it wise or not to dissolve great industrial concerns into small competing units? Compare the case of Standard Oil.
4. Why does unemployment tend to strengthen the employer in bargaining with labor?
5. What dangers does Professor Giddings see in the attempt of some employers to take advantage of the present industrial depression to lower the standard of living for industrial workers?

**III. The German Indemnity — Allies Fix Reparations. The Story of Reparations. Variant Views on Reparations.**

1. What is a "war indemnity"? Mention some occasions when they formed part of a peace settlement. Point out the difference in principle between an indemnity based on "war costs" of the victorious party and one based on "reparations" to the victorious party for damage done to its citizens and their property by the defeated party.
2. Do you think that the reparations clauses of the Treaty of Versailles are in violation of the armistice terms or not? If so, in what respect?
3. What is the Reparation Commission? Tell what you can about it.
4. Why were the French unwilling to have the German debt now set at a definite figure? What is the reason for the ad valorem tax on volume of exports?
5. Why do you suppose that the term of payment was increased from thirty to forty-two years? What disadvantages might arise from so prolonged a period of German indebtedness to the Allies?
6. Does the fact that the indemnity is stated in gold marks mean that it will have to be paid in gold, or is that simply a measure of the value of goods to be paid as reparations? Why would paper marks not be acceptable?
7. The United States has very little direct interest in reparations (save for the payment of our army of occupation on the Rhine). What indirect interest in the question have we? Do you think that the European Allies will be able to pay their war debts to us if they obtain no reparations?
8. Prepare either the affirmative or the negative brief for a debate on the question: Resolved, that the Briand-Lloyd George plan for reparations is just, sound and practical. Remember that it is up to the negative to present some alternative plan or a different sum.

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

"Do you know Max?"
"Max who?"
"Max no difference."—*Virginia Reel.*

May—Why does Irene wear that riding costume so much?
Belle—I suppose because it's a habit.—*Dirge.*

Old Settler—No, the people of Minneapolis are not what they used to be.
New Settler—No, they used to be children.—*Foolscap.*

Jerry—I hear that Ruth Newlywed worships her husband.
Jim—Yes, she places burnt offerings before him three times a day.

"Is pants singular or plural?"
"If a man wears 'em it's plural."
"Well if he doesn't—?"
"It's singular."—*Lampoon.*

Senior—Where have you been?
Fresh—To the cemetery.
Senior—Anyone dead?
Fresh—All of them.—*Siren.*

Bing—I heard that your old man died of hard drink.
Ding—Yes. Poor fellow. A cake of ice dropped on his head.—*Nebraska Awgwan.*

Flim—Life must be an awful bore to Bill.
Flam—Why?
Flim—He's an oil well digger.—*Panther.*

A statesman once went to Florida
When politics was horrid and horrida.
"I'll spend my time,"
He said, "In a clime
Which is calmer, even tho torrida."

"Paw, what is an advertisement?"
"An advertisement is the picture of a pretty girl eating, wearing, holding, or driving something that somebody wants to sell."—*Nashville Tennessean.*

Adam stood and watched his wife
Fall from an apple tree.
"Ah ha! at last I've found her out!
Eavesdropping," muttered he.
—*Pelican.*

Said an affable Bolshie of Kiev
To his partner while dancing one eve:
"To your family, ma'am,
No stranger I am;
I slaughtered your son, I believe."
—*Life.*

The electrician had arrived home at 1 a. m. and was preparing to undress when his wife glared at him and said:
"Watts the matter? Wire you insulate?"
But the shock was too great. The electrician dropped dead.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

Miss Fortyodd awoke in the middle of the night to find a burglar ransacking her effects. Miss Fortyodd did not scream, for she prided herself, among other things, upon her courage. Pointing to the door with a dramatic gesture, she exclaimed: "Leave me at once!"
The burglar politely retreated a step and said, "I had no intention of taking you!"
—*London Opinion.*

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## Remarkable Remarks

METHODIST BISHOP HUGHES—I would not be re-ordained in the Episcopal Church for a million dollars.

IRVIN S. COBB—It was a French telephone, and, therefore, was intended more for ornamentation than for utilitarian purposes.

GEORGE ADE—The humblest farm hand now insists on being measured for a suit that will make him look like a Yale student.

PRESIDENT HYMANS, of the League of Nations—What is conceived clearly in the mind can always be expressed clearly in a few words.

ELSIE FERGUSON—There are still convents along the river banks of China where the nuns watch for stray girl babies floating down and save them.

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS—Germany has its beer gardens on Sunday, France its horse racing, Spain its bull fights and America its vampire Sunday.

JACOB GOULD SHURMAN—I suppose no man now living has such a correct sense of the aspirations and ambitions of our people as Senator Harding possesses.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER—Horace Greeley's famous classification of college guarantees with horned cattle, is too often quoted with approving sarcasm.

CARDINAL DUBOIS—We conjure the women and girls of our diocese to have nothing to do with fashions of dress which are opposed to Christian decency.

DR. D. D. FOOTE—If the enghteenth amendment was as dead as the fifteenth amendment is in the South, whiskey could be easily obtained for $1 per quart.

BISHOP NICHOLSON—Men who care no more about religion and morals than a dog are making themselves multi-millionaires out of the recreations of the people.

MISS LUCY P. GASTON, Superintendent of the Anti-Cigaret League—The United States has had no smoking president since McKinley. Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson have all had clear records.

PROF. ROBERT R. GAULT—If nervous exhaustion or business worries make the husband irritable, the wife instead of attempting to cure him by direct action should call in a nerve specialist.

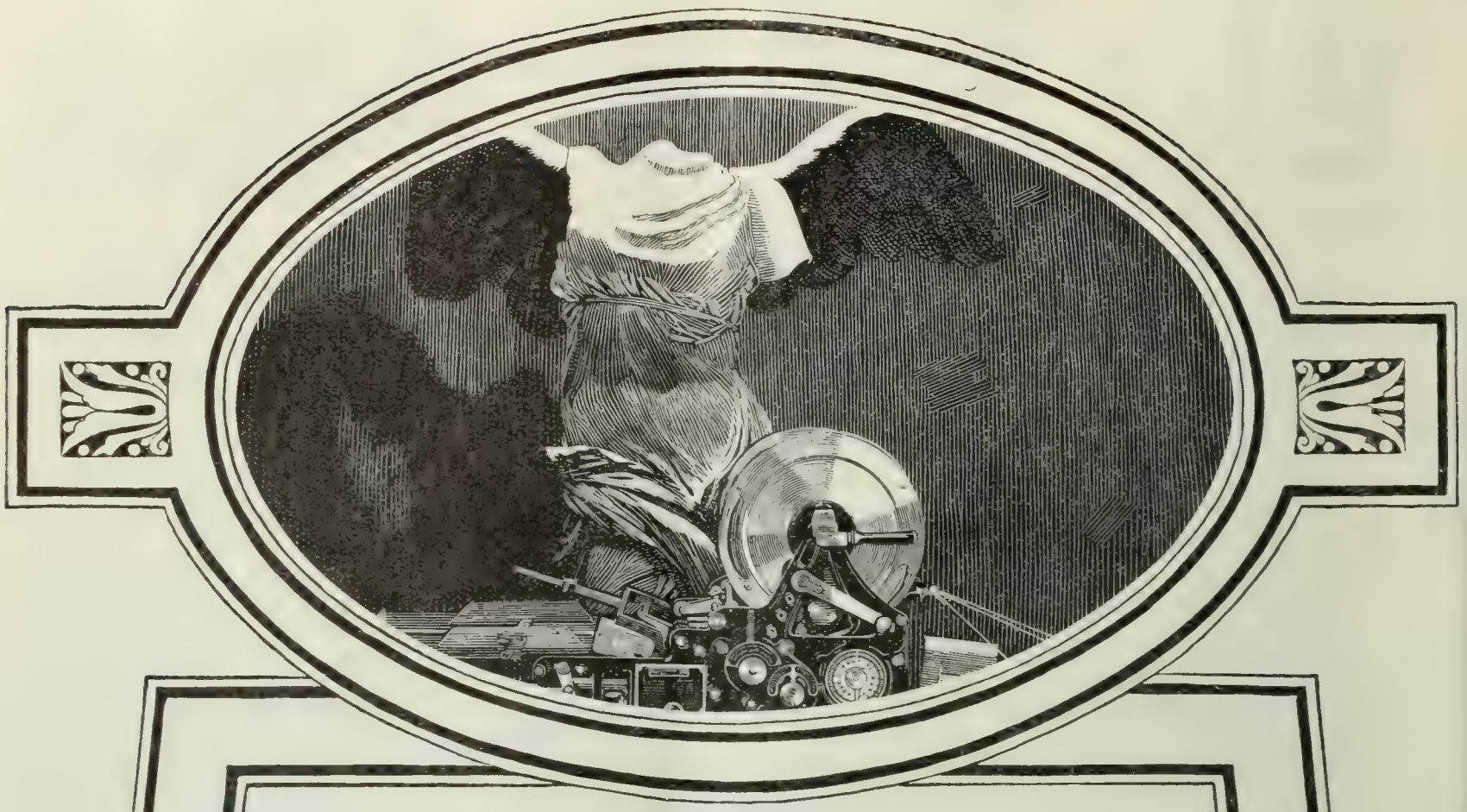
PRESIDENT BURTON of University of Michigan—Is there any method by which a student world can be developed in which the scholar, the thinker and the writer will be just as highly honored as the man who achieves distinction in football?

## Opening Nights

*Jacquerie*, an Italian opera new to the United States, deals with a peasant revolt against feudal oppression in medieval France. The libretto is by A. Donaudy and the music by Gino Marinuzzi. Only mildly tuneful but with some fine triumphal marches and choruses. Well sung by artists of the Chicago Opera Company. (Manhattan Opera House.)



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EDISON-DICK MIMEOGRAPH

The Independent
February 19, 1921

Twelfth article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest

# Did Profit-Sharing or the Union Fail?

By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcolm Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

WHEN we visited the Wayne Knitting Mills, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, in August, 1919, Mr. Theodore F. Thieme, the founder, president, manager and idealist, was out of town. Practically all that we learned about the establishment we learned from employees. These employees were officers and members of "Knitters Union No. 2," the local branch of the national trade union of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. On the strength of their enthusiasm we placed the Wayne Knitting Mills at the top of our list, "Faith in Management." Sixteen months later, after prices had begun to tumble, these same employees were out on strike and the whole works was shut down. You never can say anything "for sure" about labor and management. You ought always to write history and never prophesy. Mankind has a distressful way of swinging from intoxication to the "day after." And it seems to follow the swing of prices from inflation to deflation.

Here is what the employees told us and showed us at the hight of pecuniary intoxication. The business was started in 1891. Mr. Thieme had been educated in a Lutheran theological school. He taught school, then went into the drug store business at Fort Wayne, then sold out and went to Europe to see if he could find an industry that might be moved to America under the protection of the newly established McKinley tariff.

He hit upon the full-fashioned hosiery business, in which fifty or more stockings are knitted at once on a great machine tended by a highly skilled mechanic and three or four girl helpers. He organized a $30,000 corporation at Fort Wayne, brought over from Germany twenty-five experienced knitters and finishers, and started in a rented store room.

From this small beginning has grown the great business which now employs nineteen hundred people, with a capital stock of $1,200,000, not a dollar of which is water, according to the boast of its proud and confident employees. Six of the twenty-five employees who started with the original plant thirty years ago are with it today. About seventy employees have been with the company twenty-five years or more.

The Wayne Knitting Mills, as might be expected from its founder, president and manager, presents some unusual features. We have found university professors, of late, in demand as employment managers. We have found even labor leaders drafted into this service. The Wayne Knitting Mills added to the variety by bringing in a man who had been lawyer, judge, and political reformer—Mr. Ross F. Lockridge, fellow-worker with Mr. Thieme in the fight of the latter for better government in Indiana and Fort Wayne. For Mr. Thieme was a political reformer as well as an industrial reformer. He was founder of the Citizen League of Indiana, substantial supporter of the "New Constitution" movement for the state, as well as of local movements for public ownership of public utilities and of general political house-cleaning. At the head of *The Citizen*, the official organ of his Citizen League, edited by Mr. Thieme and Mr. Lockridge, had appeared Lowell's anti-slavery defiance:

The time is ripe, and rotten ripe, for change;
Then let it come; I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instincts of mankind.
Nor think I that the world would fall apart
Because we tear a parchment more or less.



Mr. Theodore F. Thieme, the founder, president and manager of the Wayne Knitting Mills

With a political reformer as president and a political reformer in charge of employment and welfare activities, one is not surprized to find surprizes. Here is an immense clubhouse, built by the company—really more than an ordinary clubhouse, for it is in fact and name a "community center" for management and labor, for social, educational, political and union gatherings, as well as a



**The Wayne Knit Club, built by the company, is not only a club but a real community center, a place for social, educational, political and union gatherings, and a home for out of town women workers**

home for young women workers whose families do not live in Fort Wayne, and who prefer to live together here rather than outside in the boarding houses of the city.

The president and secretary of the union showed us thru the club, they fed us in the great dining room and told us of the goings-on in the place. They showed us a pamphlet on public ownership that Mr. Thieme handed them to read. They showed us copies of *Rav-lings,* the shop paper, with a column or two edited by "Knitters' Union, No. 2," and its notices of union elections and its comments on union affairs and events. *Rav-lings* had a column of "Community Center Notes"—Mr. Thieme had lectured on the present system of city government and the issues at the coming municipal election; at another time on "The Political Machine"; at another time, after six months' absence in recovering his health, on "World Politics"—each lecture followed by a free-for-all. He had also attended the union meetings, as well as the Community Center meetings and had spoken there on public questions, such as workmen's insurance, public ownership and the tariff. Colonel Foster, the foremost promoter of park improvements, had talked to the Community Center on "how to secure our most needed public improvements." The biggest crowd that attended the Community Center was the one that heard the debate on the liquor problem—described as "a roaring success." Another meeting was "a great suffraget demonstration."

The employees did not hesitate to follow the example of their employers. Here is a program offered by them in *Rav-lings:*

> Every person, male and female, should be on an equality, both as to voting and power to hold office. In order to get the form of government we want and to keep it most suited to our needs, we must have constitutional home rule. We cannot, under the present two-per-cent limit, buy and operate the gas plant, street railway, or any other new business. This limitation must be raised.

*Rav-lings* tells us also of a talk by John A. Thieme, brother of the founder, in which he said:

> Even in our own good times, times of a great deal of frivolity and amusement, there are surely openings for reforms and changes, and we have many men and women who have ideas, ideals, convictions and fads, if you please, which they would like to bring before the public. This, then, is the place to come to air your ideas and get these reforms out of your system. The people will be glad to hear and take up these new ideas.

But political reform was not the only reform agitated in this Community Center. Industrial reform was prominent. We were told of the Textile Industrial Club, composed of the management and upper workmen, and of other clubs and committees discussing everything from street-car service to the best way to handle orders in the finishing department. Here were classes held [*Continued on page 196*

# Should Sunday Be Kept or Spent?

## The Independent Readers Present Their Own Ideas, Ranging All the Way From Blue Laws to Baseball

ON the first day of the new year The Independent printed a symposium of the opinions of many leading clergymen on Sabbath observance. In the same number we invited our readers to "chip in" and contribute their own ideas, and they have generously responded; so generously that the majority of contributions whose intrinsic interest would warrant publication have been crowded out by sheer lack of space, and other letters are represented only by brief extracts. We have tried to select typical points of view and to give equal hearing to the half of our contributors who believe that Sunday should be "kept" as a day wholly devoted to rest and religious observance, and to the other half who think it right that the day should be "spent," in whole or in part, in pleasurable recreation. Very few have invoked the arm of the law to enforce their ideal of the Sabbath; to most of our readers the question comes as a challenge to the individual conscience, and in that spirit the question has been met, with widely different answers but always with unmistakable sincerity and earnestness.

So far as one can speak of an "average" opinion on such a question, the following letter by an American citizen born in Holland seems best to sum up the point of view of the majority who advocate an American Sunday that stands somewhere between the rigor of the Puritan Sabbath and the laxity of continental Europe:

> Anything I would not like to be seen or to be known doing on Sunday I would not want to do on any other day, with but one exception: work. I enjoy real work and realize that each of us should have the fullest chance to perform his proper share of the world's work; but one day of the week I would prefer being compelled to leave all work alone. That one day would provide the opportunity to do preferably those things, which will be of benefit morally, physically and mentally, in a more direct way and in a larger measure, than my work and leisure time during the other six days afford. As a citizen I feel that everybody ought to be protected by law: firstly, by having one day respite from labor per week; and secondly, considering that Sunday is the most commonly established restday, the rest on that day should be made attainable to the largest extent possible, by the elimination of unnecessary noises and disturbances.
>
> *Mountain King, Cal.* D. W. BEGEER.

But there are those with stricter views who are entitled to a hearing. For example:

> As a defender of God's Holy Day since my cradle; as a mother who is raising five children in an evil age and finding God's promises true, *I challenge* Christians and Hebrews of this nation to believe in and work for God's Sabbath as described in Isaiah:
>
> "If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, and the holy of Jehovah honorable; and shalt honor it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words; then shalt thou delight thyself in Jehovah; and I will make thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; and I will feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it."—Is. 58:13, 14.
>
> *Emporia, Kansas.* GRACE HOWELL LEWIS.

The present is not the time for relaxing the hold of the Christian religion upon the consciences of the American people. On the contrary, nothing is more urgently needed than a nation-

wide revival of religion. The moral disorder which has followed the war threatens the dissolution of society. Crimes of cruel greed and shocking offenses of blood and violence have become so common as to alarm even the least thoughtful among us. Will these enormities grow less frequent and less hideous if the people worship God less and pursue business and pleasure more?

When employers profane the Sabbath and forsake the churches for gains and games, and wage earners cease to respect the sacred day and no longer attend upon the worship of the sanctuary, will the moral state of either class be such as will make for peace, or will it give rise to riot and revolution? Which result do we prefer?

This nation must be a Christian nation, or soon it will not be at all. This is the solemn alternative before the American people, and the preservation of the American Sabbath is inextricably bound up in the issue.

It is the veriest trifling with a serious matter to be raising petty questions of "sabbatarianism," "puritanism," and the like, when we are confronted by such a situation. The remotest peril which besets us as a people is puritanism. Would God we had more of the "awful virtues" of the Puritans, and less of the lax convictions and loose morals of the present-day liberalists.

*Emory University, Georgia.* BISHOP WARREN A. CANDLER.

The Sunday newspaper gets its share of rebuke:

I do wish to take exception to the statement of my old friend Dr. Nehemiah Boynton when he says that the Sunday newspaper is a necessity. I fail to see wherein it is a necessity. It is made up Saturday afternoon and evening, and there is no general news in same which was not published in the Saturday evening edition of the city papers. Then it is filled up with advertisements and a large amount of trash which I consider of no benefit to any person. It serves to keep people's time occupied which might better be spent in going to church, or reading some literature that would be of interest or profit to them.

*Flint, Michigan.* CHARLES T. BRIDGMAN.

Do not touch a Sunday paper. One gets plenty of evil in the papers during six days. Who can, after reading a Sunday paper, go to church and get full benefit of the service? Sunday was meant for man to get closer to his Heavenly Father, so no earth clouds should cut off his vision on that day.

*Troy, N. Y.* A. G. SHERRY.

Here is a reasonable objection to the "seven day week" in industry.

You cannot get away from it. Man is miraculously strengthened and refreshed by a day of meditation, rest and church attendance and when business gets to speeding, so that young children, who have not missed Sunday School for a year, are ordered to report for work Sunday after Sunday, while they are, sometimes, allowed to loaf Saturday afternoons, then industry is assuming an awful responsibility.

*Ambridge, Pa.* W. ANSHUTZ.




**Beautiful words**

A novel phrasing of religious observance:

We should spend Sunday *working to beat hell.* In other words, we should spend Sunday *laboring* to lessen the evil and increase the good in the world. Unfortunately our social order is such today that most of us have to spend about six days trying to earn bread to eat and clothes to wear. The seventh day we ought to spend working for human development.

Some may object that this leaves no time for rest and recreation. We contend that rest and recreation should be included in each day's program. In this particular we would reform the custom of the ages.

*Orangeburg, S. C.* A. H. GORDON.

Little children are often strictest about Sabbath observance—at least in theory. An eighth grade teacher in Franklin, Minnesota, was kind enough to send us some class compositions on the subject. The following is quite typical:

I think people ought to spend Sunday by going to church in the morning and sometimes in the afternoon and evenings. And I think if a person does not feel like going to church in the afternoon, they can read some good books, by this I don't mean about murders or the like.

People should not go to a baseball game or basket ball or any kind of a moving picture show. Some people sleep on Sunday. I think this is all right as long as it is a day of rest. But they wouldn't have to sleep on Sunday if they went to bed in time. Some people even play cards on Sunday, I think this is the worst thing anyone can do. It isn't so bad on week days. But should be forbidden on Sunday.

Sunday should not be spent by dancing nor talking about each others' neighbors.

BONITA JOHNSON.

Many of our readers believe that under the term "rest" it is right to include reasonable recreation:

"The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." Herein is the gist of the matter. Sunday is not to be imposed upon us as a punishment or means of penance; neither is it to be a day of license in unrestrained amusement. It has been divinely set apart to minister to humanity's inherent needs, physical, mental and spiritual. The emphasis should be placed inversely, however, because the spiritual and mental needs are less evident and with equal emphasis will generally be slighted.

*Nappanee, Ind.* R. R. DETWEILER.

Another fallacy of the proponents of a puritanical observance of Sunday is their insistence upon a sort of negative observance of the day. They would have us spend the day in idleness rather than activity, whereas the proper way to rest is to change one's occupation. Jesus aroused a storm of protest from the Puritanical Sabbath Observers when He taught, by precept and example, that the day of rest was made for man's upbuilding rather than his destruction. He taught that man's necessity was man's law: if hungry, eat; if tired, rest; if worn out from lack of recreation, take a needed opportunity for improvement.

That everything, animate or inanimate, needs rest is a certainty; the razor that shaved me this morning did better work by reason of the fact that it had rested and was used in alternation with another; an engine runs better after its day of rest; I do better after the day I observe as my "Sunday"—I work all day on everyone else's Sunday.

*Blossburg, Pa.* ALAN PRESSLEY WILSON.

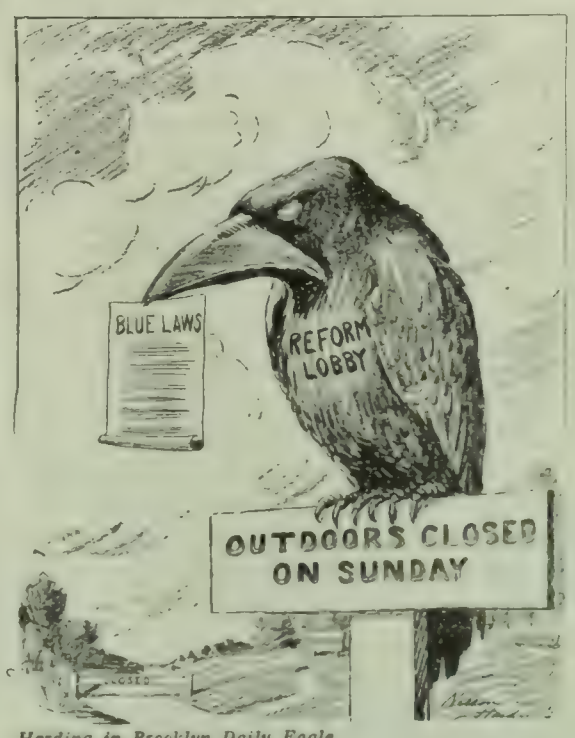
In making the best of what they have, city brethren will not judge harshly the country boy who seeks the quiet stream with hook and line, or who goes motoring or even indulges in a neighborly game of baseball. If they know what fraternity is they will not criticize.

*Alma Center, Wisconsin.* GEO. RINGROSE.

Some go further, and point out that in shutting down on innocent amusement there is danger of opening the doors to what is not innocent:

Close up on Sunday and you will start a poker game in every small town—in every dark alley or room where four or five fellows can get around a table and draw cards. I am absolutely positive that enforcing the old blue laws on Sunday closing of entertainments, ball games, etc., will make more gamblers out of the younger generation than anything that could be done. I do not expect the preachers to agree with me—but I do know from experience from living in small towns and cities for the past twenty years that whenever there was not a ball game or some other form of amusement—we would always start a game of cards or else we would look up a "blind pig" and proceed to partake of "the flowing bowl."

A. S. MICHELSON.
*Baldwin, Wis.*




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**The Bluebird, for happiness**

I find that it is not a chance to sleep that we need on Sunday as much as we need a change of occupation with a chance for moral, intellectual and spiritual growth. I know of a family where Sunday is a day of idleness. The members of the family each do about one

(*Continued on page 194*)

# Beware of Pickpockets!

## Second Article in the Series of "Inside Information" on How to Protect Yourself in the Present "Crime Wave"

## By An Ex-Convict

IN the city of New York over four million people yearly are potential victims for the pickpocket; and in the different towns and villages of the country the ratio is in proportion to the population. Of the four million people that ride on the street, elevated and underground cars, perhaps not more than a few hundred know *when* a pickpocket —"dip" it is called in the underworld—begins to operate on you, to remove your purse or other valuables. I shall, in order to make my point clear, use New York City as an example because of its teeming millions, and not because it differs in any way from other cities.

The pickpocket works in formation order; usually three men comprize the personnel. One of them is the chap who does the actual work, the other two are "stalls"—that is, they pave the way for and shield the operator.

Have you ever felt a gentle shoving from behind you as you stood in a crowded car? Or perhaps this gentle shoving may have come from the side? If you do feel anything of the sort *change your position!* It may not be a pickpocket, and again, it may be. Be on your guard at all times when in a crowd. Always, there is a gentle crowding *before* the operator can work. Never mind your pocket—watch your neighbor, both in front and in the rear, and by way of good measure, those on your sides as well.

Curiosity is the direct cause of many people's becoming the victims of the pickpocket. It is nothing unusual for one of these gentry to go with his companions to a busy street and in order to collect a crowd have one of the gang faint. The sympathies of the crowd are all centered on the prostrate man—exactly what the thief wants; and while curiosity prompts you to edge or push closer to the "victim" it is then that the sinuous fingers of the thief are inserted into your pocket or purse. This is but one of the many ways by which pickpockets get a crowd together.

The early hours of the morning when people go to work, and again when they come home in the evening are the times best suited to the pickpocket. He knows of the desire of the crowds to get to work on time, and—the business day over—to get to their homes again. During the other periods of the day you are comparatively safe —if you stay away from crowds.

**"People let themselves be robbed! They make it so easy for us," said the ex-convict who wrote the series of which this article is the second. "I have served a term in prison, and I know, from the inside, the plain facts of crime. I offer here, by way of reparation, the real truth, for the first time." The first article in this series gave householders some sound advice on how to prevent burglaries; the articles to come will tell you how to protect your checks from "the scratch man," and how to make sure that yeggmen can't get at your safe**

The pickpocket looks and dresses exactly like the average man. He cannot be recognized either by dress or features. There are, however, certain ways of *suspecting* that people are pickpockets; and suspicion will make you wary, at the same time make you richer. If you see two men, or women, holding a newspaper open in such a way as to shield the lower portion of a third person from view, suspect them of being pickpockets. I shall explain how a band of pickpockets works so that you will better understand how to guard yourself.

The three get on a car and work their way to a prosperous looking man. They do not know if the man carries a purse with him or not—it is their duty to find out. This is done by lightly touching the back pockets of the intended victim. Long experience has made the pickpocket very deft, and he can tell, to a certainty, the difference between a bill fold and a package of letters, by the lightest of light touches. Finding that the victim has a wallet in his pocket he coughs, or otherwise gives his confederates the knowledge that he has found a victim, and does nothing until the confederates take their proper places. The operator stands immediately behind his victim; the other two pickpockets station themselves one behind the operator and the other in front of the victim, leaving the victim and operator between them. Then the men in front and rear open newspapers so that the operator and the victim are hidden. The chap in front will lurch against the front of the victim, and the victim, in turn, will lurch against the operator, and it is while this lurch takes place that the victim is relieved of his purse. The matter is extremely simple to guard against. Do not allow yourself to be hidden from the gaze of the other people in your vicinity; the newspapers are used to hide the hand of the operator. If you have an overcoat on, keep it buttoned securely, and your hands on the buttons, for it is ridiculously simple for the operator to unbutton either of your coats. If you feel the slightest push, put your hand on the pocket where you have your money—then move to a different place in the car. The best method of protection when you are not absolutely certain that you are in the company of pickpockets is to *look sharply at those whom you suspect*—then watch the amazing result. After a minute's wait, they will leave the car as hurriedly as they can, without arousing suspicion. It is simply the psychology of the guilty conscience, for the pickpocket is above all else on his guard, and he will not imperil his own safety, as well as the safety of his two companions, if he thinks you are on the alert.

The greatest boon to the pickpocket is the handbag of the woman, the kind that hang pendant to the arm. They can be opened and closed again, almost with the rapidity of lightning. There is a certain weight the arm becomes accustomed to. If I were suddenly to cut the strings of your hand-bag you would notice it immediately; or if I were to take the weight of the hand-bag from your arm you would notice it. To overcome any such "accident" the pickpocket lightly grasps the strings of your hand-bag, giving the impression that it still hangs pendant; for you still feel the weight of what you think to be your bag when in reality you feel the weight of a gentle pull on the strings of the bag. It is a simple matter, then, to withdraw the contents of the bag, and you do not discover the fact until too late.

I cannot make too strong the advice to carry your hand-bag in your hand—*not on your arm!* It is impossible for the pickpocket to take your valuables out of your hand; it is easy for him to take them if you carry the bag foolishly.

The public display of a large roll [*Continued on page 198*

# The United States—the Main Obstacle to the World's Peace

## By Amos S. Hershey

*The author of the following article is Professor of History and International Law in the University of Indiana. He has written many books and articles on international affairs and was connected with the American Peace Commission in Paris in 1919. In an article published in The Independent in May, 1909, he pointed to "Germany as the Main Obstacle to the World's Peace." He dealt particularly upon her reactionary attitude toward the movements for obligatory arbitration and the limitation of armaments at The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, and upon the challenge to British naval supremacy involved in the execution of the naval program, adopted by the German Reichstag in 1900. As the sole practicable remedy for the German menace to the World's Peace, Professor Hershey advocated a defensive alliance between the United States and Great Britain. He held all talk about a limitation of armaments at that time to be vain, since Germany refused to listen to any such suggestions. And he maintained that, "aside from the peril of the Monroe Doctrine involved in the mere existence of a powerful German navy, the people of the United States could hardly remain neutral in a war between Germany and Great Britain which might possibly end in German naval supremacy." We commend his present article with its suggestive title to the consideration of all patriotic Americans*

STRANGE, indeed, are the ironies of history. The United States, which entered the World War to end war and make the world safe for democracy, has now taken the place of Germany as the main obstacle to the world's peace.

It will be recalled that the Emperor William II entered upon a campaign in favor of a strong navy soon after his accession to power in 1888. After years of quiet but strenuous labor he was successful, as is evidenced by the fact that in 1900 the German Reichstag sanctioned a naval program which, as later amended, provided for 38 first-class battleships, about 60 cruisers, over 100 torpedo boats, and a large number of destroyers. That this measure was directly aimed at Great Britain is clearly set forth in the preamble of the German Navy Bill of that year: "Germany must have a fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest sea power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that power."

Later, the German Government rejected every advance made by the British Government looking toward an Anglo-German naval understanding. At the Hague Conferences Germany led the opposition to obligatory arbitration and was unalterably opposed to any limitation of the progressive increase of armaments.

We all know the fatal results of this policy.

The roles of Germany and the United States are now reversed. Instead of Germany, it is the United States that is impeding the most hopeful movement ever inaugurated looking forward to the promotion of peace and international coöperation.

The United States has not only refused to enter a League which has as one of its main purposes the "reduction of national armaments to the lowest point, consistent with national safety"; but our Government has even felt itself obliged to decline an invitation of the Council of the League to send a representative to sit with its disarmament commission for the study and discussion of this problem.

More than this, America has taken the place of Germany as the outstanding rival of the British merchant marine, possessing, as she now does, at least two and a half times as much sea-going tonnage as sailed under the German flag prior to the World War.

To cap the analogy, the United States is rapidly supplanting Great Britain as the first naval power of the world.

In 1916, during the inevitable storm of war preparedness which swept this country, the American Congress authorized the construction of no less than 156 war vessels, including sixteen capital ships (battleships and battle cruisers). The preamble to the Navy Appropriation Act of that year gave the President discretionary power to suspend construction at any time in case there should be established "an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure peaceful determination of all international disputes."

The execution of this gigantic program was begun forthwith, but was postponed upon our entry into the war. After the armistice, the building of warships was resumed with renewed energy and has continued ever since, owing doubtless to the fact that, under existing conditions, President Wilson has not felt justified in suspending construction.

ON the basis of the naval program of 1916, Secretary Daniels estimates that $679,515,731 will be needed for naval purposes during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922. Indeed, it is said that during the last fiscal year ending in June, 1920, over 90 per cent of our total national expenditures were for war purposes, past, present and future.

According to Secretary Daniels, the total tonnage of the 538 warships of the British navy now amounts to 1,588,442; that of 350 vessels of the United States navy to 770,173; and 43 ships of the Japanese navy to 340,596 tons. The British battleships and battle cruisers actually constructed have a tonnage of 811,050; United States capital vessels (all of them battleships), 435,750; and Japanese capital ships, 288,320 tons.

The authorized building program of Great Britain contains no capital ships and only a relatively few destroyers and submarines; that of the United States included 11 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 38 destroyers, 10 light cruisers and 43 submarines, aggregating 842,109 tons. Japan appears to be building 7 capital ships, 15 destroyers, 9 light cruisers and 10 submarines, with a total tonnage of 328,460. In addition to this authorized program, Japan has a "projected" program of 8 capital ships, 30 destroyers and 30 submarines, with a tonnage of 368,370; but, so far as known, no appropriations to carry out this program have as yet been made.

Secretary Daniels also claims that after the completion of the authorized building programs in 1925, Great Britain

will have a tonnage of 1,665,332, the United States 1,617,282, and Japan 689,656. The United States will, however, have an undoubted superiority in capital ships.

It is admitted by Archibald Hurd, a leading British authority on naval matters, that on the basis of present construction, by 1923, or 1924 at the latest, the trident will have passed from the hands of Great Britain into those of the United States. The United States now occupies second place among the great naval powers (with Japan as a distant third), and will apparently soon take rank as the leading naval power of the world, at least so far as the number and size of capital ships are concerned.

For the British are not now competing with us in the building of war vessels. It has been officially announced in the House of Commons that "there are no capital ships now in construction for His Majesty's navy either in the Royal yards or by private firms," and it is reported that Great Britain is building but six destroyers and nine submarines, while the United States has under construction sixty-six of the former and fifty-three of the latter. According to an estimate by Admiral Coontz, the tonnage of capital ships in the British navy amounts to 864,000. After the completion of the American program of 1916, the United States will have 1,191,000 tonnage of capital warships alone. Japan, which has eight capital ships under construction, will add 341,000 tons to her present tonnage of 326,000, making a total of 667,000 tonnage of capital vessels. The completing of this Japanese program will, it is said, involve the expenditure of some £70,000,000, or less than one-third of that of the United States.

These figures tell their own story.

But the British Government evidently does not intend to permit the trident to be taken out of her hands without a struggle. In a statement to the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Austen Chamberlain, intimated that no program for capital ship construction would be presented to Parliament until an exhaustive analysis of the experience of the British navy in the late war had thrown all possible light upon the latest developments of naval warfare. He added, however, that the British Government was determined to maintain the navy at a standard strength sufficient to secure the safety of the Empire and its maritime communications. And a recent London *Times* editorial contains this significant passage: "If security still depends upon a sufficiency of capital ships, then the peoples of the (British) Empire will provide them as their forefathers did, at whatever financial sacrifice." The British First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Walter Long, is reported as having said: "We cannot afford, as trustees of the peace of the world, to allow our supremacy to be challenged. If we ask our countrymen to make sacrifices, I am sure they will accept them, even in times like this."

A lively controversy as to whether capital warships are to be rendered obsolete in future warfare on account of the new developments in aircraft and submarines, is now going on in England. Vice-Admiral Sir Percy Scott has come out in support of the late Lord Fisher's slogan: "Scrap the lot."

But the British Admiralty appears in the main to agree with Secretary Daniels that they still form "the backbone of the fleet" and are "essential to the command of the sea."

And now comes our pacific Secretary of the Navy masquerading in wolf's clothing and asks Congress for its approval of another three-year naval building program consisting of 88 additional vessels, including 4 capital ships, 30 light cruisers, etc.

To be sure, the execution of this program is to be contingent upon our not becoming a member of a League or Association of Nations: or upon a failure to conclude a general agreement on the subject of naval armaments. Secretary Daniels is even opposed to the suggested holiday in naval construction, as also to a separate agreement relating to this subject between Great Britain, the United States and Japan.

It is beginning to dawn upon a world facing financial ruin that a general and radical reduction of armaments offers the only possible means of escape from general insolvency. If the greatest economic need of Europe is for a decreased population and an increased production, her greatest immediate financial need is a system of international credit which will enable her to purchase food, fuel and raw material for the support of her population and the starting of her factories.

As security for the necessary loans, she has nothing to offer except the taxes and revenues hitherto devoted to armaments.

A former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. McKenna, has assured us that the stabilizing of international exchange depends directly upon the success of the League of Nations, and that the world would be called upon to choose between solvency and armaments. And the Report of the International Financial Conference, held at Brussels in August, 1920, declares that one of the main causes of the present financial situation in Europe is that an average of some 20 per cent of the national expenditure is still being devoted to armaments and preparations for war. The Brussels Conference recommended most earnestly to the Council of the League of Nations the desirability of securing as soon as possible a general and agreed reduction of armaments.

It is possible that the British Empire and the United States could maintain a burdensome competition in naval armaments for some years to come, but in the end they, too, would succumb to financial bankruptcy, even if the rivalry did not end in a fratricidal life and death struggle that would almost certainly mean the suicide of our Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Viscount Ishii, Japanese delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, held recently at Geneva, created a sensation by telling its commission of disarmament that it was useless to ask Japan to reduce her military or naval forces while "one great power" was increasing hers. The Assembly of the League has at least made a hopeful beginning in dealing with this question, but can hardly be expected to make much headway as long as the United States holds to its present intransigeant attitude.

The eyes of the world are centered upon the United States as never before. Our motives for remaining outside the League of Nations, largely regarded as our own handiwork, are not understood, and it must appear to most Europeans and many Englishmen that, while Europe was bleeding to death and the British Empire was making supreme sacrifices, the United States was more or less surreptitiously straining every nerve to increase her navy and merchant marine with a view of supplanting Great Britain as mistress of the seas and of establishing economic, if not political, world supremacy. Such a construction of our motives would be greatly strengthened if we were to violate our pledges regarding the Panama Canal.

Our duty is, indeed, plain. If we cannot see our way clear to enter the League of Nations in its present form, we can at least cease to be an obstacle to the world's peace, as was Germany prior to the Great War. We can put a stop to this blind, reckless and wasteful policy of continuing to squander money on naval construction long after all excuse for it is over. Press comment in Great Britain goes to show that the British are extremely anxious to come to an understanding with us respecting naval armaments. Baron Hyashi, the Japanese Ambassador to London, has indicated a willingness on the part of Japan to coöperate in arriving

at such an agreement. It should be one of the first tasks of the incoming administration to call a conference of the leading naval powers to take counsel regarding this important matter.

The world waits upon our decision.

## The Man From Florida

Congratulations on your fishing trip. By the way, will the Cabinet be whales or minnows?

## Queer Radical Logic

OUR sometimes esteemed contemporary, *The New Republic*, declares editorially that "If there are still leaders among the Republicans who are inclined to swallow the Treaty as it is the absurd bill just presented to Germany should once and for all convince them that no possible, no sensible arrangement of reparation can be born from it. The enormity of the bill . . . should make us thankful we did not commit ourselves to the Treaty of Versailles."

Without expressing any opinion as to the demerits of the plan proposed by the Allies for the payment of reparations by Germany, we should like to point out that this plan is what it is, for good or evil, *because* we did not "commit ourselves to the Treaty of Versailles." Had we ratified the Treaty we would have had as much say in fixing the plan of reparations as France or England; as it is we can just sit back and watch the European Allies do what they choose with regard to Germany. Sometimes the radical press prefers the right to find fault with European affairs to the power to control them.

# Blackmail in Building

### By Talcott Williams

THE conviction for extortion of Robert P. Brindell, "President of the Building Trade Council" in New York City, and his sentence of from five to ten years, add one more example to widespread blackmail in building, not alone in New York, by paying some corrupt head of a union to betray his fellow members.

All building is more or less vulnerable to blackmail. The owner, who builds, be it house or store, single lot or a block, cannot wait. Interest, taxes, "overhead," roll up on him with every day's delay. Any trade engaged can, by its delay, stall every other trade and the stop may consume the profit of several years with the infructuous demands of empty and idle days.

This is true of everyone who supplies building material. Stone, brick, cement, structural steel, mortar, lumber, plaster, glass, are all liable to sinister delays. The owner, the work once begun, will accept any price, put up with any demand, endure even extortion to avoid ruin. Labor has its constant weapon of a strike, from which there is no defense or refuge, save in the honesty of its leaders.

True of any building, large or small, these toils multiply and grow strong when city construction of ten to twenty stories is at stake. Delays which would be mere inconvenience in a small building amount to sums which are bankruptcy with a big building. The work must go on according to schedule or everything is thrown out of gear and a smash is risked.

A man buys lots to improve. He borrows on mortgage. So much is paid down, by the lender, firm or financial institution, on the land itself when title passes. The payments go on as the building mounts, story by story. Delay imperils the security.

All concerned want a guaranty against a strike—bank, trust company, estate, money lender or any of the fiduciary companies whose work must be geared to regular payments and no delay, lengthening the gap from the day the old building began to be demolished to the day when rents on the new structure begin to come in. This whole complex machine converges so as to require steady progress and no delays from any cause. The corporation which turns out structural steel, supplies stone, brick or cement is strongly tempted to require non-union labor in order to be free from the risk of strikes. This is natural; but it is unfair. All labor, union or non-union, should find all jobs open. This is a free country. No job should own the man. No man should own the job.

But when labor conflict comes the skyscraper of a score of stories is a perilous battlefield. The great framework of beams, cross-ties, pillars and supports; rivetting done with white-hot rivets tossed yards over the abyss below. Shafts, lifts, steel hawsers, cranes, tools "dropped," and the narrow footing of beam and partly laid flooring have their inevitable dangers. When a strike or lockout, a dispute over wages or hours, "open" shop or "closed" shop comes, who can tell what will happen?

On a big Fifth Avenue hotel building a strike came. A union man climbed the dizzy hight to persuade a non-union man. Words led to a mix-up. The non-union man dropped nine stories to the pavement. All uniondom was moved to the very top to protect the persuader. We all do this, each in our own walk. The district attorney was flint. The law had its course. The union man went to Sing Sing prison. The district attorney who did his duty has since had the votes of union men in one election and another by the hundred thousand. Trust the American citizen to deal justly.

Brindell's conviction cannot remove or seriously alter the conditions in the erection of buildings in our cities. Parke, a similar blackmailer in the same trade, was convicted. This did not prevent Brindell from assuming, what a neat legal phrase calls, "the risks of his calling."

The remedy is not more law, but more publicity and more democracy. Any firm or corporation selling or dealing in building materials ought by State and Federal law to be put on the basis of a common carrier—one price for all, rates and books open to all. The loans of all firms, corporations, savings banks, insurance companies and all banks and trust companies and correspondence relating to building loans should be open not merely to State and Federal inspection but to any borrower. Why should there be secrets in dealing with what are essentially trust funds? The loan committee of an insurance company, the realty officer of a savings bank, trust company or plain, ordinary banking firm are not, in essence, loaning their own private money, but money entrusted to them by depositors and clients. Publicity can do no harm to anybody unless harm was planned for somebody, directly or indirectly.

If no one was afraid of revelations, no one at Albany or in New York City would have objected to the proposition of Mr. Untermyer (the public-spirited counsel of the Lockwood committee of the state legislature investigating building blackmail in this city) that the powers of this body be extended beyond crooked building to crooked banking.

This is as plain as the nose on the face of Justice. For while Justice is sometimes represented with her eyes covered, you never saw Justice without a straight, sharp nose.

## The Irony of Fate

WALT Whitman invented a new style of poetry whose message was democracy and whose form was rough and uncouth, hoping to reach the masses of the people even tho he displeased the aesthetes and professional literary critics.

The result was that he is ranked as the greatest American poet by the most super-refined European litterateurs but he is not read at all by the masses.

Barnard made a statue of Lincoln, appealing in its crude realism to the sympathies of the common man rather than to the verdict of the schools.

The result was that the people jeered at the statue thru

the thousand voices of the press, but the professional art critics hailed it as a great work of art.

Swift wrote some bitter satires on the politics of his day under the symbolic form of the adventures of Gulliver. Symbolism, satire—the two most ultra-adult forms of literature.

The result was that his book became a classic of childhood.

Stevenson wrote some simple verses to embody the thoughts and sentiments of childhood.

The result was that he won the applause of all the adults.

A genius is bound to hit somebody but he may not hit the audience at which he aimed.

## American Barbarism

HENRY Lowry, a negro self-confessed murderer, was burned at the stake on January 27 near Memphis, Tennessee. The mob of 600 who took him from the custody of the law poured oil on him several times during his forty minutes of agony before death came. The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* reports the negro "suffered terrible torture." There was not the slightest danger that the law if left to its course would have failed to mete out justice. But when crimes by members of one race on members of another are committed it has now become customary in the United States for mobs to take the law into their own hands. In this respect the United States is the most barbarous nation in the world today.

# Common Sense and Utopia

## By Preston Slosson

OF all the strange delusions which fall like a bewildering curse about the minds of men the worst, no doubt, is the tendency to contrast the "idealist" and the "practical man." But an idealist is simply a man who knows what he wants, and this is assuredly the cornerstone of practical politics. If a man says, "I want to go to Chicago," and buys a ticket on the railroad going there, he is a practical man. But if he simply says to the ticket agent: "Now, I am a plain, practical man. None of your nonsense about ultimate goals for me. I am satisfied with one step at a time, and I don't care much in what direction it is, so long as I can travel in comfort. Just give me a lower berth on the next train that pulls out, and be sure that my baggage is all in good shape—" he would be regarded as a somewhat eccentric gentleman of leisure. In the same way, when Plato says "I want the sort of world described in my *Republic*," or Sir Thomas More says "Give me a ticket to *Utopia*," or Sir Francis Bacon says "I wish to have the *New Atlantis* realized so far as is humanly possible," they are much more practical than the politician who says: "Now the great thing is the success of the party in the next election; I don't care what the issues are, fix up any sort of platform that will catch votes." To be always thinking about ends and never about means makes the dreamer; but to be always thinking about means and never about the ends for which alone those means are good makes the fool. Both extremes are to be avoided, but it is better to work with a design and imperfect tools, than to have a fine set of tools and not know how or why they are to be used.

All common sense politics and economics, then, must rest on our idea of Utopia; the word being used in the sense of "the sort of world we want to bring about." If we agree with Ruskin that industrial and mechanical civilization is evil, we are fools to waste our time over new inventions and the organization of railway companies. If we agree with Mr. Wells that what we want is the World State, it is sheer waste of energy to go on piling up competitive armaments and inflaming national rivalries when we ought to be hammering away at the structure of the League of Nations. If we agree with Nietzsche that pity is a weakness and democracy a delusion, we cannot in common reason give money to hospitals or raise a fuss about the imperfections of the party primary. No action can possibly be either good or bad, or have any sense or meaning whatever, unless it is related in some way to what somebody desires life to be like, to somebody's "ideal" in short. A civilization that is not progressive, that is not deriving its energies of life from some dream of the future, is no longer a civilization; it is only a habit, the blind repetition of acts which once meant something to the men of creative imagination who founded that civilization.

Every time you do anything important you should check up your act with your ultimate ideal; and if they do not match either you are doing something foolish or your ideal has proved unsatisfactory. If you vote, what you are doing is to impress your will to the extent of your power on the political future of your country, and if your will is not really a will but simply a whim or a prejudice or a chance mood your ballot is like a bullet fired by a blind man—as great a menace to what you love as to what you hate. If you shoot a real bullet at somebody, either in war or revolution, it should only be because you honestly feel that the future will be brighter if your cause is triumphant. If you are lucky enough to be rich you have no right to fling about large sums of money without thought, because they represent the labor of many men; by the way you invest or spend your money you are altering the nature of human industry. Thus an endowment to a college is a millionaire's way of saying: "I think it for the good of the country that a large part of the productive energies of America should be diverted from their present channels and spent in cultivating the higher reaches of the mind"; the purchase of a diamond necklace is a way of saying: "It seems well to me that many men should spend their lives searching the deserts for diamonds"; a gift to the party funds means: "I will that a certain number of journalists, printers and other men of divers crafts should leave less important things to carry on propaganda for the Repubocrats." That is what is meant by "the responsibility of wealth"; but we all have it to the degree in which we own and spend.

Sometimes people of a very pious turn say that in everything they do they ask themselves: "Is this part of a Christian life?" Too often such people conceive the Christian life narrowly, but they have the root of the matter in them. A whole community which tries to behave like Christians would be something more than a number of good people; it would be a Christian commonwealth. Not only the individual life but the nation would wear a halo of consecration. So it is not nonsense to think and write of the millennium as a real possibility of the future, tho doubtless of a very distant future. Certainly the man who acts on the assumption that everyone is already Christian, as the Quakers and Tolstoyans would have us do, is laying himself open to some very rude surprizes. But he is no more impractical than the man who is always talking about "human nature" as something unchangeable. Human nature was once ape nature, the evolutionists say. It will be superhuman nature in another age. Nothing is more docile than the future if it is handled right. But no one can handle the future to any effect unless he knows what he wants to do with it. Before we build the future we need architects' plans; in very general outline doubtless and subject to later correction and change, but still definite enough to start on. And the architects of the social sciences are the Utopians. Pity it is that they are so few and that so many of them do not understand their business! The dreamer needs advice and criticism from practical men if his dreams are to be related to realities; but no man is so impractical as he who thinks to get along without vision because some men of vision are rather visionary.

# The Story of the Week

## The New Jerusalem

THE text of the mandate over Palestine allotted to Great Britain by the Allied Supreme Council has been given to the press. The terms of the mandate will be submitted to the next meeting of the League of Nations Council for approval.

By the terms of the mandate Great Britain is given sovereign power over Palestine and is made "responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of a Jewish national home and the development of self-governing institutions and the safe-guarding of the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants irrespective of race or religion." "The Zionist Organization . . . shall in consultation with the Government secure the coöperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of a Jewish national home." Jewish immigration and settlement shall be fostered. Great Britain as a mandatary Power controls the foreign relations of Palestine and extends diplomatic protection to Palestinian citizens—whether Jews or not—abroad. The "holy places" of Christians and Moslems are protected by the mandatary, the free exercize of religion guaranteed, and "No discrimination shall be allowed in behalf of any race, religion or language, each community being entitled to schools conducted in its own language." English, Arabic and Hebrew are recognized as official languages; but money and stamps will be marked in Arabic and Hebrew only. The Court of International Justice will have power to interpret doubtful questions regarding the terms of the British mandate.

Thus the captivity of Zion is redeemed and a new rule established over the most historic land in the world. But the problems the Palestinian Government must confront are very great. Altho there has never ceased to be "a remnant of Israel" living in the old Jewish homeland and to this original Jewish element has been added numerous colonies of Zionist immigrants both before and after the war, yet the bulk of the population is Arabian by language and Mohammedan by religion. There are also numerous communities of Christians, not important in size but representing a wide variety of sects; hostile to each other and not at all friendly to the Jews. All three of the great Semitic religions, Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity have some of their most sacred places and monuments on Palestinian soil. The Jews themselves represent many countries and many versions of the Zionist ideal. Some Jews are of the most primitive and orthodox type; true Orientals in thought and custom. Others are brisk young idealists from western Europe and the United States; caring more for Palestine as a possible new experiment in Socialism than for reviving orthodoxy and the Mosaic law. Some colonists are profound students of Hebrew; to others Hebrew is a dead language and the familiar tongue of daily life is either Yiddish or one of the languages of modern Europe.




THE NEW JERUSALEM

This poster, symbolic of the return of the Jews to Zion, was drawn by Boardman Robinson for the campaign among Jewish residents in some four hundred cities of the United States to raise money for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Holy Land

One difficulty is less important than it used to be. The European Powers are no longer so jealous of each other's influence in Palestine as they were from the time of the Crusades down to the Crimean War, a war provoked partly by Russo-French rivalry over the custody of the "holy places" of Christianity. Russia as a Government no longer puts forth any claims, for most of the Bolsheviki are militant atheists and even the Jews among them are anti-Zionist. France has separated Church and State and no longer considers herself the champion of the Catholic creed in the Orient; she is more interested in Syria than in Palestine and has resigned her claims in the latter country to the British, altho endeavoring at the same time to have the Palestinian boundary drawn as far south as possible for the enlargement of Syria. Germany under the romantic Kaiser Wilhelm II took a great interest in Palestine, but as a result of the war it is no longer necessary to consider German wishes in the Near East, nor those of Austria. Turkey has lost all authority over Palestine and no one is interested in helping her regain it. Perhaps the greatest danger to the political future of the new State, apart from its internal racial and religious feuds, is the attitude of the Arabs. The Arabs dreamed during the war of welding all of the old Turkish Empire south of Asia Minor into an Arabic-speaking federation which would include Arabia proper and also Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. They have been bitterly disappointed that Mesopotamia and Palestine have been placed under British mandate, still more so that Syria has gone to France and most of all that Jewish colonization is to be encouraged amid the Arabs of Palestine. Their attitude is simply what would be termed in the United States "anti-immigration sentiment." But from the Jewish point of view Zionism is not immigration but a return to the old home, still dearly loved by the folk who have lived away from it for nearly a score of centuries.

## Eastern Europe

THE Allied Supreme Council has decided to recognize the independence of the two tiny Baltic republics of Latvia and Esthonia. Provisional governments have existed in this region ever since the collapse of the Russian Empire and the Bolshevist revolution. The British and French have been friendly enough to these governments, since they operated as a barrier between Germany on the one hand and Bolshevism on the other, but they have hitherto hesitated to grant them full diplomatic recognition such as has been accorded to Poland or to Finland. This is because they confi-

dently expected that Bolshevism would some day be overthrown in Russia and that the Russian Government which would then come into power would refuse to recognize the secession. President Wilson himself took this ground in the Colby note of last year, defining American policy with reference to Russia. The present action of the Supreme Council seems to indicate that the Allies are unwilling to continue to leave the Baltic region in political uncertainty to await the recovery of Russia. No doubt Latvia and Esthonia will soon be admitted to the League of Nations now that their independence has been established. The remaining Baltic republic which awaits recognition is Lithuania, and it is probable that the only impediment to the recognition of Lithuania is the difficulty of fixing its frontier toward Poland and especially of settling the status of the city of Vilna.

Latvia, or the country of the Letts, centers around the great seaport of Riga. The Lettish population of Russia before the war was about a million and a half, but there




THE GREAT BARRIER

**The recognition of Latvia and Esthonia marks another stage in the building of the dike of friendly states to keep the flood of Bolshevism from sweeping into central Europe**

are also many Germans settled in the Latvian towns and on the old feudal estates. The Letts are close akin by race and language to the Lithuanians, and it is perhaps surprizing that there has been little movement toward political union between these peoples such as has welded together the Czechs and the Slovaks, the Serbs and the Croats. The Esths or Esthonians number about a million. They are close akin to the Finns and would probably have joined Finland except for the broad barrier of the Gulf of Finland lying between the two countries. Esthonia also has its German minority which used to form a dominant upper class. Today both Latvia and Esthonia have radical governments and are at work breaking up the great estates of the German "Baltic barons" into peasant holdings. They have suffered much from Bolshevist attempts to introduce the Soviet form of government by force of arms, but with some aid from England and France they have repelled successive invasions and have made treaties with Soviet Russia establishing their independence and defining their frontiers.

The death of Bolshevism has been so frequently announced that accounts of critical conditions in Russia must be received with some suspension of judgment. But there are several signs of weakness. There is the successful resistance of the little republic of Georgia in the Caucasus to Bolshevist attempts at reconquest. There is the failure of Soviet Russia to send aid even to that portion of Armenia which has accepted Soviet rule and Lenin's confession that "For the present Armenian territorial aspirations must be sacrificed to the interest of world revolution." There is the recent repudiation of Lenin's program by the Socialist parties in Italy and Switzerland. There is the recent successful reunion of Russian anti-Bolshevist parties at the Paris conference. Finally there is the fact, admitted by Lenin and observed by every visitor to Russia, of the decay of the great cities in which lay the strength of Bolshevism. Mr. Sack of the Russian Information Bureau in America declares that 13,000,000 people are on the verge of starvation in Russia. This may be a prejudiced over-estimate, but he cites figures from the Bolshevik daily *Pravda* indicating that during the first half of 1920 Russia produced only 12 per cent of the iron, 4 per cent of the steel, 20 per cent of the cotton and 25 per cent of the coal produced in the first six months of 1914.

Prince Kropotkin is reported to have died in Moscow recently. He was one of the most remarkable figures of his age: a member of the old nobility by origin, an anarchist by opinion, and a geographer by profession. His scientific works brought him world-wide fame among scientists and scholars and his revolutionary activities made him equally well known in other circles. After the revolution of 1917 he returned to Russia, but he opposed the Bolshevist policy of a separate peace with Germany, believing that the liberties of the world required a victory of liberal France and Britain over the German autocracy. Altho an anarchist communist in theory, his opinions on foreign policy made coöperation impossible between him and the new rulers of Russia and he died in neglect and poverty.

## Pilsudski at Paris

MARSHAL Pilsudski, President of the Republic of Poland, has gone to France to work out the details of foreign policy in coöperation with French statesmen. There is an old tradition of friendship between the two countries, founded in part on a common hostility to Germany, and France has ardently championed Polish interests ever since the armistice. No formal alliance is sought, but rather an *entente* or friendly understanding between the foreign offices of the two countries. The only public announcement which has been made runs simply:

> The two governments of France and Poland, being equally anxious to safeguard their security and the peace of Europe, have recognized once more the common interests which unite these two friendly countries. They agree to confirm their intention to coördinate their efforts and to this end closely to maintain contact for the defense of their interests.

That is diplomatic language indeed and the reader is free to interpret it as he likes. A French newspaper calls this general agreement "stronger than a written alliance"; and it may be right since the Great War showed that the informal *entente* between England and France held more firmly than the formal written alliance between Germany and Italy.

Poland is in need of friends and is wise in seeking French good will. Except in the extreme south, along the Carpathians, and in the extreme north, where it reaches the Baltic, Poland is without defensible frontiers. It is not nationally homogeneous, as within its borders live large mi-

norities of Germans, Jews and Ukrainians. With Germany it is at enmity and will remain so until the Germans abandon their hopes of reconquering their lost provinces in the east and accept the Treaty of Versailles as a final settlement. Moreover, there is the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, still to be held, to keep inflamed German-Polish national rivalry. Lithuania and Poland have a dispute over the city of Vilna. The Russian Bolsheviki have been driven out of Poland, but would unquestionably renew their invasion at the first opportunity. Poland wishes from France assurances of protection against the hostility of 60,000,000 Germans and 100,000,000 (more or less) Russians in Bolshevized territory. As an additional security against the Bolshevist menace, Poland has negotiated a treaty of alliance with Rumania. Prince Sapieha, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, "let the cat out of the bag" when he admitted that "the Bolsheviki will not be long in learning that to touch Rumania means to touch Poland also." Poland's economic difficulties are at present greater than the political peril. As a result of the Russo-Polish war the Poles are dictating a victorious peace to the Bolsheviki, but they have not recovered from the devastation which the war inflicted on them and many thousands of Polish children are still fed by American charity.

## Irish Topics

ORANGE Ireland has a new leader. Sir Edward Carson, who for eleven years has led the Ulster Unionist party, formally resigned his office on February 4 on the ground of advancing age. Sir James Craig was selected as his successor. Ulster has made up its mind to accept the separate Parliament offered it under the new Home Rule law, but is still reluctant to seek union with southern Ireland. Sir Edward Carson puts it that "There can be no possible commencement of an approach between the North and the South of Ireland until the South and the West abandon the horrible methods they have pursued and now are pursuing."

In the meantime civil war continues with hardly any abatement of violence thruout the southern counties of Ireland. A Sinn Fein officer has issued a statement as to the present organization and military policy of the revolutionary army. He threatens "further extension and intensification of our operations in all parts of the country." He said that there was no shortage of men, ammunition or funds for carrying on the rebellion. The size of the forces engaged differs according to the local character of the country. Where the population is unfriendly or sparsely settled the revolutionists operate in small, isolated groups, but normally in companies of about one hundred men, each company furnishing its own engineering and artillery force. In some areas these companies are formed into battalions and brigades and form the "regular army." He admitted that if the Sinn Fein army were to take the field openly it would be quickly annihilated, but he claimed that the present guerrilla tactics were not futile. "We hit them without being hit," he said. "Our methods are undermining the morale of all the Crown forces."

Roger Sweetman has resigned from membership in the Dail Eireann (Sinn Fein Parliament) because of the decision of Sinn Fein to continue the war to the end without attempting conciliation with the British Government. This may mark the beginning of a schism in the revolutionary ranks. De Valera, however, continues to refuse any negotiations that do not start from the premise that Ireland is an independent nation and he sent a message to the Dail Eireann urging "the duty of perseverance." Cardinal Logue, Primate of Ireland, and a number of Catholic bishops have sent out Lenten pastoral letters condemning the secret ambushing of policemen as plain murder, but at the same time protesting against the repressive tactics used by the police "such as has been unknown in Ireland since the days of Cromwell." Cardinal Logue protested especially against the searching of churches and convents by the military authorities.

It cannot be denied that the work of military repression has been carried on not only with severity but with a considerable measure of stupidity. An example of this is the recent arrest and fining of Lord Dunsany for owning arms and ammunition on his premises. Lord Dunsany is not only a dramatist of world-wide reputation (which might not make him harmless politically) but he is a wounded veteran of the Great War and an ardent opponent of Sinn Fein. His "arms" were shotguns for hunting on the Dunsany estate!

The British Government has prepared a "blue book" or official publication containing the evidence of secret negotiations among the Irish Sinn Feiners, the German Government and the Irish and German sympathizers in the United States during the course of the Great War. Little of the material is new, as a good deal was brought out by our secret service and published here about the time the United States entered the war, and other evidence was brought out by the British in the Casement trial and after the Easter rebellion of 1916. The documents in the blue book prove conclusively that at all stages of the war active Sinn Feiners in Ireland and in the United States were working for the victory of Germany over the Allies, hoping to gain the independence of Ireland thru the crushing of the British Empire.

## Spring Styles in Armament

CONGRESS is busy looking over the military establishment of the nation to find out where cuts can best be spared. Two things are clear: the Government must either reduce expenditures or find new revenues, and that no considerable reduction can be made in expenditure until the appropriations for the army and navy are reduced. It is this rather than abstract pacifist sentiment which led Congress to halt recruiting for the army and is now inspiring investigations as to the real needs of the navy. The champions of economy are making a particular attack on the big battleship because it is the most costly military instrument known. The cost of a single modern battleship would "keep" a nation in aircraft or submarines, and the relative efficiency of warcraft that fight on, over and under the water is an open question much disputed by naval experts.

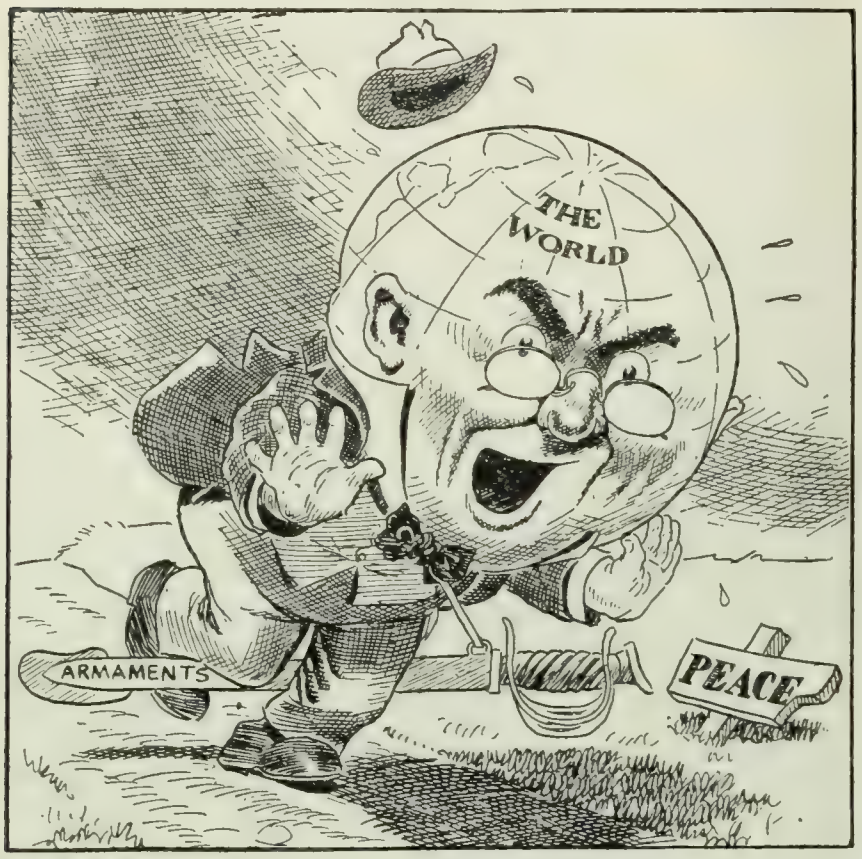
Brigadier General Mitchell, testifying before a committee of the House of Representatives, expounded the possibilities of modern airplanes. He said that any ship in existence could be destroyed with aerial bombs and that in a




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**They daren't let go!**

test attack aircraft 5000 feet up made 11 per cent of hits on the old battleship "Indiana." He said that in another war a foe supplied with airships carrying poison gas cylinders could wipe out an American city. Two tons of "crying gas" dumped on New York City every eight days would "make everybody wear gas masks and goggles"; seventy tons of mustard gas every eight days would keep the city covered; two hundred tons of phosgene would kill off the whole population.




*Wahl in Sacramento Bee*

**The stumbling block**

Similar discussions have arisen in England. Sir Percy Scott ironically hints that if battleships are to be built in the future it would be necessary not only to keep them at home in protected harbors to prevent submarine attack, but to roof in those harbors against hostile aircraft! Several British writers on naval policy have expressed the opinion that if Germany had invested in more submarines the price of a single battleship prior to the Great War the attempted submarine blockade of Great Britain might have succeeded and Germany have dictated peace to the Allies.

Secretary Daniels, supported by the opinion of the General Board of the United States Navy, holds on the contrary that the battleship is still the backbone of national defense. The report of the General Board points out that the submarine, altho effective against slow-moving and unprotected merchant ships, has not yet outmatched the battleship in actual combat, and that the elaborate plans for aerial torpedoes and bombs to be launched from airplanes were still in the experimental stage. The Board favors the completion of the naval building program authorized in 1916 before any agreement as to limitation of armament.

The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs has made an adverse report on Senator Borah's proposal to suspend for six months the naval construction already authorized. The arguments of the admirals who favored "big ships" convinced the majority of the committee; Senator King of Utah alone voting to halt building until the relative merits of the battleship, submarines and aircraft were more fully ascertained.

Chairman Butler of the House Naval Affairs Committee has announced that President Harding intends to invite other nations to a disarmament conference in the United States. Most of the military and naval experts who have recently testified before the House and Senate committees have favored limitation of armaments by agreement with other nations. General Pershing and Admiral Sims, who had exceptional opportunities to get in touch with the mind of European statesmen during the war, believed that other nations would welcome such an agreement, but thought that the United States could not disarm in advance of an understanding with other Powers.

In addition to determining the scale and type of preparedness for possible future wars, Congress is continuing its investigations of the war already fought. The House Committee on War Department Expenditures reports that the army warehouses and depots are still stored with $6,000,000,000 worth of unsold surplus war materials. The purchase of leather goods during the war was largely controlled by leather tanners and producers who made unequal bargains with the War Department. Two army officers are accused of disposing of surplus leather goods to their own profit. Charles G. Dawes, former Brigadier General and Chief of Supply Procurement in France, effectively answered the charge that the $400,000,000 obtained for war supplies purchased by France from American surplus stocks was an insufficient sum. He said that England lost billions of dollars by holding out for high prices and that "they are raising the devil in England now because England did not sell its supplies when we sold." What France paid was in his opinion more than reasonable. He also defended the army against the charge of overbuying in France by pointing out the extreme emergency which made costs an altogether secondary consideration. In his picturesque fashion he declared that "we would have paid horse prices for sheep if the sheep could have pulled artillery to the front" and "Oh, it's all right now to say that we bought too much vinegar and too many cold chisels, but we saved the civilization of the world." He said that "Considering everything the record of accomplishment of the War Department in getting ready for war was a greater accomplishment than that of France or Great Britain in the same period of time," and warned the Congressmen that they would be better employed reducing the waste and inefficiency of the civil government at Washington than in finding fault with General Pershing and his subordinates. Mr. Dawes's frank and vivacious testimony attracted great public attention, and many heard with regret his statement that he was not a candidate for any office, as they had hoped he would be the next Secretary of the Treasury.

## Congress Votes Small Army

ALTHO the authorized strength of the United States army is 280,000 and the present enlisted strength about 225,000, both branches of Congress have taken action to reduce the army to a maximum of 175,000 men. President Wilson attempted to halt the disarmament movement by vetoing the Congressional joint resolution, but the House and the Senate promptly repassed the resolution over his veto. In his veto message the President pointed out that "a mere discontinuance of enlistment would, for a long time, preserve the staff corps disproportionately enlisted and the combatant corps insufficiently manned to maintain the instruction and training which ought to be assured if an army of 175,000 men is to be efficient in proportion to its aggregate number." He pointed out that it was only a few months since the War Department had recommended an army of 500,000 men and Congress had agreed to authorize a strength of 280,000, and "I am not able to see in the condition of the world at large or in the needs of the United States any such change as would justify the restriction" imposed by Congress on new enlistments.

The House of Representatives overrode the President's veto by the overwhelming vote of 271 to 16. In the Senate the vote stood 67 to 1; the President's only supporter being Senator Kirby, Democrat, of Arkansas. In consequence of the action of Congress, Secretary of War Baker

has ordered the complete cessation of army recruiting. No recruits will be received, except those who have previous periods of enlistment to their credit, until the army has been reduced to the new maximum of 175,000.

## Restoring the Donkey

THE attempt to revive the Democratic party is beginning with a factional row. Fifty-five of the 108 members of the National Committee have joined in a petition requesting George White, the chairman, "to call a meeting of the Democratic National Committee to be held Tuesday, March 1, at St. Louis, or some other centrally located point in order that the forces of progress may be organized for continued constructive, patriotic action in the succeeding four years." That sounds harmless enough, but it has been interpreted by the friends of Chairman White as an attempt to wrest the control of the national party machinery from those now at the top, and this interpretation is partly justified by a reference in the petition to the forthcoming retirement of Chairman White "which he announced shortly after November 2" of last year. In spite of the courteous phrasing of the letter, it is commonly considered an unfriendly act in politics to take for granted a man's retirement unless he brings up the subject himself, and Chairman White has recently stated that "Conditions have changed since last fall, when I said I might retire." Ex-Speaker Champ Clark and Representative Flood have issued statements defending Chairman White and opposing any movement to force his resignation or to take the party control out of his hands. Mr. Clark declares that there is no need for an early meeting of the whole National Committee as "the only question pressing for solution now is paying off the deficit in campaign expenses," and it is too early to forecast the issues and candidates which may arise before the next elections.

Behind the fight over the chairmanship of the National Committee loom vaster issues. Chairman White was the personal selection of Governor Cox, and politicians believe that the real question is one between the Cox men and the McAdoo men. Enthusiastic friends of Mr. Cox believe that he is still a Presidential possibility for 1924 and that his overwhelming defeat in the recent election does not discredit him since it would have occurred to any other candidate who could have been nominated. Those who opposed the Cox nomination at the 1920 Democratic convention think that the time has come for the party to seek new leaders. The illness of President Wilson and the maverick tendencies of Mr. Bryan have deprived the Democrats of the only two dominating national leaders they have had since President Cleveland, and the party must content itself with such lesser captains as came to the front in 1920 until new issues bring new men. At present it is hardly unjust to say that the Democratic party has fallen into the position of a mere passive opposition, waiting till some blunder of the incoming Harding Administration or of the Republican majority in Congress gives the party a chance to resume the offensive.

## Clearing Skies in Cuba

MAJOR General Crowder has thus far succeeded in his Cuban mission. The Cuban Congress promptly passed the legislation which he suggested to amend the electoral law by giving the Central Electoral Board the power to call for simultaneous elections in all cases where new elections must be held either because the November election was not properly held or because the Supreme Court has found fraud or error in the returns. These elections will take place about the first of March. The difficulty with the November election was that the Liberal party, finding itself defeated, brought up an endless series of contests before the courts and it was feared that with their usual dilatory methods the Cuban courts would not have rendered a decision in all cases before May 20, 1921, the date when the old presidential term expires. Indeed, the partizans of Dr. Alfredo Zayas, who was elected on the face of the returns, declared that the opposition had brought contests for the very purpose of delaying the beginning of the new Administration.

General Crowder has also been conducting negotiations respecting the financial situation of Cuba. The moratorium decreed last October ended by the beginning of February and new arrangements were made by which Cuban merchants, hard hit by the collapse of the sugar boom, could pay off their debts gradually. Merchants have 105 days to liquidate their obligations, paying off in fixed instalments, and banks 135 days. But all payments must be met on the specified dates or the whole debt becomes due at once. Machinery has also been provided for the liquidation of banks and commercial houses obliged to suspend payments; the law being based on the law governing Federal receiverships in the United States.

President Menocal complimented General Crowder not only on the important work he had done in straightening out the political and financial tangles in which the Cuban republic had been involved, but on the tactful manner in which he had done his work and the respect he had shown for Cuban sovereignty and dignity. President Menocal's statement should be a source of pride to every American, for it shows that our Government has men at its command who can deal with turbulent and sensitive Latin American countries in such a way as to gain their good will as well as their confidence:

> The laws passed by the Congress, with the greatest zeal and purest patriotism and now sanctioned by me, to solve the financial crisis and to assure the efficient enforcement of the electoral code have been the result of the initiative and free deliberation of the collective bodies profoundly impressed by the exigencies of a situation each day becoming more difficult in both aspects, with the noble and properly given advice of General Crowder, not alone in his character of representative and from the point of view of the interests of his Government, but as an old and proved friend of Cuba and co-author of said code and of various of our most important political laws.
>
> It is my duty to do plain justice to the delicacy, tact and high respect for our sovereignty and institutions of which he is continually giving proof, and to the worth of his frank and circumspect collaboration in the legislative labors of which it has been considered opportune to take advantage.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Helping him to paddle his own canoe**

# A Little of Everything



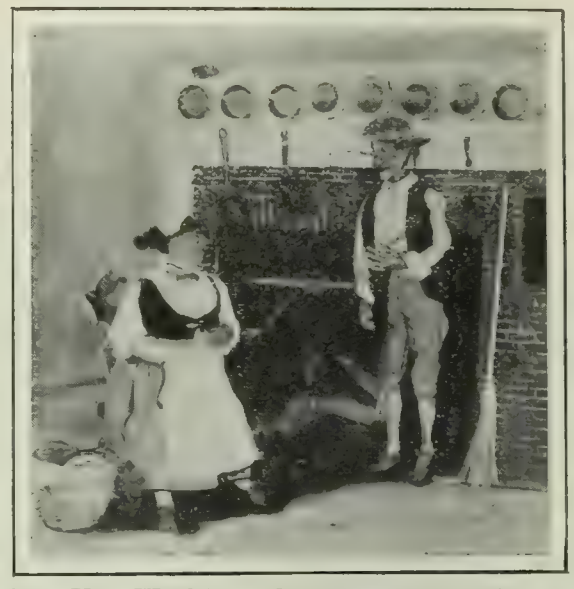
## Alice in Puppetland

Ten chances to one you buy your ticket for your first experience of Tony Sarg's Marionettes with that comfortable feeling of patronizing "an interesting experiment." You go, and take your seat, and find yourself witnessing a delightfully finished achievement. The gay chintz curtains part, and before you on their little stage the quaint small figures of the puppets work and eat and sleep, quarrel and make love, with such nimble bright expressiveness that, in your fascinated interest, the difference between you and the wide-eyed children all about you is remarkably leveled out. You understand why, with a run of several successful seasons in New York behind them, and a repertory that includes "Rip Van Winkle," Thackeray's "Rose and the Ring," and a bill of playlets for children, Tony Sarg's Marionettes may no longer be patronized.

But even if they are, by their own standard, comfortably far past the experiment stage, any puppets at all are still enough of an experiment upon the tastes of the American theater-going public to make it worth while to go into the subject and behind the scenes. Of course, "the power behind the scenes" is thoroly human. Tony Sarg, illustrator and cartoonist, has been the patron of the marionette troupe since he designed the first dolls for his own amusement, some years ago. Then there are the eight or ten puppeteers who, from above the stage, work the strings that work the dolls—from twenty to thirty strings for each doll—and speak the puppets' lines for them; also, beside tending to these special needs of the puppets, take care of full-grown theatrical problems of lighting, scene-shifting, and management of properties. It takes months of hard work to make a skilled puppeteer.

The marionettes themselves average about two feet in hight. They are made of wood for the most part—except, for instance, in the case of the singing lady with the heaving chest! Each one is so elaborately jointed and weighted that there is practically nothing that an accomplished puppeteer cannot make it do. In the troupe are jugglers with their painted balls, dancers, horsemen, musicians, sly wags who wink their eyes and flirt—to say nothing of frisking dogs, sinuous snakes, and Rip Van Winkle's pig. They are dolls equipped to lead a rich and varied life, and this in a charmingly characteristic environment. Settings are effectively artistic in color and design, and the most unimportant of the diminutive properties quaint and individual.

When all is said about the mystifying technical ingenuity of the performance, there is still left for your wonder the extraordinary illusion that this queer drama creates. As the play begins, you are merely curious and detached; you are quite aware that you



**Rip Van Winkle and his scolding wife, in their enviable old-fashioned kitchen**

are seeing jointed dolls on strings, ridiculously small to be trying to act like people—that the voices you are hearing come not from them but from plain human beings hidden somewhere round the corner. In an impossibly short time all these facts cease to exist for you. The strange little creatures begin to live and speak, not, to be sure, as people live and speak, but in a special, independent way of their own that is quite as real, and full of an odd charm that is not in human behavior. You stop comparing, and accept.

The illusion is hard to account for. The general explanation is in the perfect harmony and self-consistency of the performance. No trivial detail is allowed to escape from the character of the general scheme and remind you of the character of things on the human side of the footlights. The small, queer music that is used—for instance, the thin, quaint sound of the clavinette—is like a veil between the play and the intrusion of the life-sized logical daylight world.



**Mr. Tony Sarg and some of his gifted troupe. This gives a good idea of the relative size of the puppets, and also shows the maze of strings by which the unseen powers above the stage control the dolls' actions**

## Bats for House Pets

A bat is an affectionate creature, and will attach itself to a person as does a kindly and intelligent dog. Professor John Stall of the Union Pacific College tells of his pet bats, who came and went as they pleased. In the evening they would rush thru the window into the neighboring garden, hunt insects, and when their hunger was appeased, return to his room.

He says: "They slept on my bookshelf, where they suspended themselves from a dictionary. At the present time I possess a bat that shows a touching attachment to my person, and follows me about thru the rooms of my house."

The experience of Professor Stall

seems to prove the theory that the ear of the bat is not only susceptible to a high and shrill sound, but also to the lower sounds of the human voice. Knowing that it is called, the creature is able to tell the difference between different shades and accents.

The professor describes how when he talks pleasantly to it, his present favorite raises and lowers its ears, much after the manner of a horse, blinks its eyes in a contented fashion, licks its nozzle with its tongue, and, in general, disports itself in a manner that shows it is pleased and contented. But when harshly spoken to, it lays back its ears, shrinks away, and seeks to escape by climbing up the curtains. "When I sit by lamplight in the morning, working at my desk, I can hardly get rid of it. It goes rambling about the desk or climbing up my legs, or else it sits on the curtain and endeavors by violent shakings of the head and shrill twittering to excite my attention and to obtain w o r m s—its usual food—thereby.

"Its appetite is uncanny. This special favorite of the company has been known to take readily forty large fat worms at one meal, hardly pausing."

## A Scorcher of the Skies

The Lowell observatory in Flagstaff, Arizona, has held a stop watch on the fastest moving object ever discovered. The spiral nebula cataloged as Number 584, Dreyer's catalog, constellation of Cetus (remember this license number in case you wish to prefer a charge of breaking the speed limit against this whirling bit of star dust), is flying thru the heavens at the rate of 2000 kilometers a second. An airplane going at this speed would circumnavigate the earth at the equator in less than half a minute. The spiral nebulæ are the swiftest moving objects in the known universe, but no one has ever before been detected scooting thru the heavens at much more than half the speed of 584-Dreyer-Cetus. Most stars move slowly and sedately along at about 100 kilometers a second. What is perhaps rather humiliating to us earth dwellers is the fact that 584-Dreyer-Cetus is moving in the direction *away from* our own earth and sun.

Of course the speed of light, which is nearly 300,000 kilometers a second, makes the speed of the spiral nebulæ seem insignificant. But light does not have to "carry weight," whereas the nebulæ, tho perhaps an extremely diffuse and tenuous form of matter, are none the less material objects of quite considerable ponderosity. So until we get later news from the celestial racetracks we can state that the spiral nebula in Cetus is the speediest thing coming down the "celestial pike."



*Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

**A Cretan fashion plate from 1800-1600 B. C. There is something positively mid-Victorian about the wide skirts and pompous bonnet of this ancient terra cotta figure found in what was evidently a shrine, in Petsofa tomb for the next**

## By-Play

The Federal civil service employs 691,116 men and women in 1700 kinds and grades of work.

***

A woman in Danville, Illinois, went on a hunger strike to compel her husband to attend church.

***

Pennsylvania State College has established a course of "Cookery for Men" in its Home Economics Department.

***

The New York City subways carried over 586,000,000 passengers in 1920; a number greater than the entire population of Europe.

***

In 1920 new business concerns were incorporated to the value of nearly fourteen billion dollars; surpassing the record of all previous years.

***

A local publisher in Topeka, Kansas, shortly before he died, directed that the paper be delivered regularly at his twenty years.

***

The Federal Civil Service Commission estimates that one person out of every 159 in the United States is on the Government civil service payroll.

***

Two bottles of beer, one dark and one light, have been placed in the Public Museum of Milwaukee so that posterity can see what used to be the great beverage of the municipality.

***

An Indianapolis bank estimates that with a college education a child has one chance in 173 to become distinguished, with a high school education one chance in 1606, with a common school education one chance in 40,841, with no schooling one chance in 161,290.

## A Complex of College Presidents

This has been an anxious year for colleges. They were in the plight of the old woman who lived in her shoe as regards students, but they were short on presidents. A few months ago there were more than fifty institutions, including some of the greatest universities of the country, in an acephalous condition. Most of these vacancies have now been filled and it occurred to Professor Frank Pierrepont Graves, the new editor of the *Educational Review*, to combine their photographs into a composite portrait which would represent the average or typical American college president. The picture is herewith reproduced so that committees of trustees on a sleuth-hunt for a president may recognize him when they see him. Aspirants to such a position may paste the portrait in their mirrors so they can daily compare it with their own reflection and so gradually adapt their features or at least expressions to the norm. Those who neither want a college president nor want to be one may exercize their skill in character reading from physiognomy on the picture.

Further specifications of the typical college executive show that he, like the national president, is more apt to be born in Ohio than any other state. This is natural since Ohio has more colleges to the square mile than any other state. Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois in this order may with most probability dispute his birthplace with Ohio. He was probably educated in either Ohio or Massachusetts. His age at inauguration is forty-six to forty-eight. He is a big man physically as well as mentally, of the build known in the Episcopal and Methodist churches as "bishop timber," some six feet tall and weighing over 180. His dark brown hair is beginning to gray or thin at the temples, but he is not bald. He needs glasses, if not all the time at least for long reading or fine print. He is usually clean-shaven and has a firm mouth and strong chin in which, however, there is a suspicion of a dimple. He is not the pale, bent, absent-minded, scholarly recluse of tradition, but an energetic and aggressive executive, with a mind of his own and not devoid of a sense of humor. Tho he is apt to be of New England stock, he does not look in the least like the Yankee or the Uncle Sam of the cartoons.



THE TYPICAL COLLEGE PRESIDENT

**This portrait is a combination of the photographs of eighteen recently appointed executives of American colleges and universities, as follows: Morgan of Antioch, Gray of Bates, Hutchins of Berea, Hicks of Cincinnati, Gage of Coe, Hullihen of Delaware, Holden of John Milliken University, Moore of Lake Forest, Burton of Michigan, Coffman of Minnesota, Chase of North Carolina, Voelker of Olivet, Smith of Roanoke, Ogilby of Trinity, Bailey of Vermont, Tulloss of Wittenberg, Penniman of Pennsylvania and Lindley of Kansas**

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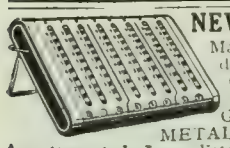
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# Should Sunday Be Kept or Spent?

(*Continued from page 181*)

hour's work. They attend church on Sunday morning. There is no provision made for the children's occupation during the balance of the time. All the rules of the day begin with Don't. The first rule is, "Don't whistle."

The result has proved to be most disastrous for this family. Instead of Sunday being the Lord's Day, it proved to be the devil's day. Some of the boys have now grown to maturity. Their doings fill pages in the court records. I think that I trace their failure to the hours of forced idleness in the Sundays of their youth.

CHAS. W. HURD.

*Las Animas, Colorado.*

Some set aside practically the entire day for worship and religious service:

The following statements are my ideas of what is the right way to use Sunday:

"Before we eat our breakfast, we should read the word of God."

"At the regular hour for Sabbath School always have your place there, unless sickness prevents."

"If preaching service follows immediately after Sabbath School, remain till the service is over."

There are many ways in which we might use the Sabbath evening.

"If we have a young people's union attend it." If not, visit some of our neighbors or friends who have been neglecting their duties toward church and Sunday School, and encourage them to come back the next Sunday. Probably one of the members of our Sunday School, Young People's Union, or one of the organizations of the church may have been ill. If so carry them flowers, or something that will cheer them up."

"At night we should attend whatever social there is, and also stay for preaching."

ETNA STEGALL.

*Theodore, Alabama.*

And from a sixteen year old girl in Moorehead, Minnesota, whose letter breathes a most fervent devotional spirit:

Then what can we do on Sunday? Anyone who has the sweet love of God in his heart has no trouble in answering this. He gets up early Sunday morning and gets down on his knees and thanks God for the blessed day. He often has a beautiful hymn on his lips during his necessary morning work. He goes to church in the morning, perhaps, and stays for Sunday School. After dinner he goes to a jail meeting or to visit some needy or sick person. He comes home where he has many good books to read and can't find time for them all. After supper he goes to evening services. He uses all spare time for the study of the blessed Bible and for private prayer. At the close of the day he kneels and thanks God for all the blessings of the day; as he rises he has such a sweet calm feeling that God is with him and he is ready for His coming at any moment.

But at the opposite extreme we find a reader who got more benefit from a Sunday ball game than from the church service:

One Sunday morning last summer I went to church.

A solemn-faced usher led me down the aisle to a pew where the end seat was "hogged" by a grouchy-looking old man who never budged a knee as I crawled past him. I felt that, even tho in church, he was "cussing" me for disturbing him.

The service—perhaps it was an off Sunday, perhaps I wasn't in a receptive mood—but the music didn't inspire me and as I listened to the minister's prayer and sermon I kept wishing I were out in the open, in the warm sunshine—there was something stifling and depressing about that church that morning—or home reading a good book. How much more profitable, thought I, it is to read first rate literature than to listen to second rate sermons.

That Sunday afternoon I went to a ball game.

Washington was playing New York. Fifteen thousand coatless, noisy, good-natured fans, jammed into the stands, howled with glee when Babe Ruth clouted the ball over the fence—tickled to see him chalk up another homer even if it was costing the home team the game.

There was pop to drink and peanuts to eat and a man could puff at a good cigar in peace. A wild-eyed "bug" in front of me yelled "Kill the umpire." But everyone knew he didn't mean it. That man wouldn't have harmed a fly. He showed that he loved life too well, believed in being happy and making others happy. He probably treated his wife and kiddies better than the grouchy-looking old man who "hogged" the end seat at church. The fan at the ball game was happy, happier I'm sure than the grouchy-looking old man at church.

"BERT SNYDER."

*Washington, D. C.*

Some think the remedy for this sort of thing is an improvement in the church service itself:

There should be some improvement on the old form of worship.

An up-to-date library and a large, comfortable reading room should be connected with each church. Moving pictures of unquestionable value should be used as a part of the program for the evening services. A church service can be modernized without destroying the sacredness of it.

CLINTON HILLMAN.

*New Cumberland, W. Va.*

One of the most interesting experiences communicated to us was that of a lady who had tried the liberal Sunday and found it unsatisfactory:

First, I've fished on Sunday, yes, I've baited with worms and live minnows, too, and had good luck and always appeased my conscience by saying "The better the day, the bigger the fish." I have sewed a little on Sunday and I might have sewed more, but I don't like to sew. I have also crocheted a very pretty trimming for pillow cases on Sunday afternoon. I've made preserves, picked a chicken, washed an automobile and gone persimmon and pecan hunting on Sunday. I used to tell myself I could worship God underneath a weeping willow or beside a babbling brook just as well as I could inside a stuffy, hot church, but lately I realize if I could I didn't. Seriously and earnestly, observance of the Sabbath is the core of our civilization. Proper regard for the Sabbath is a vital thing. There is no worship of God but public worship.

MRS. E. C. LIMBOCKER.

*Dallas, Texas.*

In our collection there are some positively charming pictures of the "home Sunday," centering around the

hearthstone rather than either professional worship or amusement:

I go to church. I believe this is due to myself as well as to my Maker. I enjoy the music and I need the lofty thoughts and idealism of the service. It is real rest from the sordidness of every-day life.

Often we invite some one home with us for dinner. There is no hurry about dinner getting. We do it in a leisurely way and do not make a burden of it. Then if it's a fine day and the fancy pleases us, we pack a lunch and go out into the open, kodak in hand, to enjoy God's out-of-doors. Sometimes we walk and follow the woods and streams; sometimes we prefer the car and some distant beauty spot. Then back home, refreshed body and soul for the evening service.

Sometimes a group of friends gather at our house for an afternoon of music. We have spent some of the happiest hours this way. I would not exchange one such afternoon and its memories of sweet companionship with friends for all the noisy baseball games and sensational movies that an increasing number of people seem to enjoy for Sunday recreation.

If the days are cold or stormy, there are letters to write and books to read, or candy to make or corn to pop, in the cheery circle of home.

MISS F. PERL BEMIS.

*Estherville, Iowa.*

One interesting contrast is drawn between the needs of the Puritans and the needs of present day Americans by the pastor of the Church of the Ascension, New York City:

Today in America we are becoming more and more industrial and urban. With over 50 per cent of our population in the cities, there must not only be physical rest in the ordinary sense of freedom from labor—sleep, etc.—but there must be that form of rest which comes from change of employment, from relaxation, from pleasure, from out-of-door life; from contact with art, from the elevating touch of drama, music, etc.

Even the Pilgrim community in Leyden was so largely made up of small farmers from England, that they were not easily absorbed in the industrial life of Holland, which was one of the reasons for their emigration. They tried to reproduce a theocratic form of government under agricultural conditions, in America, and failed.

Their civic and theological program Dr. Charles Eliot considers to have been a failure. Under these circumstances why should we go back to the Puritans for anything except their courage, independence and conscience? We must not try to run all the various temperaments of our American life—which now embrace Orientals, Latins and Africans—within the Anglo-Saxon mold of a comparatively small sect, at a moment of revolt against civil and religious tyranny.

Our attitude toward religion and its institutions should be more congenial; less the result of revolt and more in accordance with the needs of human nature, than the Puritan Sunday reveals.

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

Another reader declares that a "sixteen-hour day" is almost too short for the reading, walking, visiting, correspondence and worship of the "day of rest" and that the day, which seems so empty to many is "So full, indeed, that I begrudge the time required for eating." Indeed, most of our readers, or those who have troubled to write to us, seem to have solved for themselves


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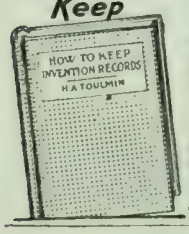
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the problem of "putting the sun in Sunday."

One class of people stand by themselves in the matter of Sabbath observance; those who believe in the Sabbath but do not indentify it with Sunday. There are many letters from Seventh-Day Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists who, like the Jews, observe Saturday as the Sabbath:

> Sunday blue laws will work a gross injustice to thousands of America's finest Christians who believe in the original Fourth Commandment, "But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, thy God." Sunday blue laws will force these pious and saintly Seventh Day friends to suspend their business on the first day of the week and since they must needs be true to their God and keep the Seventh Day, they will be forced to break the first part of the Commandment, "*Six* days shalt thou labor."
>
> Wouldn't it be more Christ-like for you who have changed the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday to change back since you have no scruples against changing from one day to the other, and our good Seventh Day friends have?
>
> R. McCULLAUGH.
> *Grand Rapids, Minn.*

## Did Profit-Sharing or the Union Fail?

(*Continued from page 180*)

on company time with teachers provided under the federal and state laws granting aid for vocational education. These classes are adapted to all levels.

The union originally included only the three hundred men knitters on the full-fashion machines. The men later opened the organization to their girl helpers—each man has three—and then they went the whole way and threw open the door to every employee in the factory down to the youngest girl. The girls were coming in slowly, it is true, but surely. They were not coming because of solicitation. The union did not want a lot of members whom they would find difficulty in holding.

That the union did not urge the girls to come in did not mean, however, that the union was not interested in the welfare of non-members. Their shop committee frequently took up with Mr. Thieme matters of concern to the entire plant; and Mr. Thieme in turn referred to the committee of the union matters concerning the whole plant in which he wanted the coöperation of this force. The union, according to the men, was actually a convenience to the company. It was a body thru which changes could be presented to all the people, and its power was sometimes exercized in a most salutary way, where disciplinary force was needed.

There was no doubt of it. The organized workers were sincerely interested in efficient production. They had no fear of being placed at a disadvantage because of high wages for efficiency, and were confident in the good faith of the management. They told us how they were always able to present their case to the company officials and to receive satisfaction; how the company kept their employees on during the period of shortage of dyes in 1914-15, and con-

tinued to manufacture as before and to take the risk of piling up large stocks; how, nevertheless, large profits were unexpectedly made when a tremendous demand set in, so that a policy fair to employees proved to be profitable to the firm; how this had always been the policy of the company, so that, in the last twenty-four years, the employees had not lost a single day on account of lack of work. This was due to the large surplus which the company accumulated to take them over periods of depression. They told us there had never been any water in the stock, and, in the periods of highest profits, the stockholders had never been paid more than 12 per cent.

Along with it all they told us of their own interest in efficient production and of items which they had contributed toward greater economies, such as the raveling out of spoiled articles and use of the thread later in weaving; the salvage of the thread at the bottom of the spool which used to be thrown away; the saving of steps by a change in the position of the box holding the spools.

These skilled workmen had a pride in their work. Their job requires real workmanship. They were proud to be treated like men. They think and study.

But we were surprized to find a trade union, along with all these welfare and educational activities, this profit-sharing which adds 25 per cent to the already high wages, this club house, community center, textile club, and other harmonizing agencies. The union officers noted our surprize and explained how the union came into existence. "Mr. Thieme was away for a long time. He was reported to be very sick. Things were going bad. So we organized. Then he came back. Things began to go all right again. But we keep up the union partly because we are afraid he might die."

The company described their relation with the union in a pamphlet shown to us by the union officers:

We recognize the union, and the union recognizes the management. Annually, with the election of new officers, the union appoints a factory committee of from twelve to fifteen men, who meet with the management upon a call from either side, when mutual plans, suggestions, grievances, recommendations, etc., are discussed and acted upon. These meetings are attended by the general manager, superintendent and other assistants as well as such shop foremen as are interested in the subjects under consideration. Thru this close contact of officials and working people, a better understanding of each other's wants and viewpoints is created. Naturally, it took some years before sufficient confidence and mutual respect were inspired to get results and convince both sides of fairness. It is not entirely a one-sided proposition, for while labor presents its grievances to the management, on the other hand the management brings its problems and grievances, affecting such questions as production, quality and labor supply, before the committee. In other words, the management uses the union quite as freely as the union uses the management. It goes without saying that while the management has obtained an ideal situation with regard to labor, quality of work, etc., the employees have also obtained a maximum of wages and bonuses, as well as a fifty-fifty share in the profits.


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EDITOR OF "THE NATION"
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Yet we are not averse to saying that from the time that this arrangement became truly operative the stockholders' profits went up every year. In other words, it has proven up to this time a profitable investment for both capital and labor.

This was Mr. Thieme's ideal, which he stated as follows:

We have no more important function today in the Wayne Knitting Mills than the development of our welfare work. This we are doing in part thru certain aids such as old age pensions, special assistance to sick and needy, sick and accident insurance, group insurance and health department, which do much to alleviate misfortune. Important as these are, they are secondary in my judgment to our more constructive welfare work thru profit sharing, club house culture and recreation, which organize and promote efficiency, good fortune, good feeling, community well being and satisfaction, individual success and leadership. It is this kind of welfare work that must be vastly increased thru manufacturing institutions in the immediate future. But this welfare work must not operate to keep the payroll down.

Thus it was in August, 1919. In October, 1920, the financial intoxication began to pass off. Payrolls had previously been adjusted up to meet the high cost of living, until in June, 1920, the last advance had been made, after the profit-sharing checks for 25 per cent on wages, out of the preceding year's earnings, had been issued to all the workers. Everything looked rosy. Then the union committee demanded that the 25 per cent profit-sharing bonus should be put thereafter into the weekly pay envelope instead of paying it at the end of the year. The company got at once a rude glimpse of the workers' psychology. To the workers, profit-sharing in cash is but deferred wages. It was here, as always, wage psychology against profit psychology. But the glimpse in June was not rude enough—the intoxication was on the company also. Business was rosy. The company agreed to take its chances, make everybody happy and assure ideal working conditions for the season. But they hesitated enough to agree only to the committee's program for a period of six months, ending December 1. Thus for six months unearned profits became current wages. Profit psychology yielded to wage psychology, notwithstanding wages proper had already kept up with the cost of living.

In October the company found itself with $2,000,000 inventory depreciated approximately 40 per cent. Mr. Thieme called in the committee. He proposed to take off the last advance in wages proper, made in June, and to pay profits as before, only when earned, at the end of the year. He met the committee often. He wrote a long statement which was read at the union meeting. He implored them to accept his statements and to have confidence in his judgment and integrity. He appealed to individuals and presented facts and figures of every kind.

But wage psychology could not think in terms of profit psychology. Wages are paid now, but profits are paid a year, maybe ten years, from now. They require different kinds of imagination. The committee of the union went to headquarters at Philadelphia. They came back confirmed in what they started with. "No wage reductions is the motto of our union."

On December 1, the 1900 employees walked out.

It was nuts for the company. Raw material had been going down in price since October—25 per cent in November, then 50 per cent in December. The price made on hosiery in October was already too high in November. November prices much too high in December. Even had the union accepted the company's offer the company claimed it would have been losing money, altho it would have been following its twenty-five year policy of not laying off the workers, even at a loss, but making up the loss out of its unemployment reserve. The union laid itself off, and the reserve was not called upon.

On the worker's side, the union members felt that Mr. Thieme had fallen under the influence of other stockholders, who objected to the too high wages with their bad effect on the labor market of Fort Wayne.

But Mr. Thieme himself believes that he has not changed his mind. He is only adjusting himself to new conditions. He warned the union what would happen. He used all his personal influence and prestige. A strike would be a slap at him personally. It would say that they did not trust him, that he was not straight. If so, he would not continue to do business with those who repudiated him after these many years of confidence.

So his new program, when the strike shall end and the men come back, is the open shop—no discrimination between union and non-union labor, but no recognition of the union thru committees or otherwise. Instead, there will be a plan of organization which will put factory operations in control of the workers, by the workers, excluding officers of the company. All of the other features will not only be continued, but expanded. Profit-sharing again will be the leading feature, and with it, life, accident, sickness and unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, club house, community center, vocational education, efficiency committees, and so on.

Was it profit-sharing or unionism that fell down?

*Madison, Wisconsin*

## Beware of Pickpockets!

(*Continued from page 182*)

of bills invites the pickpocket to hover around your immediate vicinity, and generally he gets what he goes after. It is at all times foolish for anyone to carry a large sum of money in a crowded thorofare unless it is absolutely necessary; and then the safest way to carry it is in the hand. There is little danger of a highwayman relieving you of it, for the crowds are your best protection in this case; it is generally in sparsely settled, lonely neighborhoods that money will be forcibly taken from you, and the pickpocket is too much of a coward to try a forcible method.

# How I Ate A Pound A Day Off My Weight

**An Amazing discovery in weight reduction, no starving, no medicines, no special foods, no course of baths, no exercises, no "mind cure."**

"AREN'T you heavier than you used to be?" This would nearly always be the first remark I'd hear whenever I met an old friend or acquaintance. And they were right. No doubt about it, I was fast putting on weight to a noticeable extent.

At first I took it as a sure sign of vigorous health. I had always thought that the accumulation of fat was Nature's way of storing up health and energy—a sort of reserve to draw upon in time of need. So I revelled in my good fortune and felt genuinely sorry for my friends who were not so favored by Nature.

But soon my condition began to be serious. I was getting altogether too fat. My increasing stoutness began to be about all I could think of—it entirely occupied my mind. My friends began to mention it. I couldn't walk a block without puffing. My heart became affected.

### I Gave Up Pleasures to No Avail

I had always led an active life, being fond of athletics, horseback riding and other exercises. My increasing weight made it difficult for me to "go in" for these things. I simply couldn't get around as fast as the others—even my walk was different; and besides any sort of physical exertion became unpleasant to me. I don't need to go into details, for anyone with a tendency to stoutness will well know what I mean.

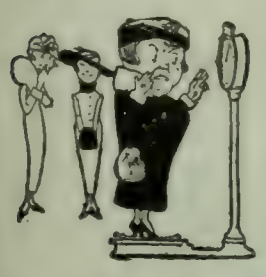


This lack of exercise could lead to but one thing; I took on weight to an alarming extent, and I shall never forget the day when I realized that I was slowing down mentally as well as physically. I lost interest in my work and all social affairs. Anything requiring exertion was passed up. Understand me, please, I am not trying to praise my former self and figure; I'm simply telling how my mental and physical powers and pleasure decreased as fat was increased.

### Starving Only Made Things Worse

You can probably guess my next move—nearly every "fat" woman has taken it. I became a follower of the "simple life." I cut down on my diet—and felt hungry all the time. Then I took a course of baths. According to weights taken "before and after" the baths cut down my weight. But within a day or so the weight was back again. The baths had only a temporary effect. And it seemed to me that they were sapping my vitality.

Then I tried the plan of going without liquids; omitting certain food from my all-too-meager diet; of eating widely advertised "reducing foods," and finally of taking medicine.



By this time life had lost much of its joy for me. As my weight increased so did my distress. I simply had to do something. So I started to find out all I could about obesity. I questioned physicians, surgeons, army doctors, health specialists and a lot of women and men who were similarly afflicted. Soon I became a walking encyclopedia of weight reduction. But still I continued to put on weight.

### Fat People Die Young

One day I experienced a shock. I was reading some health statistics by life insurance companies. These showed conclusively that in addition to causing mental and physical inefficiency fatness brings on a serious chain of illnesses, such as heart trouble, diabetes, stomach and intestinal trouble, apoplexy and the like. And then I read that fat people die young. No supposition about this. Plain, cold, hard facts, drawn from life insurance statistics, covering the experiences of tens of thousands of people and several generations.

### At Last I Found the Secret

My lucky star must have been working for me about this time, for I ran across just the kind of practical help I was looking for. A friend advised me to read "Weight Control, the Basis of Health," by the famous Food Specialist, Eugene Christian.

This course, in the form of simple little lessons, completely upset my own personal opinions and all that I had learned about obesity and health. It shows that when one starts to put on weight it is not a sign of health, but of ill-health. Obesity is actually a disease. Then it showed that most of the tables of weights indicating what a person of a certain age and height should weigh are all wrong and why.

Then there were some startling new ideas about the maintenance of health and of mental and physical vigor. No theories, but hard, practical facts, drawn from the experiences of thousands of men and women in all conditions of life.

The remarkable part of it all was that there were no fads in Eugene Christian's methods, no special baths, no self-denying diet, no medicine, no exercises—nothing out of the ordinary. Simply go on living a normal life, eat appetizing, delicious foods, properly combined, do pretty much as you please. And still one could reduce his or her weight to normal in a very short time by entirely natural methods.

### A Pound Less a Day Without the Slightest Hardship

It all sounded too good to be true, but I decided to give the methods a fair test. Right from the start my former figure and energy began to return. The very first week I reduced my weight by a pound each day. Not the slightest hardship was involved—a most unusual thing in weight-reduction. I had always enjoyed my meals, but now my food tasted even more delicious than ever. Working became a pleasure to me again, instead of a grind. I was bubbling over with life and energy. My flesh grew hard and firm. And soon, very much to my surprise, I was able to wear fabrics and colors which my stoutness had forced me to abandon.

### A Famous Scientist's Greatest Work

When I now look upon my former condition of stoutness it all seems like a horrible nightmare, for not only did I quickly regain my normal weight, but I've maintained it ever since. To look at me today no one would realize that not so long I was a "fat" woman. My quick reduction in weight, my vigorous health and active mind of today I owe all to Eugene Christian. I only wish I had the means to distribute his remarkable Course to every woman afflicted with obesity, for I feel that Eugene Christian is rendering a great and genuine service to humanity through his wonderful work. I have recommended Eugene Christian's Course to many others and have had the satisfaction of seeing it produce results just as remarkable as in my case.

### How You Can Try This Method Without Risking a Penny

Much could be written about the cause and the remedy for excessive stoutness and Eugene Christian's methods. But that is unnecessary; for you can now test them out in the privacy of your home without risking a penny. These methods are not new and untried theories, for more than 200,000 people in all walks of life have used and are using them and indorse them in the most enthusiastic terms.

The publishers have left on hand just 1,296 sets of Eugene Christian's Course, which they wish to dispose of before the New Edition comes off the press. The price at which thousands of these sets have been sold is $5. But these few remaining sets are being offered at only $2 for as long as they last, so if you act quickly you can get these wonderful secrets at a saving of $3.

### Send No Money!

Simply put your name and address on the coupon below and mail it NOW. Give the postman only $2 in complete payment, when the course arrives.



Look the course over carefully. Put it to the test. Weigh yourself before you start, then weigh yourself daily. Judge by results. If you don't notice a great improvement within five days after starting, send it back and your money will be refunded. You can clearly see that an offer like this could not be made unless the publishers were confident that Eugene Christian's methods will produce remarkable results for you, as they have for thousands of others who gladly paid $5 for the course.

But immediate action is necessary. There is no need for you to suffer from superfluous weight any longer—and *remember*, tha⁺ special price can be held only as long as the few sets last.

Cut the coupon now and send it *at once* and be sure to avoid disappointment. You will surely agree that health, happiness and comfort are worth the trial. Write today.

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**Dept. 42, 43 West 16th St., New York City**

Corrective Eating Society,
Dept. 42, 43 West 16th St., New York City.

You may send me, prepaid, Eugene Christian's Course, "Weight Control—the Basis of Health," in 12 lessons. I will pay the postman only $2 on arrival. If I am not satisfied with it I have the privilege of returning it to you after a 5-day trial. It is, of course, understood that you are to refund my money ($2) if I return the course.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

**I. Did Profit-Sharing or the Union Fail?**

1. Summarize this article as briefly and clearly as possible, in order to define for yourself the issue which the article raises and the title suggests.

**II. Should Sunday Be Kept or Spent?**

1. Look thru the Bible, the Old and New Testament, for discussion of the Sabbath, and write an essay that is, in part at least, a description of the ancient Hebrew Sabbath. You could do it from the literary or historical point of view, from interest in biblical writings and customs as such. Or you could make your essay a study of then and now, of two different Sabbaths arising from different needs and circumstances.
2. Pick out from these letters the one which seems to you logically most clear and consistent, regardless of whether you agree with it or not. Have your reasons for your choice. Pick out the letter that you think the most superficial and faulty in its argument.
3. Choose the three letters that seem to you most expressive of personality and write three character sketches of the writers.

**III. Beware of Pickpockets!**

1. Introspect a little to find out if you can why human nature likes to read articles like this. You should be able to do a humorous essay on why people enjoy reading about how they are going to be robbed, held up, murdered, etc.

**IV. Alice in Puppetland.**

1. Look up in the encyclopedia and in books on the history of the drama other cases of the use of marionettes or puppets, and see what an interesting article you can make out of your material.
2. Write a play, either original or a dramatization of some good story, intended to be acted by puppets. Make your scheme just as complete as possible, in stage directions, properties, scenery, music, etc., illustrating with sketches if you can.

**V. The United States—the Main Obstacle to the World's Peace.**

1. Write a brief historical article comparing Germany's attitude toward disarmament before the war with America's after the war. Make your article either refute or confirm Mr. Hershey's editorial.

**VI. The Irony of Fate.**

1. The general question that this editorial raises is something like this: are people ever objectively self-aware and self-critical enough to enjoy and understand an art presentation of their own type? Think of it in the special cases described. Compare Walt Whitman's poetry with some poetry which you know to be popular with the "masses"—Robert Service, Kipling, Tennyson, for instance. Compare the Barnard "Lincoln" with such popular works of art as Watts' "Hope," or others that you can discover for yourself. Compare, as literature for children, Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verse" with stories by Henty, or Grimm's Fairy Tales, or Ralph Henry Barbour's school stories, or "The Elsie Books," or "The Five Little Peppers," or any other books that you know children really like. See if you can derive from this series of comparisons any generalizations about the kind of art that appeals to trained and to untrained tastes, and apply these generalizations to the examples given in this editorial.
2. Is the instance of "Gulliver's Travels" in the same class with the other three? Explain how it has come to be connected with childhood, instead of with a maturely cynical group of readers.
3. "Symbolism, satire—the two most ultra-adult forms of literature." Do you agree? Discuss the statement, bringing to bear on it everything that you have ever read that is relevant.

**VII. Common Sense and Utopia.**

1. Who were Plato, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Thomas More? Read More's "Utopia," and as much as you can of the "Republic," and "The New Atlantis," so as to know what this editorial is talking about.
2. What part of Ruskin's social philosophy is involved in the clause "If we believe with Ruskin that industrial and mechanical civilization is evil . . ."? Compare Ruskin with William Morris as a social and industrial reformer.
3. "And the architects of the social sciences are the Utopians." Make a list of ten such architects chosen from as many lands and times as possible.

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. Decreasing Wages — Did Profit-Sharing or the Union Fail?**

1. Explain the labor policy of the Wayne Knitting Mills as described by Professor Commons.
2. Why was this policy unable to stand the test of hard times and decreasing prices, profits and wages?
3. "Wage psychology could not think in terms of profit psychology." Explain this phrase.

**II. Disarmament—The United States—the Main Obstacle to the World's Peace. Spring Styles in Armament. Congress Votes Small Army.**

1. Explain why Germany's adoption of a big navy policy led to hostility between England and Germany and to friendship between England and France during the decade before the Great War.
2. Show how the disappearance of Germany as a naval power has altered the relative standing of the navies of the world.
3. Great Britain is not now building any capital ships. Do you think that this means that (a) the British see no danger to their naval supremacy now that Germany has been defeated, (b) the British have given up the idea of naval supremacy and are willing that the United States should have the largest navy, (c) the British have lost confidence in the battleship and battle cruiser and wish to experiment with cheaper forms of national defense, such as airplanes and submarines?
4. What is the technical issue between the champions of the battleship and those like Sir Percy Scott, who believe that big ships are obsolete? What light has the Great War thrown on the situation? What is your own opinion?
5. What is the issue between President Wilson and Congress regarding the size of the army? Do you agree with the President that the army should be maintained on the scale authorized by Congress a few months ago or have conditions changed in the meantime sufficiently to warrant the reduction on which Congress now insists?
6. Write a brief imaginative sketch of the years 1920 to 1930, showing the possible dangers to world peace that might arise from rivalry in naval construction between the United States and other Powers during that time? Compare it with the armament race between England and Germany before the war.

**III. Eastern European Politics — Eastern Europe. Pilsudski at Paris.**

1. Why are Poland and France natural allies? Notice the geographical position of both nations with respect to Germany.
2. Tell what you can about Franco-Polish relations in the past, especially in the time of Napoleon Bonaparte.
3. Why are Russians reluctant to recognize the full independence of Latvia and Esthonia? (Note their position between Russia and the Baltic Sea).
4. Over what non-Russian peoples did Russia rule in 1914? Find out what you can about the way in which the old Russian Empire was built up. Was Russia's policy toward subject nationalities conciliatory or oppressive?
5. Prepare either the affirmative or the negative brief for a debate on the question: Resolved, that the United States should immediately recognize the full independence of Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania and of any other country which has successfully revolted from the old Russian Empire.

**IV. Zionism—The New Jerusalem.**

1. What does "Zionism" mean? Are all Jews Zionists?
2. Explain why Palestine is a "holy land" to so many religious bodies. What part did it play in the Crusades?
3. Explain the reference to the Crimean War.
4. What are the terms of the British "mandate" over Palestine?

**V. Graft—Blackmail in Building.**

1. What was the nature of the building conspiracy recently investigated in New York (a reference to the November 27, 1920, number of The Independent, p. 306, will give some additional facts)?
2. Why in Mr. Williams's opinion is graft especially apt to occur in connection with the building industry?
3. "Any firm or corporation selling or dealing in building materials ought by State and Federal law to be put on the basis of a common carrier." Here is a ready-made topic for debate.

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## Pebbles

Frosh—Surveying a little?
Engineer—No! surveying a lot.—*Sour Owl.*

She—I wish you'd look the other way.
Young Brother—He can't help the way he looks.—*Sun Dial.*

This famous painter met his death
Because he couldn't draw his breath.
—*Puppet.*

Dear Mlle. Flapjax—I am a brunet and have lately been becoming more and more so. Prescribe something for the face.
Answer—Try soap.—*Princeton Tiger.*

Wifey—I heard a noise when you came in last night.
Hubby—Perhaps it was the night falling.
Wifey (coldly)—No, it wasn't, it was the day breaking.—*Store Chat.*

"Statistics prove that marriage is a preventive against suicide," said Mrs. Gabb.
"Yes," growled Mr. Gabb. "And statistics also prove that suicide is a preventive against marriage."—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

Mrs. Newlywed (giving first order to butcher over 'phone)—Please send me a pound of steak.
Butcher—And what else, please?
Mrs. Newlywed—And—and some gravy.—*New York Central Lines Magazine.*

He was a Boy Scout. He was asked, "Have you done a kind deed every day, something to make some one happy?"
"Well," he confessed, "I went to see my aunt yesterday and—and—well, I guess she was happy when I went home!"—*Life.*

"Is this the hosiery department?" said the voice over the phone.
"Yes," replied the weary saleslady.
"Have you any flesh-colored stockings in stock?" asked the voice.
"Yes," replied the weary saleslady. Whaddy ya want—pink, yellow, or black?"—*Store Chat.*

Teacher—Thomas, will you tell me what a conjunction is, and compose a sentence containing one?
Thomas (after reflection)—A conjunction is a word connecting anything, such as "The horse is hitched to the fence by his halter." "Halter" is a conjunction, because it connects the horse and the fence."—*Harper's Bazar.*

The near-sighted man and his wife were inspecting the latest art exhibition with critical care.
"That's the ugliest portrait I've ever seen," he cried, angrily, striving vainly for a better view of the abomination.
"Come away, you fool!" replied his wife. "You're looking at yourself in a mirror!"—*North China Standard.*

The origin of the bagpipe was being discussed, the representatives of different nations eagerly disclaiming responsibility for the atrocity. Finally an Irishman said: "Well, I'll tell you the truth about it. The Irish invented it and sold it to the Scotch as a joke; and the Scotch ain't seen the joke yet!"—*The Watchman-Examiner (New York).*

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## Remarkable Remarks

GABRIEL D'ANNUNZIO—I am Gideon.

WARREN G. HARDING—I am a partizan.

THOMAS A. EDISON—Henry Ford is "all right."

GILBERT K. CHESTERTON—Avoid passive verbs.

BLASCO IBANEZ—I am not thru grumbling.

LORD DUNSANY—In England a poet has to die to be appreciated.

DR. R. C. AUGUSTINE—Blondes are not adapted to this climate.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER—Columbia University is a giant in bonds.

GROVER CLEVELAND BERGDOLL—Money will get you a good time anywhere.

ASTRONOMER THEODORE MOREAU—The earth is about 500,000,000 years old.

METHODIST BISHOP HUGHES—The apostolic succession is only a superstition.

GEORGE ADE—Sometimes I pause and wonder if the mustache cup is still extant.

CONGRESSMAN KAHN—This country has not a friend among the nations of the earth.

E. J. HODGES—"America First" is nothing but the material vibration of pre-war imperialism.

HENRY FORD—The farmer will see the day when both the horse and the cow are done away with.

REV. PERCY STICKNEY GRANT—Too many ministers feel like salesmen on a commission basis.

CHRISTOPHER MORLEY—Can it be that the beard, not the pineal gland, is the true domicile of the soul.

SENATOR EDGE—We must go after the other fellow's money—be it the pound, the franc, the lira, or the yen.

VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE A. CULLEN—Of all the failures of 1920, 84 per cent were of firms that did not advertise.

ROY K. MOULTON—It is not the spirit of unrest so much as the spirit of undress that is imperiling this country.

PROF. ROBERT R. GAULT—When a husband nags out of pure deviltry he should be dealt with with whatever is handy.

OLIVER WENDELL SMITH—The very thrilling custom of men taking other men's wives out to dinner should be discontinued.

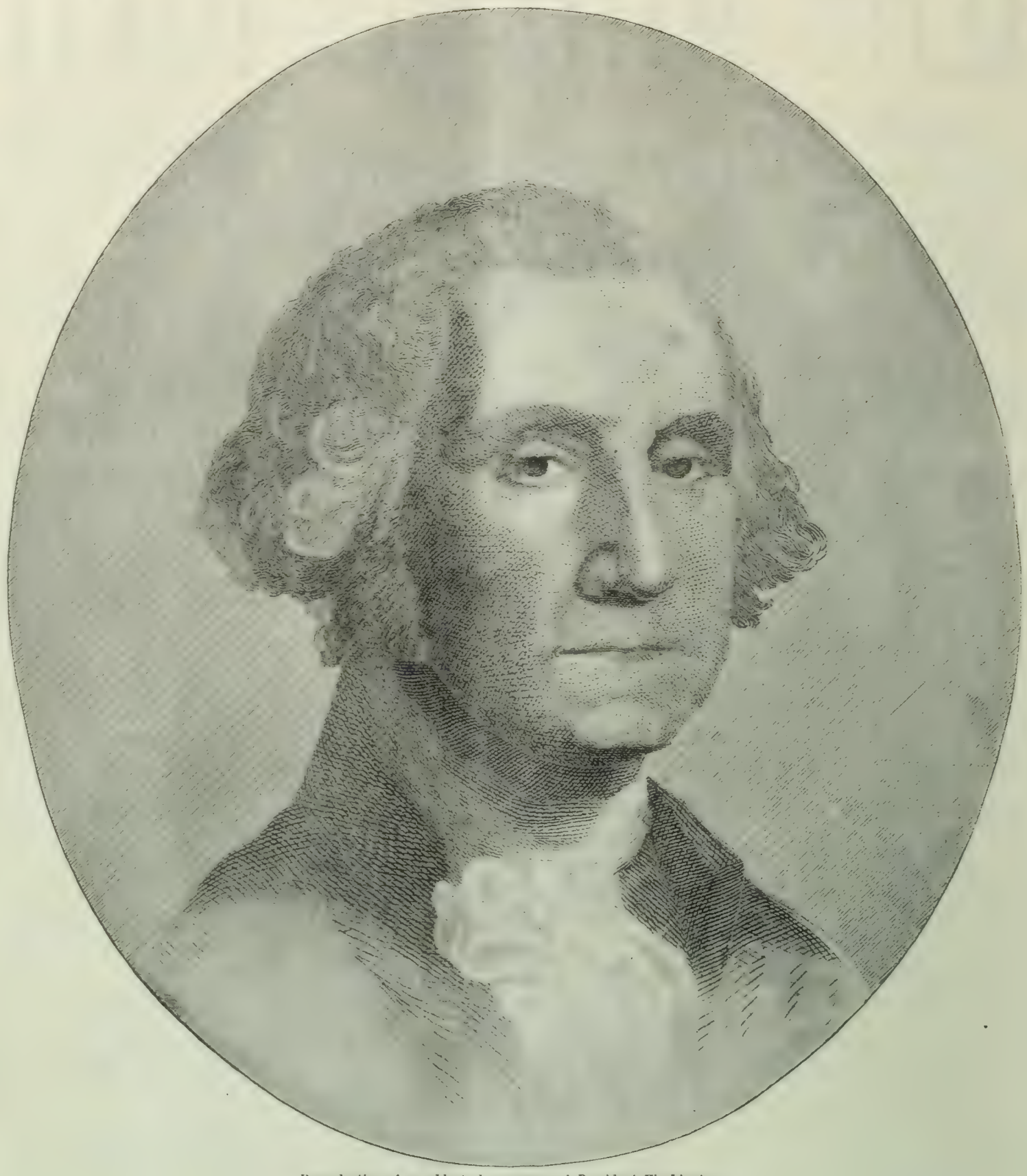
IRVING S. COBB—Kentucky may be deprived of its joy riding by the blue laws, but it will never do away with its night riding.

GLEN BUCK—Because it is human nature to buy the known thing and let the unknown go, the advertised commodity will always lead.

REV. LEIGHTON PARKS—Either this is a country in which the free religious spirit of the reformation breeds or it will be a Roman Catholic Irish Republic.



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*Reproduction of an old steel engraving of President Washington*

Soldier and statesman, rarest unison;
High-poised example of great duties done
Simply as breathing, a world's honor worn
As life's indifferent gifts to all men born;
Dumb for himself unless it were to God,
But for his barefoot soldiers eloquent,
Tramping the snow to coral where they trod,
Held by his awe in hollow-eyed content;
Modest, yet firm as Nature's self; unblamed,
Save by the men his nobler temper shamed;
Not honored then or now because he wooed
The popular voice, but that he still withstood.
Broad minded, higher souled, there is but one,
Who was all this, and ours, and all men's
Washington!

*From "Under the Elm," by James Russell Lowell.*

The Independent
February 26, 1921

# The Financial Lessons We've Learned

## A Message from the British Nation to the American People

By the Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K.C., M.P.
Food Controller of Great Britain

THE British people are just now passing thru a mood of economy. In times of peace the British people are, on the whole, of a saving disposition. According to the economists something like a quarter of the national income is saved year by year. All this good habit was certainly lost during the spendthrift days of the war, when Great Britain was pouring out money like a Niagara.

At present the reaction of feeling in favor of economy has certain definite limits. It is almost entirely confined to criticism of Government expenditure. Before the war the national expenditure never exceeded two hundred million pounds in any year. In the last year of the war we were spending four thousand millions. In the year of the armistice we were spending three thousand millions, and the current budget only brings us down to fourteen hundred million pounds.

But we have ceased to borrow. As a nation we are paying our way out of current income, and of the fourteen hundred million pounds which we propose to spend in the current financial year two hundred million will be devoted to the reduction of our national debts.

Our pension list and the money expended in settlement and training schemes for ex-soldiers now accounts for almost as much money as the entire expenditure of the country in 1913. The interest on the national debt now amounts to £345,000,000 a year, while the redemption of war bonds necessary to keep faith with the holders involves us in another £110,000,000.

The Government is being made the subject of a fierce press campaign on the ground of extravagance, but there is not much room for saving on any of these items. We feel rather cheered by the thought that in spite of these huge burdens we have definitely passed the borrowing stage and started to pay back.

As regards personal economy I am bound to admit that the British people, like most of their Continental neighbors, have got into careless ways during the war. While the Government expenditure has been progressively lessened, the British people is still spending its money more as if we had come into a fortune than as if we had to pay for the war. The yearly wage bill is thirteen hundred million pounds higher than it was before the war. And when we remember that the total income of all classes of these little islands was only estimated at about twenty-five hundred million pounds in those days, it will be seen that the income of the working classes has risen considerably.

On the other hand, the income of a middle-class professional working man has not risen at all. Fixed incomes are worth about one-third of their pre-war value. They would find it difficult to be extravagant if they tried. But the large stores in London, dealing mainly in luxury articles, are doing greatly increased business, and showing net profits far above their pre-war standard. The restaurants are crowded, the theaters and cinemas are full. Last year our entertainments tax yielded £10,000,000, which shows that the people are spending in entertainments well over fifty million pounds a year. The food bill of the country has grown from about three hundred million to one thousand million—most of which merely reflects the increase in price, but some of which is attributed to an actual increase in consumption.




*Cheney in London Passing Show*

HIGHER AND HIGHER

"At present the reaction of feeling in favor of economy is almost entirely confined to criticism of Government expenditure"

The whole financial position is still very difficult to understand. On the one hand we have the physical fact that every country in Europe has suffered a wholesale destruction of wealth during the war, that production is still dislocated, and the productive capacity of many countries injured beyond the possibility of recovery for some years to come. Great Britain lost during the war more than one-eighth of her whole national wealth. The losses of some of the European countries were much greater. Nor can it be said that the progress of the world in the making up of arrears of production has been rapid. Taking the world as a whole it is doubtful whether any progress has been made toward making up arrears.

There is less real wealth to be shared among the British people than there was before the war, and it is puzzling to understand how it is possible [*Continued on page 221*

# Editing a Magazine

## Second of a Series of Seven Articles

## By Hamilton Holt

THE make-up of a magazine is a matter about which experts, I suppose, will always differ. But it is generally the custom to have either a colored picture or the title of the most important article or the names of the leading contributors featured on the cover. The back cover and the inside covers are invariably devoted to advertisements. In the magazines of standard size, like *Scribner's* or *The Century*, the reading matter is sandwiched in between the advertisements, while in the larger, or flat size, the reading matter trickles in a meandering stream thru the advertising pages. As a rule, the leading editorial or the most striking contributed article begins the reading matter on the first right hand page following the advertisements, tho *The Outlook*, *The Review of Reviews* and others begin with their News Department.

There is generally, however, a page preceding this initial page on which what is known as the masthead appears, with the Table of Contents and, if there is room, the various publisher's and editor's announcements. The masthead gives the name, date and ownership of the publication, price, copyright notice and any standing statement such as that the editor longs to have manuscripts submitted to him, and altho he can assume no responsibility for their loss or non-return he gladly promises not to keep the surplus postage stamps unless the author has forgotten to append his name and address to the manuscript.

I have never been able to decide whether the Table of Contents is necessary or not. Evidently few readers consult it and yet if it is omitted indignant letters are sure to be received, especially from librarians. One of our subscribers some years ago stopped The Independent because we found it impossible for the time being to print the page number of each article in the Table of Contents. I need hardly tell you that this man was almost as finicky as that college friend of mine who left his hotel because the elevator did not run fast enough.

It is curious to observe that the magazines which fifteen years ago were reducing their format are nowadays increasing it. A magazine of the size of *Harper's* or *The Atlantic Monthly* is certainly easier to hold in the hand when reading than one of the larger size. Besides it can be put in the pocket, or sent thru the mail without folding.

I will give you frankly the chief reasons why we abandoned the standard size a few years ago and came back to the flat form. I presume similar motives actuated other editors who have recently done likewise.

Two of these reasons are financial. First, we could mix our advertising and reading matter in the back of the paper, thus insuring that more people would see and therefore answer the advertisements. Second, we find a very strong predisposition among the large buyers of advertising space to take a full page advertisement. Hence by increasing the size of the page many advertisers will automatically take a full page in the newer and larger form, thus increasing the total advertising receipts of the magazine from 10 to 25 per cent.

The most important reason, however, why we increased our size was this: While we were small the public regarded us as in the same class with such monthly magazines as *Scribner's* and *The Century*, who went to press weeks and sometimes months before their date of publication. Such magazines could do press work that no weekly of current events could hope to equal. As a matter of fact our illustrations if set side by side and compared with those of the very large pictorial magazines like *Collier's*, *Leslie's* or the *Saturday Evening Post* would be seen to be just as good as theirs, but being smaller and printed in a form in which the public had been educated to expect better things, they looked cheap and underdone. Moreover, by enlarging a magazine the opportunity for illustration and display is increased not arithmetically but geometrically. If you publish a magazine the size of *The Ladies' Home Journal* there is practically nothing that cannot be done pictorially.

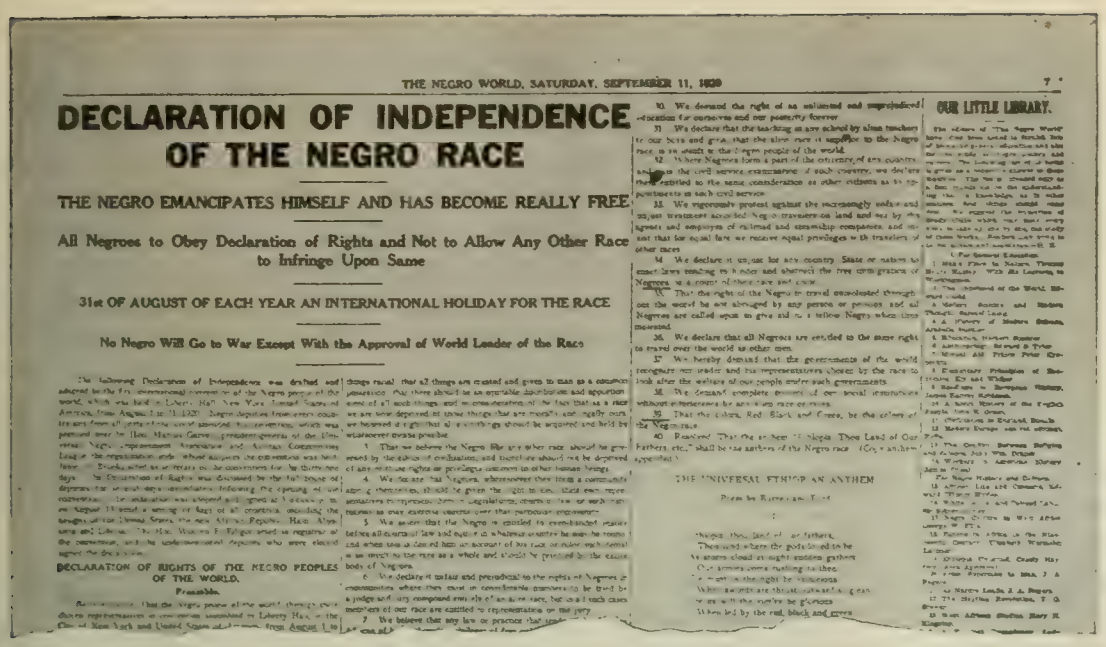
But effects can be produced by type display fully as well as by illustration. The average reader has no conception how much hard thinking and painstaking experiment is given in every up-to-date magazine to the headlines, title, sub-titles, borders, tail pieces, etc., before the desired effect is precisely secured. Titles are of the utmost importance. I recollect that Arthur Brisbane, the prince of display editors, once said, "If I should write an editorial entitled 'The Dietetic Significance of the Mosaic Legislation' probably not one man in a thousand would read it. But if I headed it up 'Don't Be Hard on Poor Old Moses, He Hadn't Any Icebox,' at least nine men out of ten would stop, look and read."

Titles and headlines are like the garish and gilded entrances to the moving picture theaters. Their chief purpose is to attract. And as if headlines and sub-titles were not sufficient, the magazines have in recent years invented a new species of megaphone for heralding their articles to the reader—which has been denominated by Gillett Burgess the "blurb." The blurb is an introductory note by the editor usually printed in italics, telling why the world-renowned Mr. Spoof is the best qualified man on this planet to write the heart-gripping article that follows, and why all readers with red corpuscles in their veins should write to their senators demanding that the infamies so graphically depicted be at once, if not sooner, righted by act of Congress. But all blurbs need not necessarily be yellow in order to excite the reader to peruse the article that follows. When years ago I printed an editorial note accompanying an article from a negro woman of the South, stating that her life would not be safe for a moment if her name was published, I venture to think that not a single reader who read that note failed to follow on to the article.

In addition to headlines and blurbs there are numerous other ways of displaying ideas aside from the big types colored inks, diagrams and decorations. For instance, if you take statistics out of an article and put them in what we call a "box," you not only make [*Continued on page 222*]

### "Wonder What an Editor Thinks About"

**In this series of articles the Editor of The Independent invites the readers to come into his sanctum, to see for themselves the "inside stuff" that makes up modern journalism, and to share some of the secrets that he has learned in the past two decades while editing The Independent and keeping a watchful eye on the progress of his "esteemed contemporaries." Mr. Holt's first article was published in the issue of February 5**



THE NEGRO WORLD, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1920

**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE NEGRO RACE**

THE NEGRO EMANCIPATES HIMSELF AND HAS BECOME REALLY FREE

All Negroes to Obey Declaration of Rights and Not to Allow Any Other Race to Infringe Upon Same

31st OF AUGUST OF EACH YEAR AN INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY FOR THE RACE

No Negro Will Go to War Except With the Approval of World Leader of the Race

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

Preamble.

OUR LITTLE LIBRARY.

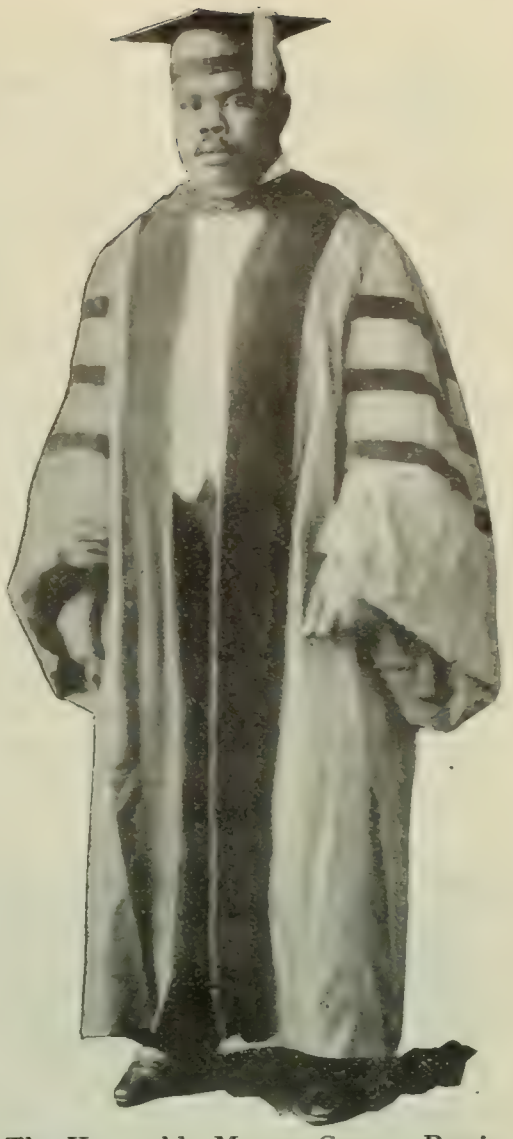
THE UNIVERSAL ETHIOP AN ANTHEM

*The Negro World*, Marcus Garvey's paper, thru which he reaches weekly his four million negro followers. In this number of September 11, 1920, appears the Declaration of Independence of the negro race, first proclaimed in Liberty Hall, New York City, and the words of the "Universal Ethiopian Anthem"

# The Negro Moses

## And His Campaign to Lead the Black Millions into Their Promised Land

By Rollin Lynde Hartt



The Honorable Marcus Garvey, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, as he appeared before a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. "Something of a showman" in public, but in his private office "a carelessly-dressed, ill-shaven, soft-voiced negro, speaking in level tones, with rarely a gesture . . ."

FIFTEEN pioneers of African independence—negro surveyors, negro architects, negro builders, negro chemists, negro physicians—sailed recently from New York aboard Black Star liners, owned and operated by negroes.

It is true that the Black Star line consists of two infinitesimal steamers and an excursion boat. It is likewise true that Liberty Hall, where a World Congress of negroes drew up a Bill of Rights last August and proclaimed Africa a nation—free and independent and all that sort of thing—is by no means an imposing edifice. It is true that the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, which promotes the enterprize, makes its headquarters in a pair of rather dowdy former dwelling houses in Harlem, New York. And it is true that Marcus Garvey—"his Excellency, the Honorable Marcus Garvey," to give him his full and gloriously resounding designation—is something of a showman. Ushered in by a brass band, a pseudo-military cohort, and a troop of Black Cross nurses, he appears upon the platform in green and crimson robes.

Yet this thirty-four-year-old Jamaican, who counted hardly more than a score of followers three and a half years ago, now counts four million, two million of whom are black citizens of the United States. Thanks to his daily harangues and to weekly appeals thru his newspaper, he is adding to them wholesale despite the opposition of two of the foremost negro leaders in the United States, Dr. Du Bois on the one hand and Major Martin on the other. No matter what one's attitude, whether satirical, apprehensive, sympathetic, or merely curious, he is at least interesting. I went to see him.

He is black. Splendidly, bituminously black. A full-blooded, low-browed, heavy-jawed, woolly-pated African—the real thing. He glories in it. He rebukes his people for bleaching their skins, straightening their hair, and aping the white man. He would applaud the Zulus who, when presented to a native chieftain, say, "Hail to thee, oh chief! Thou art black!" When I suggested that certain negrophiles in Massachusetts might be induced to put money into the Garvey movement, he said, "We don't want their money; this is a black man's movement." When I quoted a remark of Mr. Carl Akeley's to the effect that American negroes, once established in Africa, might revert to type, he rejoined, "We will take the risk. We mean to show what negroes can do for themselves. It is an experiment; we may lose out, but we may win out."

Recent articles by Mr. Truman Hughes Talley in *The World's Work* had told how Garvey, while studying at the University of London, met the editor of *Africa and Orient Review*, one Duse Mohamed Effendi, half Egyptian, half negro, and caught from him the idea of taking Africa, organizing it, developing it, arming it, and making it the defender of negroes the world over. Was Mr. Talley's interpretation of Garveyism substantially correct? "Yes, substantially; but there are minor inaccuracies. He represents me as saying that Christ was a negro. I don't say that. My belief is simply that Christ's ancestry included all races, so that He was Divinity incarnate in the broadest sense of the word. Then, too, Mr. Talley speaks of my belief in an ancient and superb African empire that has decayed. I don't pretend to know about such matters."

President of the Black Star Line, President of the Negro Factories Corporation, President-General of the Universal

Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, and Provisional President of Africa, Garvey tells his followers: "I am the equal of any white man; I want you to feel the same way. No one need think we are still the servile, bending, cringing people we were up to fifty odd years ago in this country. We are a new people, born out of a new day in this country. We are born out of the bloody war of 1914-18. A new spirit, a new courage has come to us."

His manner toward me, however, was modest and unassuming. I shall remember a carelessly dressed, ill-shaven, soft-voiced negro hunched up at his desk and speaking in level tones, with rarely a gesture and then only of the expository sort. If his dark eyes burned, it was with an intellectual light. He seems strangely unemotional, perhaps because he has implicit faith in the rationality of his ideal and in its justice. "When the Jew said, 'We shall have Palestine,' we said, 'We shall have Africa.'"

But on the platform he can be fiery.

"During the world war, nations were vying with each other in proclaiming lofty concepts of humanity. 'Make the world safe for democracy,' 'self-determination for smaller peoples' reverberated in the capitals of warring




**Garvey's headquarters in Harlem—an unimpressive structure set down in the backyard of a row of dingy tenements**

nations opposed to Germany. Now that the war is over, we find these same nations making every effort by word and deed to convince us that their blatant professions were mere meaningless platitudes never intended to apply to earth's darker millions. We find the minor part of humanity —the white people—constituting themselves Lords of the Universe and arrogating to themselves the power to control the destiny of the larger part of humanity. Such an attitude is indeed a curse. In Africa it takes the form of suppression of the right of the African to enjoy the fruits of his ancestral lands. In America it takes the form of lynching, disfranchisement, burnings and the thousand and one petty insults born of arrogance and prejudice. So now comes the negro thru the medium of the Universal Negro Improvement Association demanding the right and taking unto himself the power to control his own destiny. We are too large and great in numbers not to be a great people, a great race and a great nation. I cannot recall one single race of people as strong numerically as we are who have remained so long under the tutelage of other races. The time has now come when we must seek our place in the sun."

That place is Africa, declares Garvey. "Without Africa, the negro is doomed even as without America the North American Indian was lost. We are not preaching any doctrines to ask all the negroes of Harlem and of the United States to leave for Africa. The majority of us may remain here, but we must send our scientists, our mechanics, and our artizans, and let them build railroads, let them build the great educational and other institutions necessary, and, when they are constructed, the time will come for the command to be given, 'Come home!'"

So it is to Africa that the fifteen pioneers of negro nationalism have gone—surveyors to plan railroads, architects to plan buildings, physicians to direct sanitation, chemists to test water supply. "When will they arrive?" I asked. "I can't tell you," said Garvey. "The steamers are to call at British ports en route, and if I were to publish their schedule I might expose them to interference and delays."

He sets great store by this merchant marine of his. It is a commercial venture, granted; but it is at the same time a means to a much larger end. "Africa must be linked to



**One of the two little steamers which, with an excursion boat, constitute the "Black Star Line," owned and operated by negroes. It is on these "liners" that Garvey is sending pioneers to Africa to get things in shape before a general occupation of the Promised Land. Fifteen have already gone; surveyors, architects, builders, chemists, physicians**

the United States, to South and Central America, to the West Indies by vessels which will unite in fraternal ties the ebony-hued sons of Ethiopia in the Western Hemisphere with their brothers across the sea." Meanwhile, he entertains a hope that Africa, once developed, will attract a wholesale migration. He says to his followers:

"If you cannot live alongside the white man in peace, if you cannot get the same chance and opportunity alongside the white man, even tho you are his fellow citizen; if he claims that you are not entitled to this chance or opportunity because the country is his by force of numbers, then find a country of your own and rise to the highest position within that country."

In Liberia, whither the fifteen pioneers are sailing, Garvey plans to lay the cornerstone of African independence. From Liberia his propaganda is to spread thruout the Dark Continent. "What the fathers of American independence did one hundred and forty-five years ago," he said in a recent address, "is just what the Universal Negro Improvement Association is endeavoring to do for the 400,000,000 negroes of the world and for succeeding generations of the race. It is a dream now; but do you not know that we can make this dream, this vision, a reality?"

A very prominent Garveyite showed me the other day a tabulation of British, Belgian, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish holdings in Africa. How does Garvey expect to oust these rather lusty and rather tenacious Powers? It would seem to be something of a job. But what if those Powers had their hands full elsewhere at the time?

"We cannot tell how far distant is that day when the bugle call will be heard, the bugle call to another great world conflict. We can see discord brooding every day among the nations of the world. We can hear the rumbling of forthcoming wars. Methinks I can see the war clouds of Europe—I give them ten years [*Continued on page 218*

# To Bring Our Foreign Service Up to Date

## A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Wilbur J. Carr

United States Director of Consular Service

THE need for re-organization of our foreign service exists quite independently of the adoption of any particular foreign policy. The economy of the world has been upset and the United States is in an unprecedented international situation. We have a money debt owing to us from foreign governments of nearly ten billions of dollars, which is three times the total of our own national debt in 1914. We find ourselves suddenly in the possession of a large merchant marine, much of it Government-owned, touching at all the ports of the world. The flow of immigration, setting in anew with great volume, connects us as by a human bridge with all the countries of Europe. Our foreign trade has grown to vast proportions, while the development of our manufacturing resources in excess of home requirements makes imperative the maintenance of foreign markets for our goods, in the face of competition from nations struggling desperately for economic survival.

Obviously the need is ever present for a foreign service capable of executing the policies chosen. It must be a service capable as well of safeguarding the interests of the nation and of citizens abroad, and alert to keep the responsible officers of the Government at home informed promptly and accurately of foreign developments.

It is plain that no personnel or machinery adjusted to these demands as they existed before the war will suffice much longer without extension and reorganization. Since many of the new problems in our foreign relations are economic, the demand for an improvement in the means of dealing with them has naturally come most definitely and persistently from the business community. It is, however, a matter of no less concern to all sections of the population. So vital to the national interest has the conduct of our foreign intercourse grown to be that the maintenance of proper instrumentalities for conducting it affects the bread and butter of the whole people.

The active interest of Congress has been manifested in a request from the House of Representatives for an investigation, by the Bureau of Efficiency, of all the foreign trade promotion work of the Government. The findings of the Bureau were submitted early this year and printed as House Document No. 650. The Senate, also, has required from the heads of executive departments, by a resolution of October 3, 1919, detailed statements covering the character, amount and estimated cost of work carried on under their authority and having any relation to the foreign commerce of the United States.



**One way of marking the changing times. The small stack of books—seven volumes—is the correspondence of the American Consulate at Mazatlan, Mexico, during the years 1908 and 1909. The other stack of thirty-two volumes, higher than the present official standing by them, is the correspondence for the years 1918 and 1919. In this decade the number of visitors increased about 100 per cent**

One reason for these investigations is the increasing multiplicity of agents of various executive departments operating in foreign countries. Aside from the Diplomatic and Consular Service, maintained under the Department of State, the Department of Commerce maintains commercial attachés, attached to our embassies and legations in the more important foreign capitals, and from time to time sends abroad special agents or trade commissioners to investigate particular aspects of the foreign trade situation. In addition, the Treasury Department, the Department of Agriculture, and the Shipping Board each have foreign agents of their own.

In replying to the inquiry of the Senate the Secretary of State expressed the hope that the various activities of the Government abroad might be brought "to a correct focus in the Department of State." "By this suggestion I do not desire," the Secretary said, "to leave the impression that the Department of State is in any wise grasping or that there is a tendency on its part to usurp the functions or absorb the work of other departments; it is seeking their aid rather than coveting their authority. . . . As the Department of State must inevitably direct the foreign policy of the Government, it is desired to utilize to the fullest extent the agencies of all other departments. By such means alone would it be possible to reach a maximum of efficiency in the broad domain of our foreign relations. The old cumbersome methods, with their duplications, their lack of common authority, and their individual operations, ought to be abandoned."

"There can be no clear-cut commercial policy carried out by separate bodies that do not interfunction," wrote the Secretary of Commerce in reply to the Senate inquiry. "Any industrial organization composed as is the commercial organization of the Government would fail, for the seeds of decay are planted in the very separateness of the component parts."

A practical beginning has been made toward the coördination which both Secretaries bespeak. Early in 1919 the Secretary of State addressed a communication to the heads of all other executive departments, boards and commissions dealing directly or indirectly with questions of foreign trade, inviting each to designate a liaison officer to spend one or more days of each week in the office of the Foreign Trade Adviser of the Department of State. It was suggested that these liaison officers would constitute a more or less informal inter-departmental board or weekly conference. This would eliminate duplication of effort, expedite the handling of matters calling for inter-departmental consultation, and harmonize the work of the various governmental agencies in Washington in economic matters.

The suggestion was adopted. The Economic Liaison Committee, as it has come to be called, has met every Wednesday morning since March 26, [*Continued on page 220*

# An Intelligent Guard at the Gate

## By Sidney L. Gulick

WHETHER Congress enacts an emergency immigration law or not the United States is in urgent need of a new and permanent immigration policy. Such a policy should include as its main features the points expressed in the following seven brief paragraphs:

1. Immigration should be *regulated.* It should no longer be left to the haphazard blind forces of supply and demand. The time has come for America consciously to take control of her own destiny, by controlling the amount and the kind of immigration to be allowed.

2. Immigration should be *scientifically* regulated. All the needed facts concerning economic and industrial conditions, here and abroad, concerning the types of the racial groups already here and those desiring to come, concerning the ease or difficulty of their assimilation and Americanization, and their respective individual and racial fitness to do the desired work, should be scientifically gathered and rationally used in regulating immigration.

3. There should be a *selection* of immigration. It should be possible to admit the desirable to the number desired, and to refuse immigration beyond that point. It should be possible even to refuse immigration altogether to types or groups about whom there is grave doubt as to whether we can wholesomely assimilate them.

4. Effective methods of *distribution* should be found. Immigration should be directed to areas where the population is still slight and especially to agricultural regions. It should be possible to restrain or even entirely to stop immigration to populous areas of compactly grouped aliens who are still largely unassimilated and un-Americanized.

5. The policy should provide for *elasticity.* The amount of immigration should be adjusted as economic and industrial conditions vary. We should admit as many assimilable immigrants as we can steadily employ without endangering normal American standards of living and labor. This amount will vary as industry thrives or is depressed and it will also vary with success in the distribution of immigration.

6. Our immigration policy should be *universal.* It should apply the general principles for regulation and selection to immigration from every people. It should not be controlled by race prejudice nor by arbitrary race discrimination. If immigrants of certain peoples are found by experience to be non-assimilable or slow and exceedingly difficult of assimilation, or if their presence creates or tends to create tension and irritation, their complete exclusion as immigrants should be secured without special agitation or special race-discriminatory legislation, which is inevitably obnoxious, humiliating, and the cause of international irritation.

7. Our immigration policy should be *patriotic.* We should watch carefully the Americanizing processes and note how each people responds to its new opportunity in this land. Proper provisions should be made to promote Americanization of every people in the United States, but the amount of immigration from each people should be determined in the light of their proved ability to be wholesomely incorporated into our body politic. If they tend to develop and to maintain undue group-consciousness, functioning in the body politic primarily as hyphenated Americans, or if they regard themselves and are regarded by their native lands as colonists, further immigration from those groups would seem to be undesirable.

The Sterling bill now before Congress embodies the principles that have been here set down. Its provision for a permanent immigration board composed of men of the highest type, with definite duties, powers and limitations, makes possible the scientific gathering of facts and, in their light, the elastic regulation, selection and distribution of immigration from the two standpoints of assimilation and employment.

The provisions for the registration of aliens, for raising the standards of naturalization and for giving citizenship privileges to all who qualify, make for the best type of loyal citizenry.

The policy embodied in the Sterling bill is universal; it is free from race prejudice and race discrimination because it applies equally to all and regulates selection and distribution from the standpoint of experience.

While the policy provides for the admission of only those whom we judge desirable, in the numbers desirable, after they are once admitted it gives equal opportunity to all. Every individual and every people here is to have the benefit of just and equal laws, equally administered. Continued opportunity for the immigration of any given people will depend on how those already lawfully here make use of their opportunities.

This policy provides a fundamental solution for the Asiatic problem. The Sterling bill repeals all the special laws dealing with Chinese, many of which are contraventions of our treaties with China. It repeals also the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan. This does not mean that immigrants from these peoples are to be admitted, but only that they are to be excluded on the same principles and by the same laws that are to be applied to every people.

The giving of privileges of citizenship to everyone who duly qualifies is of vital importance to America. Universal suffrage for all the permanent and qualified population in the United States is an essential to the success of our democracy. Exclusion by law, merely on account of race, of any portion of our permanent population cannot fail to produce group consciousness, interfere with their wholesome Americanization and tend to obstruct the successful functioning of democracy. Denial of the possibilities of citizenship by naturalization, merely on the ground of race, carries with it the implication that the children of that race are also intrinsically unfit for citizenship. Already that ominous specter is lifting its head in California and in Congress. The final success of our democracy depends on just and equal laws applied justly and equally to every individual in the United States regardless of race.

The enactment of the Sterling bill would render unnecessary not only the emergency measure now urged by the House of Representatives, but all future emergency legislation; for the immigration board created by this bill could deal promptly, intelligently and efficiently with every situation that might arise. It should be possible for us to regulate the volume of immigration to our shores without special appeals to Congress for emergency legislation, made necessary by the kaleidoscopic economic or political changes in Europe.

## Labor and Uncle Sam

IN nearly every belligerent country during the war organized labor took a somewhat detached stand with respect to the national cause. It formed a sort of opposition party, patriotic in the main but always anti-governmental. The great exception was the United States. The American Federation of Labor and similar large organizations (for it is hardly worth while to speak of the disloyalties of a few local branches of such a numerically weak body as the I. W. W.) were as ardent for victory as any class in the country. This was due in part to the wise and friendly labor policy of President Wilson and in part to the superior

political intelligence of the American workingman, who has learned to consider himself a citizen rather than a "class-conscious proletarian." We trust that it will be one of President Harding's policies to continue the friendly understanding between the Federal Government and the big trades unions which existed during the war, and that he will resist any reactionary attempts to use the legislative or administrative power of the Government to deprive organized labor of any gains it may have made in the standard of living during President Wilson's administration.

## Of Course

President Harding will keep his pet alligators in Florida water.

## Battleships

BATTLESHIPS stand half way on the price list. They are not, we will concede to the preparedness advocates, as costly as defeat in war. But they are more costly than international agreements to prevent war.

# The Twentieth Amendment?

### By Chester DeWitt Pugsley

IN our reverence for the letter of the American Constitution we are often strangely oblivious to its real intention. Once every four years we go thru the solemn farce of choosing Presidential electors and counting their votes. On the second Monday in January after each quadrennial election the electors of the victorious party in each state assemble at the state capitol and there cast their votes, which are then transmitted to Washington for counting by the Senate and the House of Representatives in joint session to establish a fact that has already been determined on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of the previous November. All this ceremony has about as much relation to the actual government of the United States as the coronation ritual of a British King has to do with the actual government of the British Empire, with the difference that the futile activities of our Electoral College have not even the advantage of being picturesque.

If we took the Constitution in its original meaning seriously we would choose as Presidential electors men who were not pledged to any candidate or bound by the choice of any party. There is no question but that the makers of the Constitution intended the Electoral College to be what a national party convention of unpledged delegates now is, a body free to choose for President anyone whom they might desire who was eligible to that high office. Since the development of the party convention system we have now virtually two electoral bodies: one to nominate the candidates from among whom the people will choose and the other to register the fact that the people have chosen. At the inception of our republic not only were Presidential electors supposed to be free of party pledges, but they were not even themselves chosen directly by the people. In South Carolina, for example, the electors were for many years selected by the Legislature. In other states the franchise was restricted to property owners and only gradually widened to manhood suffrage as a result of the democratic influence of the new states of the west.

If the Electoral College were but a quaint survival of the past there might be no urgency in removing it from our constitutional system. Many people are inclined to agree with Lord Macaulay, who said that he would not exert himself to destroy a mere anomaly unless it were also a grievance. But there are many practical evils inherent in the present system.

In the first place, electors are selected by general vote of the whole state and consequently a candidate with a minority of the popular vote may be elected by securing a narrow majority in one or two states with a great electoral vote. Large pluralities are simply thrown away. Twice since the Civil War, in the Hayes-Tilden campaign and the second Cleveland-Harrison campaign, a President was elected with a majority of the Electoral College vote but without even a plurality of the popular vote.

Perhaps a more serious result of casting the state's vote as a unit than the occasional election of a minority President is the unwholesome concentration of political activity in a few large and doubtful states. The defeat of Blaine hinged on a few hundred votes in New York. The defeat of Hughes in 1916 depended similarly on a few hundred votes in California, and it is generally believed that if Justice Hughes had not slighted the Johnson Progressives during his western trip he would have been President during the Great War. Politicians bear these facts in mind and nominate only the men whom they believe can carry the doubtful states with large electoral votes.

It would require an almost unprecedented movement of popular sentiment to nominate either a Republican or a Democrat, however great his ability and the nation's need of him, if he came from one of the states of the Solid South or from New England or Pennsylvania.

A third drawback to the present system is that it increases the danger of a contested election, as in 1876, and that if the emergence of a third party candidate prevents either of the leaders from obtaining an absolute majority of the electoral vote, the election is thrown into Congress, as in 1824.

A fourth evil is the delay which the present electoral system creates between the election and the beginning of the new Administration. Four months are wasted to no real purpose, while the election of individual electors is duly verified, credentials obtained, the electors assemble and vote in the state capitols, and their votes are examined in Washington. During this interim the Administration or the Congress which is in power may have been shown by the election to no longer represent the will of the voters, but it continues to function as before or to mark time thru a wasted interval of four months.

Congress should realize that the present method of electing a President and a Vice-President is not in accord with the present tendency toward democracy in government, and should submit a proposed amendment to the constitution in a joint resolution to the legislatures of the several states, providing for the direct election of President and Vice-President by the people.

# Fashions and Hobbies

"YOU can fool some of the people all of the time"—that's a hobby. "You can fool all of the people some of the time"—that's a fashion.

Taking a deep, irrational and purely arbitrary delight in some custom or occupation may be either a hobby or a fashion. The difference between the two is that the hobby is individual and persistent; the fashion or fad is collective and evanescent. If from rosy youth to snowy age a man is devoted to the game of ping-pong or of diabolo we say that he has a hobby. But there was a time when the country was swept for a season or two by these games as by a wildfire and anyone not engaged in them was considered an eccentric. If a lady should appear in the streets today wearing a green wig, a crinoline and a Merry Widow hat we would suspect her of having pet hobbies in the matter of dress. But there was a time when each of these quaint things was as common as the knee length skirt is today. The person with a hobby follows his own nose. The person in fashion follows the crowd.

Our own view is that the hobby is nobler than the fad. It is true that we may look with some wonder at an immortal being who spends the brief golden hours of his

earthly existence in collecting stamps or trunk labels. We may possibly consider that the golf enthusiast who postponed his marriage because the appointed day was perfect for the game had an inadequate sense of proportion. We may view with more wonder than envy the man who ponders over a game of chess with as much anxious care as if he were General Foch mapping out in his mind the decisive campaign of a great war. The man who can see nothing in this glorious, manifold universe but the single tax or proportional representation or Sabbath observance or rare china or Greek coins is not getting what he should out of life.

Be this all conceded. It is none the less true that the man with a hobby, in a crude, one sided sort of way, is fashioning his own life, whereas the man of fashion is the most unfortunate of slaves, the slave of everybody and nobody. People speak of fashion as the tyranny of the majority, but it rarely happens that the shape of an Easter hat is a campaign issue, even now that we have woman suffrage, or that the great issue of side-whiskers is placed before the people by referendum. Nor is there a definite despot who decrees these things for us. In a vague sort of way it is understood that "Paris" decides fashions in women's dress and "London" the latest wrinkle in men's clothes. But no one individual or corporation seems to have the matter wholly in control. As for fashions in games, drinks, face-painting, new verse forms, etiquet, dances and so forth who can say whence they arise? The wind bloweth where it listeth. All must conform, but they do not know whether the will to which they are conforming is that of a majority or a minority. Where does a fashion start? Where did the great influenza epidemic start; in Spain, in Russia, in India? These things are contagious, and that is all we know about it. Surely it is better to be a chronic victim of the stamp habit or a confirmed tangomaniac than merely to catch each new social contagion as it comes along.

## Rival Engineers

THE Democrats are talking of repairing the party machinery, but so far they have not got beyond the stage of throwing monkey wrenches at each other.

# Reaction and the Way Out

## By Preston Slosson

THE one point on which all who style themselves "liberals" seem to be agreed is that liberalism is in a bad way just now. Partly this is the natural result of the Great War. There may be such a thing as a war *for* liberty, but there can be no such thing as a war *of* liberty; the freedoms to be obtained by fighting must come after the fighting is over. War with its prohibitions, suppressions, conscriptions, discipline, censorships, courts martial and exaltation of authority is hostile to liberty at every point, and must be so if it is to be carried on efficiently. Still worse from the liberal point of view is the intolerance of class conflict, which has been sharpened by the economic dislocations of the war to a cutting edge. In time of war all you have to do is to obey the Government. But in time of revolution obedience may be demanded from above and from below; by the Government which is in power today and by the conspirators who hope to be in power tomorrow. Surely the most unfree of men is the poor peasant who in eastern Europe is subject to the double tyranny of Red and White, or in Ireland to the double tyranny of Green and Orange.

Of course the political "reaction" that is talked about is not quite as bad as the liberal press represents it. After all, the kings and nobles have been dislodged in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland and the Caucasus, and a real reaction, such as followed the Napoleonic wars and the revolution of 1848, would have brought them back to power. A "reactionary" government in France under the ex-Socialist Millerand and the ex-anarchist Briand is not what would have been meant by the phrase in the days of the Dreyfus case; and a "reactionary" government in Britain headed by the radical Lloyd George, based on adult suffrage, and offering home rule (even tho in inadequate measure) to Ireland, India and Egypt, would have sounded paradoxical in the days of the Boer War. The United States, it is true, has turned from its liberal President to a conservative successor; but in these days of woman suffrage and collective bargaining even stand-patism is not what it was in the time of Mark Hanna.

BUT democracy is not quite the same thing as liberalism. There is more equality in the world of 1920 than in the world of 1900, but perhaps not quite so much liberty. Freedom of travel has been restricted by an almost universal system of passports and permits; and some countries, ours among them, are considering not the restriction but the virtual abolition of immigration. Rights of racial minorities are not respected in Europe and national hostility burns even more fiercely than on the eve of the Great War. Even in the United States we have had attempts to forbid the use of foreign languages, to stir up anti-Jewish sentiment by newspaper propaganda, to terrorize the negroes by a revived Ku Klux Klan, to imprison and deport radical aliens without trial, to prevent duly elected Socialists from taking office, and in other ways to make 100 per cent Americanism resemble 100 per cent Prussianism.

Worse than defeat in the open field is confusion in the camp. What is really the matter with liberalism is that it has fallen asunder into mutually hostile sects. In England a few years ago there was a great and united party bearing the name of Liberal and dominant in the Government. What has become of it? One faction clings to Lloyd George and the Coalition and shuts its eyes to terrorism in Ireland. Another, the independent Liberals or "wee frees," sulks behind the tattered banner of the old Asquith Whigs and wastes its energies in mere obstruction. A third group has gone over altogether to the Labor party. The liberal press has got in bad odor with the British public by ill-timed apologies for Germany and Bolshevist Russia—queer chums these for "liberals." What effective work is really being done for liberalism is carried on largely by those who do not wear the name; moderate labor chiefs, such as Henderson, Barnes and Clynes, or broad-minded Tories, such as Lord Robert Cecil.

In America the liberals are as troubled with dissensions as in England. President Wilson, the greatest living exponent of the liberal theory, has been deserted by nearly all of the independents and progressives who elected him in 1916. When he sounded a trumpet blast for liberals to rally round the League of Nations a few responded, but most of them ran in the opposite direction as fast as their feet would carry them. Former Progressives of the Senator Johnson type surrendered unconditionally to the Republican Old Guard in order to make common cause against the bug-bear of "internationalism." Meanwhile the serious thinkers of the radical press discovered that the League of Nations was not international enough, because it was linked with a peace settlement unsatisfactory to Germany. While the Wilsonite Covenanters, the bitter-ender Bull Moose and the doctrinaire pacifists were engaged in a merry three-cornered war the country was delivered into the hands of Penrose and Lodge.

Liberalism must find its feet again for the world cannot do without it. No form of government is satisfactory if it is administered in a harsh and intolerant spirit. Whether it be rule by German nobles, treating commoners, civilians and foreigners as the dust beneath their feet; or rule by

steel magnates, maintaining a twelve hour day and refusing to sell their products to customers who will not agree to uphold the open shop; or rule by labor unions enforcing the closed shop with bomb and boycott; or rule by Bolshevist dictators, banning the freedom of the press, suppressing strikes by martial law and shooting without fair trial all persons suspected of disaffection—humanity will not rest content. There is a hunger for freedom as definite as the hunger for bread, and self-respecting people will not long submit to rulers who delight to bully.

It is necessary that liberalism be more thoroly studied by those who call themselves liberals. It is confused with all sorts of things that have nothing to do with it; such as peculiar theories of art and literature, agnostic tendencies in religion, scorn of popular morality, particular opinions on politics. A heretic is not necessarily more "free" than an orthodox person; freedom inheres in the right to hold and express opinions and not in the nature of the opinions held or expressed. A liberal may be a Catholic or an atheist, but he must not be a Spanish inquisitor or an anti-clerical fanatic. He may prefer Pope or Tennyson or Amy Lowell, but he must not be the sort of critic who declares that nothing is literature which does not conform to certain rules. He may be a capitalist or a Socialist, an aristocrat or a democrat, but he must not be the "shoot 'em down" type of Tory or the "blow 'em up" type of revolutionist. Good nature, a willingness to live and let live, a respect for the personality of other people and a reluctance to suppress what is eccentric unless it is also positively harmful; these qualities will make anyone a liberal no matter what his creed or party may be.

LIBERALISM, of course, means the principle of liberty. But what is liberty? Perhaps we may define it as "the power and range of personal choice." Obviously the more things, and the more important things, a man can do or refrain from doing according to his own will the greater the radius of his freedom. A slave is unfree because his master may at any moment interfere with any choice he may make. A hermit is unfree in another way; he can do anything he chooses, but there is such a limited range of things for him to do! It is important to emphasize this positive side of freedom, opportunity to choose, as well as the negative side, permission to choose. This is the reason why law may sometimes secure more freedom than anarchy can. By forbidding people to rob and steal an atmosphere of personal security is created in which people can move about more freely and do what they please to a greater extent than if they were always on guard to protect themselves. Even a prohibition law, tho in itself abhorrent to liberalism, may be justified in a country where the saloon has grown to be a menace to the public safety by becoming a focus for lawlessness and disorder.

The so-called Spencerian individualists of fifty years ago thought that freedom involved nothing more than limiting the coercive powers of the state. They forgot that a factory law which interferes with "freedom of contract" to work long hours or under unwholesome conditions may foster the larger liberties which health and leisure alone make possible. A child "compelled" to go to school is freer in the long run than a child permitted to grow up within the imprisoning walls of illiteracy. Even a Socialist régime might be liberal if administered in a liberal spirit, by men of the type of Wells in England, Vandervelde in Belgium, Thomas in France, Branting in Sweden and Spargo in America. What we want is not anarchy, but that minimum of public regulation which will secure the maximum of free personal activity.

The social freedoms which it would be the object of a liberal régime to secure so far as possible, may conveniently be grouped under five heads. First of all comes freedom of opinion and its expression, including freedom of religious worship and all the liberties of speech and of the press. Short of libel and incitement to crime, this should be absolute. Secondly, there is the very important right to organize. Broadly speaking, the quickest way in which a liberal government can be distinguished from an oppressive government is to notice the extent to which associations independent of the state itself are permitted. The right to establish a private business, to organize a labor union, to found a social or literary society, to join a political party or other propagandist agency, to start a private school, to belong to a religious denomination which is not the State church—all of these liberties have been won only by incessant agitation and occasional revolution. A tyrant views every association as a potential conspiracy; a free nation tolerates and even encourages all sorts of private organizations unless they are definitely lawless in character.

In the third place comes civil or legal freedom: the right to do business, to have access in civil cases to the courts of law, to a fair trial and all legal precautions before conviction on a criminal charge. Fourthly, political freedom: the right to choose one's rulers by vote. It is at this point that the principle of liberty touches hands with the different principle of democracy. An aristocracy or even autocracy may be liberal in the main, but as it denies one important liberty to its subjects, freedom of choice on questions of public policy, it can never be quite as free as a liberal democracy. Fifthly, personal freedom: the right to engage in any activity, occupation or recreation that is not harmful to others. Obviously this saving clause means many limitations; to permit some people to do as they please would wreck the liberty of everyone who had the misfortune to be their neighbor. But certainly sumptuary laws which impose detailed limitations on dress, or blue laws that would interfere with harmless amusements, or laws such as Germany used to impose on her subjects in Alsace, Posen and Schleswig, forbidding them to use their native language, would not be classed as liberal legislation.

To maintain and extend freedom in all these fields of activity is the historic task of liberalism and its task is not complete. Whether it will work better as embodied in a political party or as a controlling element in all parties is an open question. But the liberal road is the only road to the future. Intolerant radicalism leads only to a precipice; intolerant conservatism only to a swamp. And we should not be fooled by the fact that men (even self-styled liberals) can be found who call the precipice "Progress" and the swamp "Security."

## Motto for Politicians

Count that day lost if, when the sun is set,
You haven't been "mentioned" for the Cabinet.

## Two Methods: Two Results

IN South Africa the British granted completest home rule to their recently conquered enemies, the Boers. As a result a former Boer general has saved South Africa to the British Empire by his victory at the polls.

In Ireland the British denied home rule to a land which they had ruled for centuries. As a result the Irish have ceased to demand home rule and are waging a civil war for complete independence.

Would it have been wiser for the British to have governed the Boers from London and thus forced men like General Smuts into opposition to the Empire and made necessary the keeping of a large British army in the Transvaal during and after the Great War? Or would it have been wiser to have taken the courageous and magnanimous course with Ireland and allowed a purely Irish Government to keep order in Ireland?

Liberalism succeeds. Repression fails.

# The Story of the Week

## Keeping the Other Fellow Out

THE immigration question is perhaps the dominant interest of Congress at the moment, at least apart from purely partizan affairs. In December the House of Representatives passed the Johnson bill, which aimed to stop immigration altogether for a brief period pending the working out of an immigration policy. But the Senate did not imitate the example of the House or listen to the impatient voices of the press demanding instant action. It was not until February 9 that the Senate Committee on Immigration reported on the Johnson bill, and its report was unfavorable. Senators Harris, Harrison and King, Democrats, and Johnson, Republican, supported the general exclusion measure favored by the House, but it was opposed by Senators Colt, Dillingham, Sterling and Keyes, Republicans, and Phelan, Democrat.

The Senate seems to have a plan of its own for restricting immigration. The Committee on Immigration reported favorably a modification of Senator Dillingham's measure, limiting immigration from any country to a fixed percentage of the foreign-born residents of the United States of such nationality. After some discussion the committee fixed the number at 5 per cent. Altho the percentage is based on "the United States census next preceding," should the measure soon go into effect the census of 1910 would be the basis, as the distribution of American population by national origin has not yet been fully computed for the census of 1920. Not more than 20 per cent of aliens admissible from any country during a year shall be permitted to land in any one month. The usual exceptions to the law are made in favor of foreign diplomatic officials, alien residents of the United States, temporarily abroad, tourists who do not intend to settle in the United States, and citizens of countries on the American continent. Nor does the law apply to Chinese and other eastern Asiatics, as racial differences make their immigration a problem of different character.

Under the plan before the Senate it is estimated that 337,020 persons from the countries of northern and western Europe, the lands of the older immigration, could be admitted annually and 255,416 from eastern and southern Europe and Asiatic Turkey, the lands of the newer immigration. Italian, Slavic and Russo-Jewish immigration would be reduced to little more than a third of the average for the years immediately preceding the Great War. This sifting by nationality is of course one of the objects of the bill, but no direct discrimination is made against any European nation and consequently there could be no ground for diplomatic protest.

One cause of the present clamor for immigration restriction is the danger of bringing in disease. The Public Health Service, under Surgeon General Cumming, declares that out of 10,002 immigrants who arrived at Ellis Island during the last six months of 1920 and were certified by the health service as physically defective, 9799 were admitted by immigration officials. Dr. Copeland, New York Health Commissioner, has asked President Wilson to intervene directly to prevent the landing of persons who are or may be infected with typhus. Several cases of typhus have appeared among recent immigrants who have reached New York.

On the other hand there are some who consider that our present immigration laws are too drastic and operate with cruel severity on individual cases. Louis Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, spoke at a mass meeting protesting against the proposed restrictive legislation and declared:

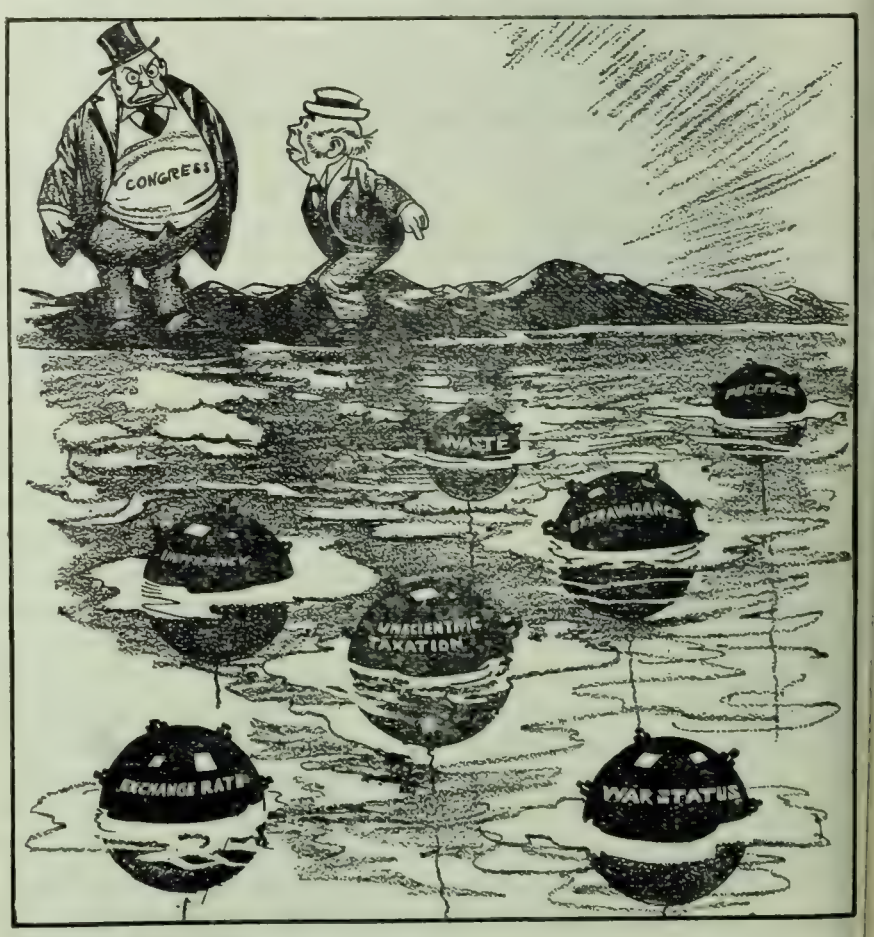
> For nearly eight years it has been my fortune to hold an administrative office in which I have had to do very intimately with matters that concern the Jews of this country, whose relatives and friends have come here to escape persecution. I have been compelled to turn many of them back, for one reason or another over which Congress alone has control. This duty has been appalling—not for its magnitude, but for the cruelties involved—and I am heartily sick of it all.

## Harding Says "Hurry Up"

PRESIDENT-ELECT Harding has become (quite reasonably) impatient with the continued delays of the present session of Congress in clearing the desk of accumulated business. In a special telegram to Senator Lodge he urged immediate action on the regular appropriation bills:

> I have been learning of the danger of the failure of some of the appropriation bills at this session of the Congress. I am reluctant to intrude my views or to in any way suggest what Congress ought to do, but I feel free to say to you that it would be exceedingly gratifying if Congress could clear all appropriation bills out of the way during the present session.
>
> Such a course would greatly simplify the important work which will have to be taken up at the extra session of the new Congress. I am sure you will construe this expression as one which I find justified because of my former association and the importance I attach to prompt action by the next Congress in dealing with pressing problems.

Senator Lodge replied that he quite agreed as to the necessity of hastening the appropriation bills. Mr. Harding sent a similar message to Representative Mondell, requesting the House of Representatives to push to completion the appropriation measures. At the time when Mr. Harding sent his appeals to the Senate and the House the legislative program was badly "jammed." The House of Representatives had passed nearly all of the annual appropriation meas-




*Thomas in Detroit News*

**Why our ship doesn't come in**

ures, but the Senate had only acted on five measures, and those the least controversial. Military and naval appropriations were still pending in the Senate. The House refused to suspend the completion of the 1916 naval building program to await diplomatic negotiations for international disarmament, but it reduced the enlisted personnel of the navy from 143,000 to 100,000 and the Marine Corps from 27,000 to 20,000. The House provided funds sufficient for an army of only 150,000, altho 175,000 is the maximum establishment authorized by Congressional resolution.

The chief cause of the delay of the Senate in acting on routine measures was the discussion of the Emergency Tariff bill on agricultural products. This measure, controversial and related to party politics, absorbed a large part of the time of the session and attempts to force thru a cloture resolution, limiting debate, were defeated. Not until February 16 did the Emergency Tariff come up for a vote in the Senate. It passed by 43 votes to 30, nine Democrats, mainly from the West, voting with the Republican majority and only four Republicans voting with the opposition. The bill then went to conference on the Senate amendments.

Besides endangering the regular appropriation bills, the tariff debate in the Senate also threatened general measures of prime importance, such as immigration legislation, Congressional reapportionment, and the reform of the executive departments on "efficiency" lines. The House of Representatives has already acted on the reapportionment, reversing the decision of the census committee, and deciding not to increase the membership of the House. It was voted to keep the House membership at its present figure of 435 instead of increasing it to 483, so that no state would lose Congressmen. Under the present plan Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Nebraska, Rhode Island and Vermont will lose one representative apiece and Missouri will lose two. Connecticut, New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas and Washington gain one apiece, Michigan and Ohio two each, and California three. The redistricting will be left to the states. The attempt of Representative Tinkham to reduce southern representation by bringing into force the provisions of the fourteenth constitutional amendment was sidetracked on a point of order.

## Railroad Wages

CHAIRMAN Atterbury of the Association of Railway Executives has caused a flutter in labor circles by appealing to the United States Railway Labor Board for immediate abrogation of the national agreement between railroad companies and their employees, specifying rules and conditions under which the railroad men work. He said that under present conditions many railroads are not earning even their bare operating expenses and that "With declining prices and wages in industry and agriculture the country demands that the solvency of the railroads must be assured by a reduction in operating expenses and not by a further advance in rates." He admitted that "as the wages of railroad employees were the last to go up, they should be the last to come down," but he believed that sooner or later lower wages were necessary if the railroads were to meet their costs.

President Jewell of the railway branch of the American Federation of Labor protested against the assertions of Mr. Atterbury and appealed to President Wilson to use his influence to uphold the standards of living in the transportation industry. President Wilson refused to intervene on behalf of either side and informed both the labor unions and the Association of Railway Executives that existing tribunals were quite competent to handle the question without his interference:

> It would be manifestly unwise for me to take any action which would interfere with the orderly procedure of the Interstate Commerce Commission or of the Railroad Labor Board, and all the matters mentioned in your telegram are within the jurisdiction of one or the other of these bodies; and in their action I think we may repose entire confidence.

The Railroad Labor Board on February 10 handed down a decision rejecting the application of the railroad executives for an abrogation of the existing agreements between the companies and the unions. These national agreements establish rules for shop crafts, stationary firemen and oilers, clerks, maintenance of way men and signal men, and the railroad executives contend that if the agreements were set aside and restrictive rules abolished a saving of $300,000,000 would be obtained. General Atterbury has announced his intention of securing piecemeal revision of rules alleged to be restrictive or unworkable since the agreements cannot be abolished as a whole. The agreements in question deal with conditions of work rather than wage schedules, but the railroad executives hold that they inflate labor costs unwarrantably by applying general rules to varying local conditions.




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

Go back and sit down!

## Federal Judge Faces Impeachment

KENESAW Mountain Landis, Federal District Judge for Northern Illinois since 1905, is threatened with impeachment by Senator Dial of South Carolina in a case which involves some very interesting ethical questions. A bank teller, only nineteen years old, in the town of Ottawa, Illinois, confessed to stealing $96,500. The warm-hearted judge not only set him free, without bail, pending sentence, but declared that in his opinion "indirectly this robbery should be laid at the door of the bank directors." The young embezzler was the support of a large family and was paid only $90 a month for handling sums amounting to nearly a million dollars a month, and such conditions, in the judge's opinion, amounted to a standing invitation to theft. Senator Dial said that, "I propose to bring the matter to the attention of the Senate and ask that this judge be impeached," since there were many persons in the United States occupying places of trust for $90 a month or less, and such decisions from the bench would encourage them to steal. Instead of explaining away his statement, Judge Landis repeated it and declared that the reason Senator Dial was so interested in the matter was that he himself was a banker and an owner of cotton mills and "couldn't

stand an investigation of wage conditions in the institutions he owns."

Judge Landis was also threatened with impeachment from another quarter by Representative Welty of Ohio, who protested against his receiving a double salary; one as Federal District Judge and the other as legal arbitrator and final judge in all cases concerning organized baseball. Federal judges are legally prohibited from acting as counsels and attorneys, but, according to Attorney General Palmer, there appears to be at present no law to prevent a judge from accepting such an outside position as head of the controlling board of the great baseball leagues. But many have felt it inadvisable for a Federal judge to divide his time and energies between the Federal Government and private employment, and Representative Welty has introduced legislation to prohibit Federal judges from receiving salaries from private organizations. Judge Landis is one of the best known men on the bench, not only because of his admitted legal ability, but because of the important cases which he has tried. In the Standard Oil rebate cases in 1907 he imposed a fine of $29,240,000, probably the largest fine ever imposed on an industrial concern. During the Great War he tried some sensational cases of Socialists and radicals, who were accused of violating the Espionage Act by anti-war or anti-conscription propaganda.



*International*

**A Senator and a Congressman, for different reasons, are urging the impeachment of Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, of Illinois. One charge concerns Judge Landis's freeing a nineteen year old bank teller who stole $96,500 with the statement that "indirectly this robbery should be laid at the door of the bank directors." The other charge is against Judge Landis receiving a private salary in addition to his payment by the Federal Government. The private salary referred to is $42,500 a year to be paid to Judge Landis as head of the controlling board of "big league" baseball, a position that he accepted only a few months ago**

## Reparations Echoes

THE announced terms of the German reparations indemnity have been variously received in different countries. Germany is threatening open resistance, tho it has not closed the door to further discussion. Foreign Minister Simons declared that "the arrangement as set forth in the Entente's second note is not regarded by us as a possible ground for further negotiations," but he added that it would be the duty of the German Government "to draw up clear counter-proposals." He pointed out that the new arrangement involved a departure from the exact terms of the Treaty of Versailles and consequently Germany could not be coerced into accepting it. His address was well received by the different parties and by the German press.

English opinion is more divided; the radical and liberal press supporting the Keynes program of a small and fixed indemnity, while more conservative organs support Premier Lloyd George. Lloyd George explained his position at a public meeting in the great industrial city of Birmingham. He said that the amount of wealth in Germany could not be taken as a basis for fixing the indemnity, since the railways, mines and forests and other internal resources could not be taken out of the country. Only exportable wealth could be taken into consideration, and for the first few years owing to the demoralization wrought by the war very large payments could not be expected. It was therefore necessary to arrange a flexible indemnity, increasing with the volume of Germany's exports, which would be a measure of returning prosperity. The Allies would send in "the full bill" according to the terms of the Treaty if the Germans insisted, but it would be a heavier burden on Germany than the arrangement reached at Paris. The Allies were also willing to listen to counter-proposals put forward in good faith. "We are willing that Germany should pay us under conditions which best suit her own means, requirements and resources, but if it is a mere attempt to evade payment we cannot put up with that."

Premier Briand defended the Paris agreement before the Chamber of Deputies in the face of much criticism. André Tardieu and ex-President Poincaré said that it would have been better to have stuck to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and compelled Germany to pay the whole amount established by the investigations of the




*Wahl in Sacramento Bee*




*Marcus in New York Times*

**CALIFORNIA AND NEW YORK HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS ON THE QUESTION OF GERMAN PAYMENTS**

**That happens to be the idea exactly!** **A bird in the hand—**

Reparation Commission. This sum paid in hand would be upwards of 210,000,000,000 gold marks or, if spread over forty-two years with interest, would amount in all to about 500,000,000,000. Poincaré contended in a letter to the *Temps* newspaper that by the Paris agreement France would get only about half of what the Treaty promised her. He urged that at any rate there should be no more concessions. Briand said that the Treaty plan of letting the Reparation Commission fix the indemnity had broken down because there was "no accord in the Commission." He said that it would be fatal to isolate France from Great Britain and her other allies and that he would not abandon a policy of concord.

The Chamber of Deputies ratified the Paris reparations agreement by 395 votes to 83 and gave Premier Briand a vote of confidence by a majority of 387 to 125. This relieves Briand of immediate political embarrassments, but it does not answer the question as to whether the Deputies will continue to support him if it becomes necessary to make concessions to Germany in order to secure German acceptance of a reparations settlement.

## English Problems

GREAT Britain seems to be taking the lead in the present movement for naval disarmament, not only in halting the building of big ships but in commissioning Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, to take up diplomatically the question of limitation of armaments. The United States is approached first because since we stand outside the League of Nations our participation in a disarmament agreement must be secured independently of any action that could be taken thru the League; also because, since the defeat of Germany, the United States is the only real rival to Britain on the seas.

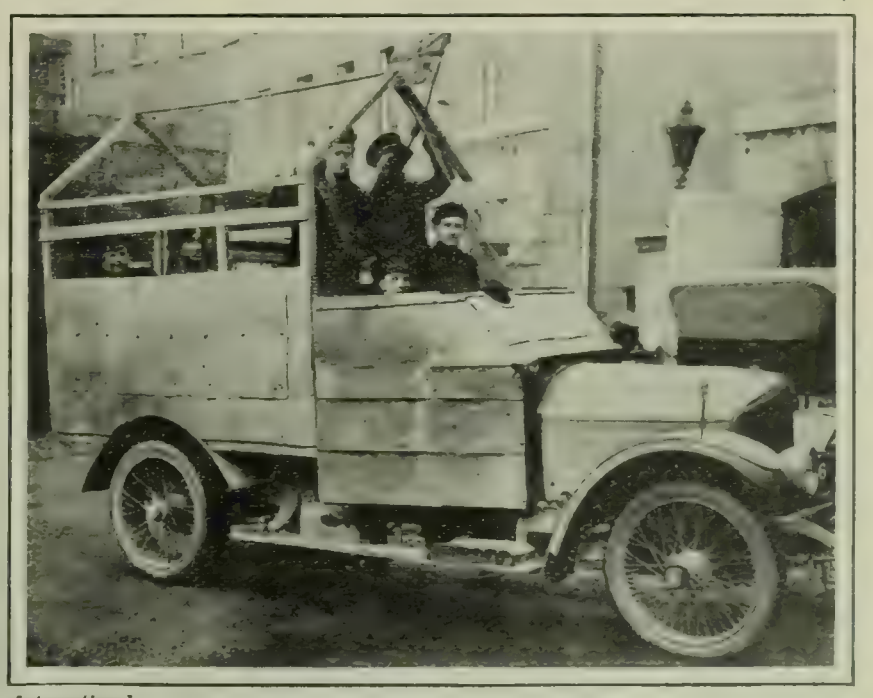
Merely to list the many diplomatic questions which concern Great Britain and the United States will show how important an Anglo-American understanding is to the peace of the world. They include: (1) the terms on which the United States can be induced to enter the League of Nations, (2) the willingness of the United States to agree to naval disarmament and the question whether the American navy should be the largest or the second largest in capital ships, (3) the relation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance to the balance of power in the Pacific, (4) the war debt of more than four billion dollars owed by Great Britain to the United States, (5) the question as to whether the British mandate over Mesopotamia will adversely affect American oil interests, (6) the disposition of former German cables in the Pacific and the status of the island of Yap, (7) the proposed exemption of American coastwise shipping from Panama Canal dues, (8) the anti-British propaganda carried on by Irish sympathizers in America. The British Government has felt it necessary to quiet rumors that these problems were leading the two nations to a diplomatic crisis by issuing the following reassuring official statement:

> On the contrary, the Foreign Office is confident that any questions arising between Great Britain and the United States can and will be settled without difficulty, whether with the existing or the succeeding Administration.

Secretary of the Treasury Houston has confirmed in an executive session of the Senate that the British Government has sought to bring about a cancellation of inter-Allied indebtedness. But to this the United States, which would be the chief loser, has not consented. It is due to the British to say that they would gain little by such a move as British debts to the United States are outbalanced by the debts of France and other continental Allies to the British.

Premier Lloyd George is almost the only statesman in the world who has retained political power and prestige both during and after the war and it is an open question whether he can continue to hold his Coalition together many months longer. Enormous taxation is burdening the British people and their discontent was well indicated by the election at Dover in January when Sir Thomas Polson, running as an independent "anti-waste" candidate, defeated Major Astor, the Coalition nominee. Unemployment is strengthening the Labor party in its contests with the Government. In a passionate appeal to Liberals to stand by the Government, Premier Lloyd George said that national unity was still imperative and the time had not yet come when a Coalition could be abandoned for the old system of political parties. He claimed that his Irish Home Rule bill was more liberal than anything ever offered by Gladstone and that the only issues at present were the demand for absolute Irish independence and the protection of the police and soldiers from being murdered.

The most important change in the British Cabinet in recent months was the resignation of Lord Milner from the Colonial Office and the appointment of Winston Churchill in his place. Churchill is a brilliant but rather erratic politician who has held many posts in the Cabinet and was First Lord of the Admiralty at the outbreak of the Great War. It was largely due to him that the British navy was in a state of complete preparedness in August, 1914, but his reputation suffered greatly from many strategic blunders during the early months of the war for which he was held responsible. An English writer has summed him up perfectly in declaring that "There is no doubt about Mr. Churchill's capacity. None but a first-rate man could survive so many first-rate mistakes."



*International*

THE BRITISH BOMB-PROOF PATROL

It looks rather like a traveling hen coop, but its protective value against Sinn Fein bombs and bullets has been scientifically worked out, and—unfortunately—tested. The sides of the car are highly tempered steel plates, behind which the men can crouch for safety; the plates are so strong that steel-jacketed bullets hardly dent them. The heavy wire mesh with which the car is entirely covered prevents a bomb from dropping in. The car in this photograph is on duty in Dublin

## Smuts Wins South Africa

THE South African party, headed by General Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, has swept the polls at the recent South African general election. The party will have a large majority over all other parties combined in the House of Assembly and a stable administration is thus assured. Partial returns give the South African party seventy-six seats, the Nationalist party forty-one, Labor nine, and one independent. In the present Assembly, chosen last March, no party had a majority. The South African party had forty-one seats, the Unionists twenty-five, Labor twenty-one, and the Na-

tionalists forty-four. The significance of the election is very great; it is not too much to say that on it depended the whole future of South Africa and the question whether or not it was to remain a part of the British Empire. It involved a greater question still, whether the British plan of permitting the Dominions to rule themselves without interference from London would lead to the break-up of the British Empire or to its continuance as a confederation of free commonwealths. For South Africa was the most disaffected of all the Dominions and if secession was to take place anywhere it would be there first of all.

The Union of South Africa consists of the four States of Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State, covering an area of 473,000 square miles (larger than France and Germany put together) with a white population, by the census of 1911, of 1,276,000 and a native population of 4,697,000. The Union also holds a mandate over the former German territory of South-West Africa. The white population is divided between Dutch and English and both languages are legally recognized. The Cape Colony was founded by the Dutch and contains a very large Dutch element, but it has been a British colony ever since the Napoleonic wars. The Transvaal and Orange Free State were settled by Dutch ranchmen, the so-called "Boers," and they remained practically independent, in spite of various attempts on the part of Great Britain to bring them under British overlordship, until the hostile policy of President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal to British immigrants brought about the Boer War and the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to the British Empire. In 1910 all four British colonies in South Africa were united into a Union and the former colonies became provinces of that Union, just as the Canadian colonies had united to form the Dominion of Canada and the Australian colonies to form the Commonwealth of Australia.

Perhaps no country in the world faced more complex difficulties than the Union of South Africa. The black population vastly outnumbered the white and consisted in part of very warlike tribes. Further racial confusion had been caused by the introduction of Chinese and East Indian coolies. The Dutch were still smarting under the memory of the British conquest and all the bitterness engendered by the prolonged and bloody Boer War; they were, moreover, tenacious of their old customs and suspicious on principle of the immigrant English "outlanders." Added to the conflict of races and nationalities was the war of classes. In the gold and diamond mines of the Transvaal there was, in addition to the native laborers, a turbulent and very "class-conscious" element of white English miners whose strikes had often thrown the country into confusion and who were organized politically as an independent Labor Party with strong Socialist tendencies.



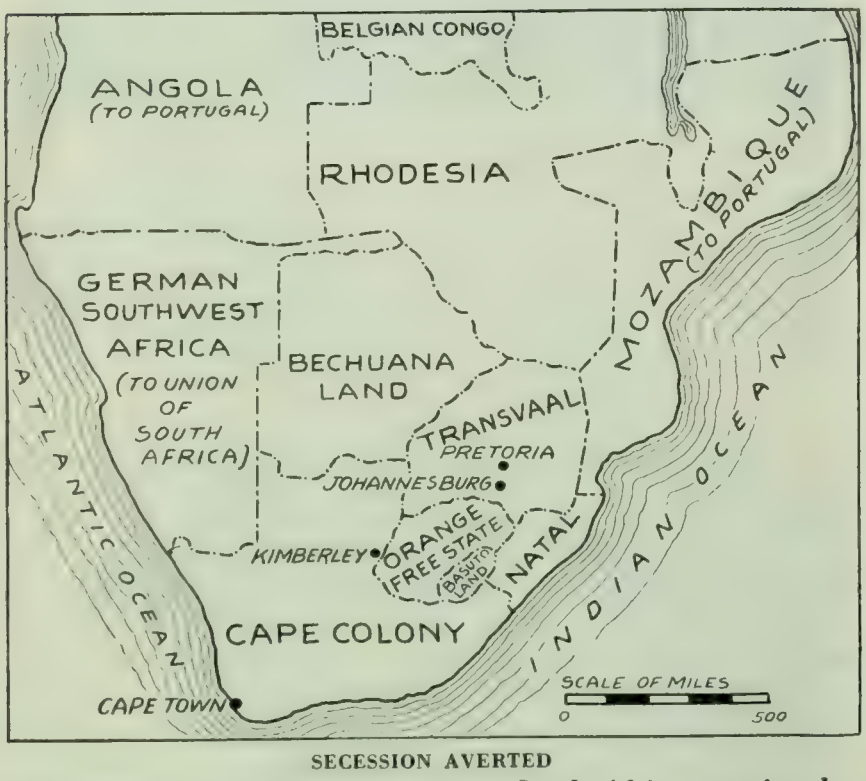
*Western Newspaper Union*

THE LEADER OF SOUTH AFRICA

**General Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, gained an overwhelming victory in the recent general election, not only for himself but for his stand in favor of South Africa's remaining under the rule of the British Empire. General Smuts fought against the English in the Boer War and with them in the Great War. In the peace councils after the war he attained international prominence as one of the great statesmen of modern times**

Anyone studying the country from the outside would have prophesied almost constant civil war for the Union made up of so many diverse and hostile elements. That this was averted is due to the good fortune which brought into power two of the greatest statesmen of modern times, the Boer generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts. Under their administration the country was kept together, the English and Dutch interests harmonized, the natives kept from rebellion, and the loyalty of the Union preserved during the crisis of the Great War. General De Wet, a distinguished military leader of the Boer War, raised a rebellion just after the outbreak of the Great War, but it was speedily put down. The Union then coöperated in the conquest of the German African colonies and received as a reward the "mandate" of the League of Nations over German South-West Africa. In his spare time, General Smuts helped construct the League of Nations.

But after-war difficulties were serious. Many of the stubborn Boer farmers still held to the ideal of making South Africa an independent Dutch republic, and under the lead of General Hertzog they formed the Nationalist Party and refused all coöperation with the Government. The death of General Botha deprived General Smuts of his ablest and wisest ally. The Labor Party, tho not secessionist like the Nationalists, was equally hostile to the Government. To rule at all, Premier Smuts had to seek the aid of the Unionist Party, composed of his old enemies, the English. Last October the Unionist Party was definitely swallowed up in the South African Party, which was broadened to include all of the English as well as the Dutch who were willing to sustain the Union and oppose secession. In the elections of this February the South African Party won many seats from the Nationalists and practically wiped out the Labor Party, even the Labor leader, Colonel Cresswell, going down in defeat. This was due to the fact that the miners and other workingmen subordinated their economic policy to the desire to maintain the Union and avert civil war.




SECESSION AVERTED

**The results of the recent election in South Africa promise the preservation of the Union and its continued status as part of the British Empire. A mandate over German Southwest Africa was given to the Union of South Africa by the League of Nations**

# A Number of Things

## By Edwin E. Slosson

Rudyard Kipling has brought suit against Genatosan (which in antebellum days was known as Sanatogen) for quoting four lines of his poem "If" without permission in an advertisement. The court awarded him forty shillings damages for infringement of copyright.

Apropos of this we feel tempted to quote, "When 'Omer smote his bloomin' lyre," but at ten shillings a line it is too expensive. It is cheaper to quote Homer than Kipling. There's a point in favor of the classics. The Sanatogen ad also included a quotation from Buddha, "By the force of my will I shall subdue this disease," but so far Buddha has not sued for damages under the copyright law.

***

The New York *Times* announces the opening of a new department of the Union Methodist Church, under this headline:

PLACE WHERE BROADWAY MISS MAY TAKE HER BEAU, TO BE OPENED BY METHODISTS.

Personally I should prefer to be taken to the Presbyterian Hospital for appendicitis.

***

The faults we are hardest upon are those we are tempted to commit. We can never pardon another for yielding to temptations we have resisted.

***

Here's a golf story told by Corsair in *The Near East:*

The Rector and the Colonel played a game on Monday, and the Colonel beat the Rector rather badly. On Tuesday the same thing happened, and on Wednesday, and on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. Then said the Rector, perhaps a trifle crossly: "Well, it's no good. I must give up golf, I suppose!" "Oh, nonsense!" replied the Colonel, pleased by his success. "You'll have your revenge over me some day, at any rate." "How so?" asked the Rector. "Why, I expect you'll read the burial service over me." The Rector's face lighted up momentarily, only to cloud over again at once. "No good," said he. "It'll still be your hole."

***

How character is revealed by answers to examination questions! Here is one from a geography student whose sense of practicality is strong: "Germany could be placed comfortably into Texas if its transportation were possible." But would Texas be comfortable?

***

The fight in Oxford over the reform of the University has been rather hard for outsiders to follow, but the *Oxford Magazine* helps us out by explaining clearly the difference between the opposing factions. The liberals are, it seems, "insisting on drastic reconstruction so far as consistent with maintenance of best traditions," while the


# What Is Nerve Force?

## By PAUL von BOECKMANN

***Nerve Specialist and Psycho-Analyst***

EXACTLY what Nerve Force is, we do not know. If we did know, we would know the Secret of Life. We know this: it is generated by the Nervous System through which it travels at a speed greater than 100 feet per second. It is the Master Force of the Body, the force that controls every heart beat, every breath, the digestion of every mouthful of food we eat, the action of every muscle, and the life of every cell. It is the force that gives us courage, ambition, personality, character, mental power and energy—the Force that Drives us On, On and On.

Every mental impulse and every bodily act uses up a certain amount of Nerve Force. If we expend more Nerve Force than the system can develop, we necessarily become Nerve Bankrupts, and we then have a condition known as Neurasthenia, Nervous Debility, Nervous Prostration or Nerve Exhaustion. Since the greatest drain of Nerve Force is by way of the brain, it can easily be understood why mental strain, worry, grief, and, of course, abuse of the reproductive functions, wreck the nerves so readily.

Nine people out of ten have weak nerves and are not aware of it. They think because their hands do not tremble, muscles twitch, or knees shake, that their nerves are perfect. Bear in mind that our nervous system consists of two great branches, the External and the Internal. Organic derangements and ailments are due to weakness of the Internal Nervous System, and not the External System, which mainly governs the external muscles. Note the accompanying diagram.

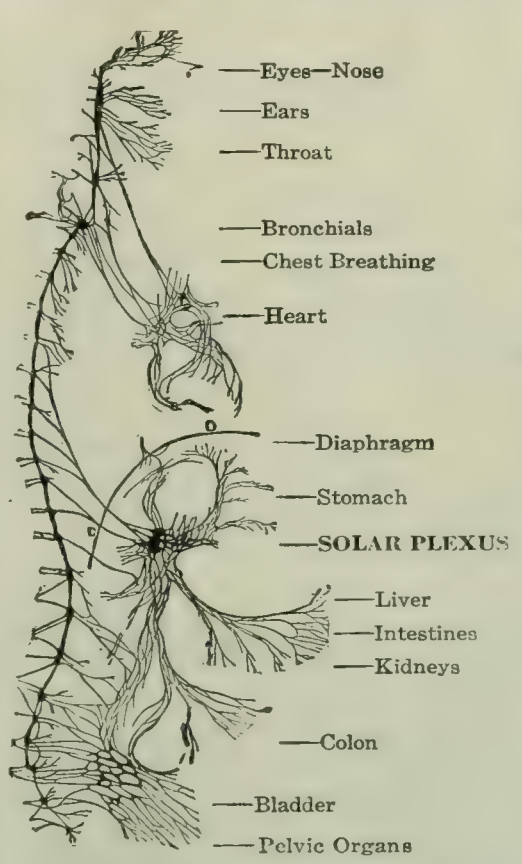



*Diagram showing the location of the Solar Plexus, known as the "abdominal brain," the great center of the Sympathetic (Internal) Nervous System. Mental strains, especially grief, fear, worry and anxiety paralyze the Solar Plexus, which in turn causes poor blood circulation, shallow breathing, indigestion, constipation, etc. This in turn clogs the blood with poisons that weaken and irritate the nerves. Thus Mental strain starts a circle of evils that cause endless misery, aches, pains, illness, weaknesses and generally lower mental and physical efficiency.*

The symptoms of Nerve Exhaustion vary according to individual characteristics, but the development is usually as follows:

First Stage: Lack of energy and endurance; that "tired feeling."

Second Stage: Nervousness; restlessness; sleeplessness; irritability; decline in sex force; loss of hair; nervous indigestion; sour stomach; gas in bowels; constipation; irregular heart; poor memory; lack of mental endurance; dizziness; headache; backache; neuritis; rheumatism and other pains.

Third Stage: Serious mental disturbances; fear; undue worry; melancholia; dangerous organic disturbances; suicidal tendencies; and in extreme cases, insanity.

If only a few of the symptoms mentioned apply to you, especially those indicating mental turmoil, you may be sure that your nerves are at fault—that you have exhausted your Nerve Force.

I agree with the noted British authority on the nerves, Alfred T. Schofield, M. D., the author of numerous works on the subject, who says: "It is my belief that the greatest single factor in the maintenance of health is that the nerves must be in order."

Hundreds of books have been written by Nerve Specialists intended as a guide in caring for the nerves and restoring nerve force. Unfortunately, these books do not meet the need of the general public as they are written in technical and complex language. I have written a 64-page book entitled "Nerve Force," which in the simplest language explains hundreds of vital points regarding the nerves and their care; information every person should know. Students of the subject, including physicians, pronounce the book the most practical work on the subject which has ever been written. Large corporations have bought my book by the thousands for their employees. Physicians recommend it to their nervous patients. Extracts from the books have again and again been reprinted in magazines and newspapers, which is the strongest proof of real merit. The cost of the book is 25 cents. Bound in substantial leatherette cover 50 cents. Remit in coin or stamps. Address Paul von Boeckmann, Studio, 231, 110 West 40th Street, New York City. I have advertised my various books in this and other high-class magazines for more than twenty years, which is ample guarantee of my responsibility and integrity. If the book does not meet your fullest expectations, I shall return your money PLUS your outlay of postage. So send for my book To-Day, subject to my guarantee.

**Publisher's Note: Prof. von Boeckmann is the scientist who explained the nature of the mysterious Psycho-physic Force involved in the Coulon-Abbott Feats; a problem that had baffled the leading scientists of America and Europe for more than thirty years, and a full account of which will be published in the March and April issues of Physical Culture Magazine.**

# Orlando is Calling You

Do you want to get away
From the *grind* of every day—
From the drudgery of things you have to do?
Do you want to settle down
Near a lively, busy town,
Where the joy of living will appeal to you?

Do you want to scent the breeze
Coming through the orange trees?
Do you want to hear the birds call—loud and clear?
Are you seeking perfect health
That's combined with certain wealth
And an income from an orange grove each year?
Do you want a piece of land
That will grow to beat the band
All the different garden crops that you enjoy?

Do you want to make a "Nest,"
And a permanent bequest
For the future welfare of each girl and boy?

Do you want a sunny clime
Where there's fishing all the time?
Where there's ducks and deer and quail and other game?
Where the summer climate's cool,
And within each lake and pool,
You can swim in January—just the same?

Do you want to buy this land
On an easy-payment plan,
With about your monthly outlay for cigars?
Do you want to read a book
That will make you want to look
On the finest land that lays beneath the stars?

Send a letter right away;
Put it in the mail to-day;
We will send this Booklet absolutely FREE.
After you have read it through,
If a *thought* occurs to you—
Just address another letter here to me.

We will answer, straight and true,
Questions that occur to you.
We have nothing to evade or to conceal.
On an Orange County Farm
Life will take on added charm,
And you'll never lack a dollar—nor a meal.

Send for our Big, FREE Illustrated Book—"TWENTY ACRES AND PLENTY." It tells of almost unbelievable profits made from trucking and fruit-growing in our part of FLORIDA. Also about sick-and-out-of-work Clauses, and other protective features of our contract. **Address Sylvester E. Wilson, Dept. H-34, Orlando, Florida.**

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MR. C. E. BROOKS

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**Brooks' Rupture Appliance**

Has automatic Air Cushions. Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb. No salves. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial to prove it. Protected by U. S. patents. Catalog and measure blanks mailed free. Send name and address today.
**Brooks Appliance Co., 490-H State St., Marshall, Mich.**


conservatives on the contrary are "pressing for maintenance of best traditions so far as consistent with drastic reconstruction."

This looks to me like a modern instance of the old problem of what happens when an irresistible force acts on an immovable body. Since that problem has never yet been experimentally solved we will watch with interest what happens to Oxford.

***

In the winter of 1914-15 a British soldier in a hospital in France announced thru the press that he was lonely and wished somebody would write to him. A thousand somebodies responded and sent besides parcels of goodies that filled seven mail sacks. But by the time they arrived he had been discharged and never turned up to claim his mail, so presumably he was no longer lonely. Another "lonely soldier" had 3000 letters and several bags of parcels addressed to him, but the army postal service struck at this and refused to deliver them. Both men were lucky to have missed their mail, for the job of reading and answering four thousand letters, most of them doubtless long and written in long hand, is no slight job.

***

The same sort of people who a few years ago were going to surgeons to have their appendices removed are now going to psychoanalysts to have their complexes removed. The new operation is more painful and dangerous because ether is not used.

# The Negro Moses

(*Continued from page 206*)

from now. Oh, I believe in time! I believe in time and I give them ten years to send up that war smoke again. We are waiting for it. When it comes we young men are going to try what virtues there are in the materials they gave us to use in France, Flanders and Mesopotamia. The life I could give in France and Flanders and Mesopotamia I can give on the battle plains of Africa to raise the colors of the red, the black and the green forever. Whether they desire to salute the flag today we do not care, but we will make them salute it tomorrow."

Just here lies the actuating principle of Garveyism. It is not merely a Back-to-Africa movement. It is not merely an Africa-for-the-Africans movement. It is a movement to win respect and to defend black men in white men's countries thruout the world. Garvey says to negroes: "Not until you can make your race so strong as to strike fear into the breast of that man that has been hounding you for fifty years will black men be safe in any community in which they live. The white man will only respect your rights constitutionally as a citizen of this country, or as a resident of this country, when you have some government behind you. When you can compel a nation to respect your rights because of your connection with some government that is sufficiently strong to support you, then and only then will you be respected. Even as the Frenchman who makes up his mind to live always in America can get the protection of his government when he needs it, so must you."

It is not easy to determine what negroes in general think of Garvey. One gets such responses as, "He is very idealistic," "He builds his mountains too high," or, "I think he's going to waste all that money. What does a colored man know about running steamship lines?" But you notice that invariably the reply is preceded by a moment or two of hesitation and you wonder if perhaps the negro is not giving you the answer he imagines you would like to hear. At all events, every American negro seems to know about Garvey, and when the Garveyites held high carnival in Madison Square Garden one night last summer the building was thronged to capacity with an all-black audience.

Meanwhile I find it a little difficult to determine what I myself think of Garvey. I laughed at first. Then I felt a sharp pang of sympathy. "A shame," I said, "that this rainbow-hued hope should have obsessed a poor, misguided, fanatical dreamer of a black man!" Hear how he speaks of it:

"While in Washington I went to Mount Vernon to pay my homage and respect to the father of American independence. On my way to Mount Vernon I saw automobiles and carriages and pedestrians all wending their way toward that place and when I got to the gate I saw great crowds of people going in and out. I followed the crowd and was shown the resting place of the great hero of right. And as I gazed at that hallowed shrine a new thought, a new inspiration, came to me. It was the vision of a day—near, probably—when hundreds of other men and women will be worshipping at a shrine. This time the vision leads me to the shrine of some black man, the father of African independence."

But the more I studied him the more I came to respect the moral dignity of his manhood. Says Garvey: "The hour has come for the negro to take his own initiative. It is obvious, according to the commonest principles of human action, that no man will do as much for you as you will do for yourself. Any race that has lost hope, lost pride and self-respect, lost confidence in self in an age like this, such a race ought not to survive. Two hundred and fifty years we have been a race of slaves; for fifty years we have been a race of parasites. Now we propose to end all that. No more fear, no more cringing, no more sycophantic begging and pleading; the negro must strike straight from the shoulder for manhood rights and for full liberty. Destiny leads us to liberty, to freedom; that freedom that Victoria of England never gave; that liberty that Lincoln

never meant; that freedom, that liberty, that will see us men among men; that will make us a great and powerful people."

Coming from a representative of any other race, such utterances would command instant admiration. Must the negro alone cringe and cower? If not, then what will come of all this? Something splendid? Something tragic? Something ominous? Or possibly—nothing? For my own part I see in Garveyism two elements of large significance. It means that the negro is drawing away from the white race. Declares a Garveyite, "Lynchings and race riots all work to our advantage by teaching the negro that he must build a civilization of his own or forever remain the white man's victim," adding, "Race amalgamation must cease; any member of this organization who marries a white woman is summarily expelled."

In the next place, it means that negroes are learning the practicality of united action. What course will that action next take? Thus far no harm has come of it, yet it is a new thing, quite; and, without a more than pardonable exaggeration Garvey observes, "It has been said that the negro has never yet found cause to engage himself in anything in common with his brother; but the dawn of a new day is upon us and we see things differently. We see now, not as individuals, but as a collective whole, having one common interest."

*New York City*

Following is the anthem decreed by the "Declaration" to be the song of the negro race:

THE UNIVERSAL ETHIOPIAN ANTHEM
BY BURRELL AND FORD

I.

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,
Thou land where the gods loved to be,
As storm cloud at night sudden gathers
Our armies come rushing to thee.
We must in the fight be victorious
When swords are thrust outward to glean;
For us will the vict'ry be glorious
When led by the red, black and green.

CHORUS.

Advance, advance to victory,
Let Africa be free;
Advance to meet the foe
With the might
Of the red, the black and the green.

II.

Ethiopia, the tyrant's falling,
Who smote thee upon thy knees
And thy children are lustily calling
From over the distant seas.
Jehovah the Great One has heard us,
Has noted our sighs and our tears,
With his spirit of love he has stirred us
To be One thru the coming years.

III.

O, Jehovah, thou God of the ages
Grant unto our sons that lead
The wisdom Thou gave to Thy sages
When Israel was sore in need.
Thy voice thru the dim past has spoken,
Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand,
By Thee shall all fetters be broken
And Heav'n bless our dear fatherland.





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Five quick effects occur when teeth are brushed in this scientific way.

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It multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva. That to quickly digest the starch deposits which, if left, form acid.

It multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva. That to neutralize the acids which cause tooth decay.

Two factors directly attack the film on teeth. One keeps the teeth so highly polished that film cannot easily adhere.

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A 10-Day Tube of Pepsodent is sent to all who ask. It is bringing a new dental era, and we want you to know the facts.

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Pepsodent results from many years of effort to fight film on teeth. Film is that viscous coat you feel. It clings to teeth, enters crevices and stays. The ordinary tooth paste does not end it, so film-caused troubles have been constantly increasing.

Film is what discolors, not the teeth. Film is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. Thus most tooth troubles are now traced to film.

Now dental science has found ways to fight it. These methods are embodied in Pepsodent. Five years of tests have amply proved it. The highest authorities today endorse its principles. Millions now employ it.

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the viscous film. See how teeth whiten as the film-coat disappears.

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# To Bring Our Foreign Service Up to Date

(*Continued from page 207*)

1919. It has proved a success. To expedite the exchange of information, the members of the committee have been made the recipients for their respective departments of the consular and diplomatic economic reports referred to them by the Department of State. They interchange manuscript material in frequent informal conferences among themselves. They have eliminated much duplication of work thru a system of monthly reports by which the developments and work in connection with foreign trade of each of the sixteen bodies represented on the committee are presented briefly before the regular weekly meetings. These reports are mimeographed and circulated among the responsible executive heads in each department. By means of sub-committees, the main committee investigates particular problems arising in our foreign relations on the economic side. The conclusions and recommendations appended to the reports of these sub-committees are always presented in alternative form, unless no differences of opinion have been discoverable. The findings of the committees are not binding on the executive heads, but plainly cannot be without a very considerable influence.

A full development of the liaison or "interlocking" system among the several executive departments active in the foreign field could probably best be accomplished in connection with a reorganization of the Department of State. Definite plans for such reorganization have not yet been discussed in Congress, but a good deal of informal consideration has been given. It is expected that such measures as are eventually determined upon will provide in a definite way for a system of interlocking, especially with the Department of Commerce, such as will represent the best possible development of what the Economic Liaison Committee is now carrying on informally in so successful and practical a manner.

A reorganization of the Department of State would also of necessity take account of the greatly increased importance of the economic factor in international relations. The demarcation between the political and economic in diplomacy has been much broken down. Rarely before has the attention of governments been so thoroly engrossed by essentially economic problems. Never before has the diplomatist, in addition to political acumen and knowledge of general affairs, had such need for business training and sagacity.

The emergence of the economic as the dominant factor in international relations will inevitably affect also the reorganization of the Diplomatic and branch of our foreign service, just as Consular Service, which is the field the Department of State is the directing and administrative branch at home. The Diplomatic Service consists of forty missions at the capitals of as many countries. The Consular Service, more widely disseminated, comprises some three hundred offices situated in the chief commercial cities of the world outside of the United States.

The work of the two services, though distinct, is closely related and sometimes overlapping. The Consular Service gives its attention more especially to business problems and its personnel is drafted more noticeably from men who have had business training and experience. Political affairs are entrusted to the diplomatic branch and it alone has the representative character, official intercourse between governments being conducted by the diplomatic missions.

In a bill introduced by Representative Rogers of Massachusetts and now before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs provision is made for the amalgamation of the diplomatic and consular branches into a service to be known as the Foreign Service of the United States. Officers would be appointed to grades in the Foreign Service. Their grade in the Foreign Service would determine their relative rank within the service and their salaries. For service abroad the titles established by international law would of necessity be retained. An officer, having been appointed in the constitutional manner a Foreign Service Officer of a certain grade, would then be assigned by the Secretary of State as a Vice Consul, Consul or Consul General, as a Secretary of Legation or Embassy, Counsellor or Minister Plenipotentiary, according to his age and experience and his particular aptitude for one sort of work or another. Free interchangeability would be attained in this way and the business experience and economic knowledge of consular officers would be made available for direct use in diplomacy, while foreign service officers making diplomacy their primary pursuit might round out their knowledge and experience on the economic side by a more intimate association with consular work.

An outstanding problem in the reorganization of the Diplomatic and Consular Service is to assure a personnel which will be adequate in number, character and training. The Rogers bill aims to do away with the present system of inadequate compensation to diplomatic officers, which has had the shockingly un-American effect of limiting the career strictly to men of private fortune. It seeks to have the grade of Minister Plenipotentiary filled by promotion from the lower grades of the service instead of from outside political life, as has been the chief practice heretofore. Not only would this result in improved technical training among these high and responsible officials, but by opening an adequate vista of promotion it would make the foreign service career more attractive to the kind of young talent which it is desired to draw into it. The diplomatic career, as such, ceases now with the grade of Counsellor of Embassy.

The Rogers bill provides also for the

appointment of foreign service pupils, within the age limits of 18 and 30, who would pursue prescribed courses of study at designated universities for three or more years, at the expense of the Government, and upon proper qualification would be admitted to the lowest rank of the service under contract to serve at least five years.

The Diplomatic and Consular Service suffers a serious detriment in the absence of any system of age retirement on pay such as is provided for the Army and Navy. Young men are thereby discouraged from entering it. Those who do come in and have not large private means of their own are frequently stinted in the performance of their representative functions by an effort to provide for old age out of an inadequate current salary. The majority of the large number of officers who have resigned from the service during the past two years have done so because of their inability to make even modest provision for their families from the compensation now paid. Moreover the service suffers because superannuated officers cannot decently be removed from active duty with no provision for their subsequent maintenance.

The writer does not attempt to forecast the measures which may eventually be found most expedient. Reorganization will have to concern itself, first, with coördination of the work of the several executive departments active in the foreign field, and secondly with changes in the Department of State and the Diplomatic and Consular Service. The interest of Congress is aroused and more effective readjustments thru legislation are a possibility.

*Washington, D. C.*

# The Financial Lessons We've Learned

(*Continued from page 203*)

to find signs of national affluence in face of a real diminution of national wealth, and a crushing burden of taxation. During the war the state was in the position of an owner of a property, who, to save it from an overwhelming disaster by flood, had to mortgage it up to the hilt in order to build a dyke. The greater part of the money obtained by way of mortgage was disbursed as wages to the workers on the estate, who, instead of making provision for the hard times that threatened owner and workmen alike, proceeded to spend the money in an improved standard of living, in little luxuries and amusements which did nothing to improve the productive capacity of the estate.

Not only so, but our current income which formerly was devoted to improvements of our estate has also in the last two years been largely devoted to objects of immediate pleasure, which will not increase our future productive capacity. The fact is that the war has dealt a world-wide shock to the feeling of security which is the basis of saving. We in this country have felt it, and its effect has been to divert spending power in the hands of the people from those objects which promise an increase of income in the future to those objects which present immediate enjoyment.

Economy is a great virtue, a saving virtue, but something more than economy will be needed before the European peoples can be saved. Even in Great Britain, which as compared with Europe as a whole is now making satisfactory progress toward financial recovery, no mere policy of economy can solve the great problem with which we are confronted.

The workers of this country have been promised a higher standard of living, a greater share of the good things which labor produces. They regard the large increase of wages as a confirmation of that promise. They are spending those wages as tho there were no possibility that wages will ever fall again. I am afraid that on this point there must be some disappointments in store. The rise in the wage level of all countries has largely been automatic, following the rising level of prices, which, as the tide of high prices recedes, must recede with it. When things ultimately settle down, and we arrive at something like a new standard level of world prices there will be trouble before the wage level is allowed to adjust itself. Nominal wages may have to fall, but unless real wages, the wages that are measured by the food, and clothing, and houses, and the commodities which the money wage can procure week by week,—unless the real wages remain at a level higher than the workers of Great Britain enjoyed before the war, the trouble may be very serious. We have talked of a land that should be fit for the heroes who fought and suffered. But the only way in which the workers' expectations can be fulfilled is by an actual increase of material wealth.

Europe is still in the position of a trader who has suffered great capital losses, has had some of his factories burned down, and some of his best workmen injured in the fire. He can never hope to restore his business, to find employment for the men who are out of work, to find commodities for those who need them, by any attempt at reduction of his expenditure. If on the one hand he effects every personal economy that is practicable, he will be forced to launch out into fresh capital expenditure to increase production.

Today we have arrived, not before it was time, at a national appreciation of the need for economy. We are balancing the national budget. The successful accomplishment of that task is itself steadying the people, removing the sense of uncertainty and insecurity. The next step on the road to prosperity must be of a constructive character. What we save from personal efforts must be put back into the business; the industries of Great Britain have got to be expanded as well as restored.

*London*

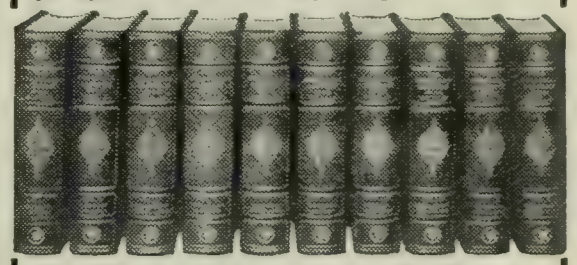



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# Editing a Magazine

(*Continued from page 204*)

the statistics more emphatic, but lighten the article at the same time. A box about a poem or a picture italicizes it as a dotted line in the cartoon from the tramp's eye to the Bock beer sign emphasizes the idea that spring is here.

I now come to what I am still old fashioned enough to think is the most important element in the publishing of a magazine. I refer to the editor. In the olden days a single editor and a printer's devil could start a magazine as good as any college consisting of Mark Hopkins, a student and a log. Then the individuality of the editor was supreme. The magazine was his organ. But with the colossal growth of advertising and the reproduction of rapid and multiple presses, the organs have become organizations and the individuality of the editor, once supreme, has become less and less a power until it finally vanishes into mere innocuous anonymity. To show you how far the editor has receded into obscurity it is only necessary to try to consider the portrayal of the modern editor on the stage or the screen. Stage lawyers, stage physicians, stage preachers abound. When you think of them your mind's eye always calls up a definite image. The stage lawyer generally wears a frock coat and brings the will along. The stage doctor invariably has a pointed black beard, wears tortoise-shell spectacles and carries a small, square black bag. The stage preacher either buttons his collar behind, or, if he is of the evangelical persuasion, wears a high hat, muttonchop whiskers, a white dress tie, low cut waistcoat, and a shiny Prince Albert coat. But no playwright has yet attempted to portray the typical editor, and it is doubtful if the populace would recognize him if he were portrayed; for the modern editor is a mystery. Indeed the only attempt I ever heard of to portray an editor was made by a certain politician some years ago, who said, "Why should people take seriously what they see in the papers? The man who writes the stuff is nothing but a more or less uneducated and underpaid hireling who sits in his shirtsleeves in a tilted chair, with his feet on the table in front of him and his hat over one ear, smoking the while a bad cigar." Probably James Russell Lowell, however, came nearer to the truth when he sketched the editor and his opportunity in this wise: "I know of no so responsible position as that of the public journalist. The editor of our day bears the same relation to his time that the clergy bore to the age before the invention of printing. Indeed the position which he holds is that which the clergymen should hold even now. But the clergyman chooses to walk off to the extreme edge of the world and to sow such seed as he has clear into that darkness which he calls the Next Life. As if next did not mean nearest and as if any life were nearer than that immediate present one which boils and eddies around him at the caucus, the ratification meeting and the polls. See what a pulpit he mounts daily and from what a bible he can choose his text. A bible which needs no translation, which no priestcraft can shut and clasp from the laity, the open volume of the world upon which with a pen of sunshine or destroying fire the inspired presence is even now writing the annals of God."

What compensation comes to the editor in the practice of the profession so nobly sketched by Lowell other than the consciousness of duty well performed? In the olden days the pecuniary results were somewhat meager. In 1775 Thomas Page was engaged by R. Aitken as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* at a salary of twenty-five pounds a year. Sedgwick wrote of the editor of the old *Atlantic Magazine*, "His publishers are liberal gentlemen. They pay him $500 a year." When Bryant was editor of the *New York Review* and *Atheneum* he wrote to Dana, "My salary is $1,000, no great sum to be sure, but it is twice what I get when I practice in the country." In 1857 *The Atlantic Monthly* paid Lowell a salary of $2,500 with an appropriation of $6 a page for contributions.

The salaries of editors of the old time dailies were on the same modest scale. Horace Greeley once said, "There may be such a thing as a $5,000 salary in the newspaper business, but the largest I personally know of is $3,000." Charles Hopkins Clark says that he knows of salaries today that are double this figure and he truly adds, "I think that all men familiar with newspaper work will bear me out, no other business pays so little for so much work and so much talent as the newspaper does."

My own belief is that the modern magazine editor enjoys a salary that compares favorably with that of the average college professor. You have doubtless heard of the professor who was about to go to Europe on his sabbatical year. When he interviewed the bursar in order to arrange for the forwarding of his monthly stipend the bursar asked him how he would like to have it sent, and the professor replied, "In postage stamps."

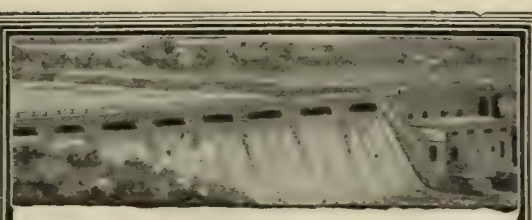
The Kansas School of Journalism a few years ago made a survey of Kansas editors. It was found that all of the 213 who furnished statistics were not only working fourteen and fifteen hours a day, seven days in the week and for a wage that averaged about $15 a week, but that five-sixths of their time was taken up with soliciting job work and advertising, setting type and running the presses, while one-sixth was devoted to gathering and writing the news.

The editor, nevertheless, like the hunter in the dark, does not know whether he hits the mark or not. I do not believe there is an editor in existence today who really knows what the public wants, or even what the public is. If there were such an editor, he

could name his own salary. The late Mr. Nelson, proprietor and editor of the Kansas City *Star*, considered by many of our profession the best conducted and most influential of the liberal papers in the United States, once said that he supposed that the one chief difference between the successful and unsuccessful editor was that "one guessed a little less badly than the other." And Editor Clark, whom I cannot refrain from again quoting, adds, "Pass fifty copies of any newspaper today to fifty different people of your acquaintance and ask each one to blue pencil out what he has no interest in or what he would have omitted if he had been acting as editor and it is quite safe to say that no two of the papers will come back marked alike."

While no editor, therefore, can hope to acquire an unerring sense of what to print or that even greater editorial art, "what to keep out of the paper," still editing is not absolutely a hit-or-miss affair. Any seasoned editor can tell what is very good or very bad, but the rub comes in judging the availability of the vast majority of manuscripts which are good enough to accept, but are not "irresistible." The very good article is so difficult to get that it makes little difference what the subject is. "If I could discover a man," the late Walter Page once confessed to me, "who could write a perfect article on the breeding of pheasants I would print something from him on that subject in every issue." The trouble is that when an editor does make a hit all the other editors attempt to imitate him. The Japanese have a proverb to the effect that when a dog barks in folly ten thousand echo it as a real alarm. If one starts putting on the cover pictures of fluffy-ruffled girls or Arrow-collared youths, then all the pack follows. If one goes in for having itself used as a textbook of current events in the schools, the circulation managers of all the other periodicals pester the school superintendents thruout the land. If one starts muckraking the frenzied financiers, the contagion spreads until the shame of the Senate, the sins of the church and the crimes of the college are dished up to the gaping public.

In magazines, unlike the daily paper, the editor does not necessarily write all the editorials. In *Life*, the whole editorial page is written by Edward S. Martin and when he goes away on his vacation the editorial department is omitted. In other magazines, like the *Saturday Evening Post*, all the editorials, I understand, are written and submitted by outsiders. The Independent adopts a mean between these extremes. Most of our editorials are written by members of the staff, but we never hesitate to seek outside aid whenever a topic comes up outside their immediate range of interest. If a perfunctory editorial appears in The Independent it is the result of incompetent editing, for we are always at perfect liberty to call to our assistance expert help.

1921
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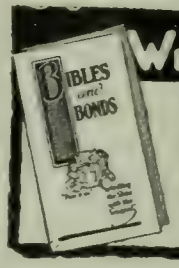
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A quarterly dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Friday, April 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Friday, March 18, 1921.

On account of the Annual Meeting, the transfer books will be closed from Saturday, March 19, to Tuesday, March 29, 1921, both days included.

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### American Telephone and Telegraph Company

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Brooklyn, N. Y., February 15, 1921.
DIVIDEND 101.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

### I. Editing a Magazine.

1. What spirit characterizes the entire article?
2. In what ways is the article like an encyclopedia article? In what ways is it like an essay by Washington Irving, or Stevenson, or any other writer of essays?
3. When you have thought about the spirit, the style, and the general plan of the article write a somewhat similar, but much shorter article, on your own school publications.
4. What is the meaning of every one of the following words that are much used by printers and publishers: feature, copyright, format, headlines, sub-titles, borders, tail-pieces, box, staff? Use every one of these words in an original sentence of favorable, or of kindly but unfavorable, criticism of your school publications.
5. What are the relative advantages of the standard and of the larger, or flat size of magazines? Which size do you prefer? Which size is more common today? Is the size of your school publication appropriate and satisfactory?
6. By what means does an editor make a magazine attractive in appearance? How can you apply those means to improving the appearance of your own compositions?
7. Tell something concerning the editorial work of the following writers: James Russell Lowell, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, Edgar Allan Poe, Oliver Goldsmith, Joseph Addison, Samuel Johnson, Charles Dickens. You will find sufficient information in any good encyclopedia.
8. Tell something concerning the characteristics of the following magazines that are mentioned in the article: *The Atlantic, Harper's, The Century, Scribner's, The Outlook, The Review of Reviews, The Ladies' Home Journal, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Leslie's, Life.* What characteristics of any of these magazines are worthy of being imitated in your school paper?

### II. The Story of the Week.

1. Find in this number of The Independent ten good subjects for debate before the school. Write every subject in the form of a declarative sentence, an interrogative sentence, or a resolution.
2. Write out in full a brief on one of the ten subjects selected as suitable for debate. Plan an introduction that will name the question, define the terms, tell the reasons for present interest in the subject, tell something concerning the history of the subject, and state the issues involved, Plan the body of the work so that you will prove your views on every issue by clear, definite and specific proofs. Plan a conclusion that will not repeat anything that you have said but that will reinforce all that you have said.
3. Prepare to give a news-talk to your class. First, write out a list of the most important matters that are now before the world. Second, tell what events of the week are related to the important subjects that you name first. Third, tell just enough about every event to make the event clear, and its importance significant.
4. Prepare a talk in which you will compare or contrast present conditions in South Africa and in South America.
5. Prepare a short talk in which you compare the work of the Public Health Service and the work of any ancient heroes like Horatius and his comrades who defended the bridge at Rome.
6. Write a composition in which you show from what types of immigration the United States has developed. Plan to show what good every race-stock brought to the United States. In the end of your composition name some of the present immigration problems, and tell what solutions have been suggested.

### III. The Negro Moses.

1. Explain in what respect the title is a good one. What are the principles for making a good title?
2. Condense into a single paragraph the principal thought of the article.
3. Write a short editorial article in which you express your own opinion of the plan proposed in the article.

### IV. To Bring Our Foreign Service Up to Date.

1. Write a short exposition concerning the value of our Foreign Service.
2. Tell what the following authors did for the Foreign Service of the United States: Benjamin Franklin, Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell.

## History, Civics and Economics

### I. Immigration — An Intelligent Guard at the Gate. Keeping the Other Fellow Out.

1. What seven tests of a good immigration law are laid down by Mr. Gulick?
2. Explain the difference between the "old immigration" from northern and western Europe and the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe. How does the proposed Senate bill tend to favor the "old immigration"?
3. Choose as a subject for debate one of the following topics: (a) Resolved, that not more than 5 per cent of the persons already resident in the United States who have come from any nation shall be permitted to come in any one year from that nation; (b) Resolved, that Chinese and Japanese residents of the United States should be admitted to citizenship on the same terms as European immigrants.
4. Why is there apprehension of a particularly heavy immigration from Europe after the Great War?

### II. British Empire—The Financial Lessons We've Learned. Smuts Wins South Africa. English Problems. Two Methods. Two Results.

1. "The British people are just now passing thru a mood of economy." Is that true in the United States?
2. "As a nation we are paying our way out of current income." Show the importance of this in comparing the financial stability of Great Britain with countries like France which have increased their national debt since the armistice.
3. Since Great Britain has more owing to her from her Allies in continental Europe than she owes to the United States, why did the British propose a general cancellation or pooling of international loans? (Hint—which debt would be easier to collect?)
4. Mr. McCurdy says that "nominal wages may have to fall" but "real wages" may remain higher than before the war. Explain the meaning of this distinction.
5. How and when did the British get possession of (a) Cape Colony, (b) Transvaal, (c) German South-West Africa?
6. South Africa is a *federal Dominion* with *responsible Parliamentary* government. Explain the meaning of all the words in italics.
7. Compare conditions in South Africa and in Ireland. If Ireland had been granted "Dominion home rule" before the war do you think that the Irish nationalists would have been reconciled to remain within the Empire as the Boers have been? Does the fact that Ireland is very near Great Britain and South Africa very far away make it safer or more dangerous, in your opinion, to introduce complete home rule?

### III. Diplomatic Service — To Bring Our Foreign Service Up to Date.

1. Why does Mr. Carr think that after-war conditions have made necessary a reorganization of our foreign service.
2. How do the duties of a consul differ from those of an ambassador or minister?
3. What has already been done toward increasing the efficiency of the Department of State, as described in Mr. Carr's article.

### IV The Electoral College—The Twentieth Amendment?

1. What does the constitution say about the method of choosing the President? How did the Electoral College come to lose its power?
2. Can you think of any advantages in retaining the Electoral College to counteract the disadvantages mentioned in the editorial?
3. Tell what you can about the Presidential elections referred to in the course of the editorial.

### V. Liberalism—Reaction and the Way Out.

1. "A real reaction, such as followed the Napoleonic wars and the revolution of 1848." Tell what you can about these historical periods.
2. "Democracy is not quite the same thing as liberalism." How would you define the two words?
3. "Law may sometimes secure more freedom than anarchy can." Explain this statement.
4. How would you distinguish among "religious," "civil" and "personal" liberties? Give examples of each.

### VI. The Race Question—The Negro Moses.

1. Read this article in connection with Mr. Hartt's former article in The Independent of January 15, 1921.
2. What Powers now possess dominion over African colonies? What nation lost its African holdings during the Great War? Find the important African colonies on the map.

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

A.—I can't take the clock upstairs.
B.—Why not?
A.—It always runs down.—*Octopus.*

Los Angeles appeals for tents to shelter the houseless. Shelter them from what? That splendid climate?—*Kansas City Star.*

"Why does Henpeck call his apartment the Marne?"
"Every time he goes home a battle takes place."—*Juggler.*

"Ma, did you ever hear a rabbit bark?"
"Rabbits don't bark, dear."
"That's funny! My story-book says that rabbits eat cabbage and bark."—*Wichita Beacon.*

Young Democrat—I say, dad, what keeps us from falling off the earth when we are upside down?
"Why, the law of gravity, of course."
"But how did folks stay up before that law was passed?"—*North China Standard.*

Soap Box Orator—An' I tell you that all them millionaires' money is tainted—all of it.
Unconvinced Person—'Ow d'ye mean, "Tainted"?
Soap Box Orator—Well, 'taint yours, an' 'taint mine, is it?—*London Opinion.*

An elderly examiner was putting a young medical student thru his paces.
"Supposing," he began, "there was a gunpowder explosion and a man was blown into the air. You as the nearest doctor, being called in, what would you do?"
"Wait for him to come down again," was the prompt reply.—*North China Standard.*

Ikey and Izzy were separating after an evening together when Ikey said, "Au revoir."
"Vat's dat?" asked Izzy.
"Dat's 'good-bye' in French."
"Vell," said Izzy, "Carbolic acid."
"Vat's dat?" asked Ikey.
"Dat's 'good-bye' in any language."—*Early Egyptian College Comic.*

He was the small son of a bishop, and his mother was teaching him the meaning of courage.
"Supposing," she said, "there were twelve boys in one bedroom, and eleven got into bed at once, while the other knelt down to say his prayers, that boy would show true courage."
"Oh," said the young hopeful, "I know something that would be more courageous than that: Supposing there were twelve bishops in one bedroom, and one got into bed without saying his prayers!"—*Truth Seeker.*

"Now, Tommy Smith," said the school teacher one morning during the usual hour of torture, "what is the half of eight?"
"Which way, teacher?" asked the youngster cautiously.
"Which way!" replied the astonished lady, "What do you mean?"
"Well, on top or sideways, teacher?" said Tommy.
"What difference does it make?"
"Why," Tommy explained, with a pitying air, "half of the top of eight is naught, but half of it sideways is three."—*Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph.*

## Remarkable Remarks

MARY GARDEN—I am a fighter.

SENATOR PENROSE—The situation is appalling.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—You cannot drive men.

CHARLIE CHAPLIN—When the gods go slumming they visit the earth.

LLOYD GEORGE—The hard, cold facts often render ideals impossible.

THE POPE—True peace is impossible unless based upon the tranquillity of the soul.

E. W. HOWE—Every man probably believes he is a good deal of a devil with women.

VICE-PRESIDENT COOLIDGE—Geographical divisions and sectional lines have been swept away.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB—Do not imagine for a moment that I am one of those who affect to despise money.

SENATOR F. B. WILLIS—We shall not be upon a sound basis until we rewrite a tariff law based upon protection.

**WARREN G. HARDING—I believe Mr. Daugherty would make a great Attorney-General. You can put that in black-faced type.**

SENATOR SHERMAN—During the war prohibition was more rampant in Washington, D. C., than in any place in North America.

DOROTHY DIX—It is only when husbands and wives make pets of each other that they become so thoroly domesticated that they stick to their hearthstone.

DR. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON—The shorter the dress of the female and the lower the neck of the bodice, the greater her moral influence and the greater her tendency to health.

## Opening Nights

*Peg o' My Heart*, a revival of J. Hartley Manners' play of eight years ago. Laurette Taylor is as refreshing as ever as the saucy Peg, but Michael has changed from a thin, eager dog to a fat, dignified one. (Cort Theater.)

Sir Philip Gibbs, the English war-correspondent, gave an even-tempered and open-minded address on America's place in the world, against the undeserved odds of a group of riotous Irish in the top balcony. (Carnegie Hall.)

*Macbeth* has been revived in a new form which, tho it sticks closely to Shakespeare's text, transforms a drama into a pageant. The scenery, as designed and staged by Robert Jones and Arthur Hopkins, substitutes symbolism for realism and aims at a decorative effect which rather overwhelms the acting. The spectators were more interested in Lady Macbeth's throne than in Julia Arthur's highly original interpretation of her part, and they much preferred the huge silver masks which overhung the witches' cauldron to Lionel Barrymore's somewhat monotonous rendering of Macbeth. (Apollo Theater.)



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Volume 105

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The Independent
March 5, 1921

# After I Talked With Harding

## *A character sketch of the new President of the United States from the viewpoint of a man who has been a Democrat all his life*

By Chester T. Crowell

**Author of "As Man to Man," "Politicians"**

DURING the recent campaign it was evident that many honest and sincere citizens believed Senator Warren G. Harding was a man of mediocre talents and weak will-power dominated by a group of United States Senators. Not only did the Democrats say this, but many Republicans who voted for him believed this and doubtless they still believe it.

When I went out to Marion and Dayton, Ohio, last summer, for The Independent, that was approximately my impression of Senator Harding. I did not recall that he had ever done anything notable in the Senate. In fact I knew almost nothing about him. He flashed upon the world rather suddenly. He had not cut much of a figure in the presidential primaries. It was easy enough to accept the theory that he was a Nobody pulled out of obscurity by shrewd and designing men for that very reason.

I met Senator Harding on the famous front porch of his delightfully home-like, frame cottage and talked with him a few minutes. I watched and listened for more than an hour while he talked with others. I joined a group of Chicago business men with whom he walked from his home down town. That is the extent of my personal acquaintance with him. But I have rarely been so deeply impressed by a man. It is the sort of impression one finds difficult to explain. The moment I saw him I felt that I would like to meet him. It was not at all necessary for me to meet him to carry out my mission in Marion. There is an easy, modest, homely grace in the man's bearing which makes meeting him a pleasure. He reminded me at once of half a dozen different cattlemen I have known back in Texas. His frame is enormous; he must be more than six feet tall.



**The famous front porch of the Harding home in Marion, Ohio, where Mr. Crowell first talked with President Harding**

Perhaps you have noticed the photographs and lithographs of Harding which have been so numerous during the campaign. In these days of disillusionment nearly everyone knows how easy it is to have a likeness of a man in a lithograph and at the same time to endow his features with a nobility one does not discern when standing face to face with him. Well, Harding expresses character and nobility, even more than those very artistic lithographs. His eyes are deep set, his forehead is imposing. There are deep lines in his face which characterize the man who has lived and suffered and aspired and worked hard and builded upon firm foundations. His is a face a man would never forget.



*© Underwood & Underwood*

**"He is a man who owes his measure of success to the fact that he remembered always that two and two make four and that honesty is the best policy"**

On the morning I met him, much of the conversation was jovial. He knows how to joke. I regard a man's sense of humor as an unfailing index to his character. Senator Harding's humor is above all else kindly. He had occasion to mention several persons who had been in Washington on freakish, impossible missions. He was tremendously amused at their earnestness, but not the slightest indication of scoffing or impatience could be detected in what he said of them. In his judgment of men there is a charity and a kindliness that is greatness.

Senator Harding is the type of man who personifies common sense. I can readily understand that a man like Woodrow Wilson is a complete mystery to a man like Senator Harding. They are as far apart as the poles. In his own way, Senator Harding is an idealist, but his are the homely

virtues. He worships order, efficiency and what is called "common honesty." His ideal is to make the present system of things-as-they-are a success. President Wilson is either a prophet or a word-monger. You can take your choice.

Senator Harding has an affection for the Republican party, which to me is highly entertaining. My generation does not worship parties. Because of this tremendous party loyalty of his, some men think that cliques and clans and bosses are going to find him very easy. I do not think so. For while he loves the Republican party, his definition of the Republican party would closely approximate my creed of American citizenship. Some of those who are expecting to find him a pliant tool in the hands of party bosses are laying a predicate to hear some interesting remarks from Senator Harding on decency and good citizenship.

He seems to be an easy going, agreeable sort of person, but I have met his type before. They are slow to anger—in fact it is almost impossible to make them angry—but just the same, nevertheless, notwithstanding and however, you don't "put anything over on them." And unless you have a hide like a rhinoceros you are likely to come out of a conference with such men thoroly ashamed of what you tried to do.

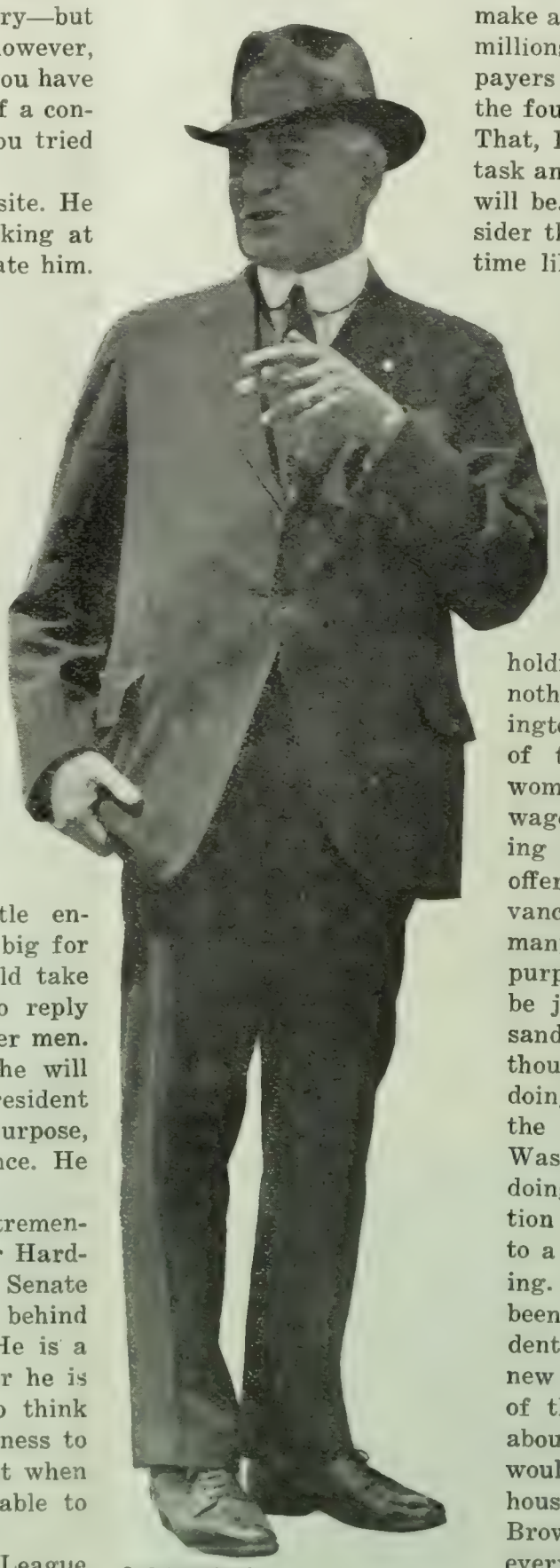
Senator Harding is not a fighter—quite the opposite. He is by nature a peacemaker. He was busy peacemaking at the Chicago convention when they decided to nominate him.

An uncompromizing, bull-headed, opinionated man like Woodrow Wilson is incomprehensible to Senator Harding, who has a great deal of respect for the brains in the United States Senate and in the House of Representatives and believes in team work. Personally I like his attitude toward those bodies very much. I have no sympathy for the flippant, cheap contempt so often expressed by American citizens for their legislative bodies. I have known governors and legislatures for some fifteen years and I have seen them make many errors, serious and otherwise, but I have never felt any contempt for them. Many of the ablest, most patriotic and unselfish men in this country are in our State and National legislatures. They do the best they can. Legislating is not an exact science. Every law has in it some of the qualities of a prophecy. There never was a man so wise that he could tell in advance just how laws are going to work out.

Senator Harding apparently aroused very little enthusiasm when he said that this Government is too big for any one man to operate and declared that he would take counsel. It was easy for his political opponents to reply that this was a confession that he was a tool of other men. I do not so regard it. He will take counsel, but he will also win men to his views. It is not true that President Wilson never conferred. He often did. But to little purpose, because he is not a master of the art of conference. He is bull-headed.

We have been bowled over in this country by tremendous personalities like Wilson and Roosevelt. Senator Harding is not the sort of man who would regard the Senate and the House as unavoidable nuisances entrenched behind the Constitution. He is a power in a conference. He is a masterly diplomat. Unless I miss my guess very far he is going to usher in an era of harmony. Those who think that his willingness to take advice means a willingness to surrender are very much mistaken. He is at his best when talking man to man. On his front porch he was able to give an accurate impression of himself.

I do not think Senator Harding welcomed the League of Nations issue. I doubt if it interested him very much. If I have correctly analyzed the man, he is the type who does not expect any great results—good or bad—to flow from a League of Nations. I think he regards such schemes as Utopian and that all things Utopian amuse him. Senator Harding is not a dreamer. I say that both to his credit and to his discredit. There are great dreamers and there are futile dreamers. Senator Harding is neither. He is a man who worked very hard when he was a boy. He is a man who owes his measure of success to the fact that he remembered always that two and two make four and that honesty is the best policy. I think that if he has any passionate impatience to get on the job now, it is in order to clean house. There has been gross extravagance during the Wilson administration, and gross inefficiency. Those things appall and horrify a man like Senator Harding. He is too shy and too modest to look upon the presidency as anything other than a difficult task. The plumage and tinsel and the spotlight will annoy him. He has a passion for order and economy. He is going to give the United States a business-like and economical government. It ought to make a difference of hundreds of millions of dollars to the taxpayers of this country during the four years of his first term. That, I think, will be his great task and there, I think, his heart will be. Some persons may consider this very poor praise at a time like this, but I do not. In the list of "what is wrong with the United States" I rank the frightful increase in the cost of all kinds of government, city, county, state and national, near the top.



© *International*

**"He is a masterly diplomat. Those who think that his willingness to take advice means a willingness to surrender are very much mistaken"**

There is a general belief, I know, that Washington is littered up with fat politicians holding fat jobs and doing nothing. It is not true. Washington is swarming with tens of thousands of men and women, working for small wages, working hard, working under conditions which offer very little hope of advancement for merit, and many of them working to no purpose. The country would be just as well off if thousands and thousands and thousands of them were not doing the job at all. Many of the jobs being done in Washington are not worth doing. That sort of a condition is extremely disgusting to a man like Senator Harding. That is what he has been looking at while President Wilson talked of the new freedom and the heart of the world. He feels just about like a good housewife would feel, observing another housewife reading a paper on Browning while the rats ate everything in the pantry.

There will be nothing spectacular about Senator Harding. He is not only modest [*Continued on page 249*

# The Greatest Horse in the World

## The Story of Man o' War

### By Sydney Reid



International

"HE is the swiftest horse that ever lived." So said Mr. Samuel D. Riddle of the Glen Riddle Farm near Berlin in Maryland, speaking of Man o' War, who swept the American race tracks last year, beating the best opponents so easily that it was impossible to get him a real race.

"How fast can he go?" asked Mr. Riddle's visitor.

"Nobody knows. He has never had to extend himself. On the contrary his jockey has always had to pull him up toward the finish. He has come home galloping."

"What sort of track suits him best?"

"Any track. It's all the same to him."

"What is his best distance?"

"Any distance—from here to the Rocky Mountains."

"What is the next match you will make for him?"

"None."

"Oh, but there'll be big inducements. $100,000 would probably tempt you."

"Nothing will tempt me. No amount of money."

"But he'll have to go to Europe to beat the horses there. And they'll want to see him."

"He has beaten the horses there in beating their time. I'm not going to risk the sea voyage with him. Yes, he'd stand the voyage all right—he'd stand anything. But there's a risk and why take it? And there's a principle too. Let Europe come to us if they want to match horses. They try to insist that we go to them. That was right enough while they had the best horses and Europe (and especially Great Britain) was the racing center. But we have the best horses now and this is the racing center. So they should come here. They want to see Man o' War, they offer great inducements. They want me to bring Man o' War over for racing and so that their most eminent men may view him in action. I am sorry to disappoint them, but I have to say 'No.' They are welcome to see Man o' War, but they must come here. Great numbers are coming as it is—men and women from all over the country, some from Europe."

"Isn't it dangerous to allow many to have access to him? Don't you have to guard him very carefully?"

"Not now. He's not entered for any race and no one would want to do him a mischief."

There are three Glen Riddle Farms, one in Maryland, one in Pennsylvania, and another in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. Mr. Riddle is a rich and prominent breeder of horses, and the farms are used for that purpose. He belongs to a wealthy Pennsylvania family, rather strait-laced and more affiliated with churches than with race tracks. But from early youth the horses attracted Samuel. A swift horse was his delight, and the life on and about the tracks called him. Since then he has devoted his life to the horses, and has done well as a breeder, but not much on the tracks. And now of a sudden, out of the blue as it were, comes Man o' War, beside whom all other horses seem poor and ineffective—Alexander's celebrated charger, the horse that was made a Roman consul, the fiery steed of Saladin, swiftest of mustangs, greatest of Arabs, wild horses of the Russian steppes that can outrun wolves—all, all must bow down before Man o' War. He is their king. His equal never lived and probably never will.

And Mr. Riddle, by luck of good fortune or patient waiting, is his owner. And he isn't proud of Man o' War. Oh no, not at all. He refused $260,000 for Man o' War and says that no money can buy him.

He is not proud of Man o' War, but at the same time he has to realize his responsibility, and the change of position which possession of the greatest colt has brought about. Mr. Riddle used to lead a rather quiet and retired life; but since last summer the spotlight of fame has been turned full upon him. All the racing world comes to him or writes to him or telegraphs or telephones to him. And the communications are all about Man o' War. The great ones of the earth, including many who take only an occasional interest in races, want to see Man o' War in action. Racing men want him to come here, to go there, to make this, that or the other match.

But it is all of no avail. Man o' War will never run again. No one will ever know how fast he could go if he tried his best. He has made the swiftest of his opponents in races look like ice wagon nags. But even at that his jockey wouldn't let him go as fast as he could. And Man o' War probably wonders why. If it was possible for him to nurse a grievance and sulk he'd be doing it. But he's as great in magnanimity as in speed.

One look at him coming out of his stall is enough to tell an observer that. He is very much of a person, a tall, dignified person wearing a burnished chestnut coat and a white star on his forehead. The white star belongs there of right. Courage and force and fire he has; he is gracious, courteous, kind. He is an aristocrat of purest type, without an atom of snobbishness in his whole makeup. Looking at him one is reminded of that good knight, Bayard, who was "without fear and without reproach."

Man o' War is a Kentuckian by birth. He was born in March, 1917, in the pleasant Blue Grass country, his father, Fair Play, and his mother, Mahubah, both celebrated. His mother attended to his wants for a few weeks, and then he fared forth into the meadows with a shoal of other baby horses and enjoyed the sweet grass and all the other joys that a long legged colt can have. He frisked his way thru the first year of his life; but in the spring of 1918 the shadow of responsibility fell upon him. He had to leave Kentucky and prepare for his life work. With a bunch of other August Belmont colts he crossed half the continent to Saratoga and there was sold to Mr. Riddle, who took him immediately to the Glen Riddle farm in Maryland. These sales of Kentucky colts are held annually and the price in each case is always the same—$5,000. The buyers are the great eastern breeders and dealers, and the sale is a sort of grab bag. No one can possibly tell how a year old colt is going to turn out.

At the Glen Riddle farm the colt had as his mentor Mr. Louis Fuestel, who taught him all [*Continued on page 250*

# A "Burglar-Proof" Safe? The Box Man Says There's No Such Thing

## Third Article in the Series of "Inside Information" on How to Protect Yourself in the Present "Crime Wave"

### By An Ex-Convict

THE safe blower has several names, "Box Man," "Peter" or "Peter Man," "Goopher Man," "Damper Worker," "Soup Man" or "Worker," "Yegg," "Cannister Guy." They are all synonymous, only differing as to rating or social status. The "Box Man" is the "quality" safe blower, generally a man who has absorbed and digested all the scientific data to be found relative to his nefarious profession.

There are several courses open to the merchant or manufacturer to protect his property from "box men" and their kind. Business men spend thousands of dollars on "burglar protection" which does not protect. They have elaborate burglar alarm systems installed, and any burglar would guarantee the systems harmless. They are like the story of a lady, who, buying fly paper, promptly proceeded to lay the paper about her house, *sticky side down!*

Here are a few important questions for business men who would avoid visits from box men:

Are your streets sufficiently lighted at night? Do you keep large quantities of money in your safe over night? Who hires the night-man of the building, if you are a tenant? If you have the entire building is one watchman sufficient? What real protection have you? Isn't it a fact you hire so-and-so to install a burglar alarm because it is considered the thing to do? Do you really know that your factory or shop is protected? Do you know and pay and trust your night watchman or janitor as much as your cashier or bookkeeper? Do your employees, who draw the payroll, use the same route every time they go to or from the bank? Why do you keep large sums of money in the safe over night?

**"People let themselves be robbed! They make it so easy for us," said the ex-convict who wrote the series of which this article is the third. "I have served a term in prison, and I know, from the inside, the plain facts of crime. I offer here, by way of reparation, the real truth, for the first time." The first article in this series gave householders some sound advice on how to prevent burglaries, the second told you how to "Beware of Pickpockets;" the fourth and last article in the series will give you some important information on how to protect your checks from "the scratch man"**

These are not impertinent questions—they are vital. Banking institutions have recognized the necessity of keeping open evenings—if your bank doesn't, are you not powerful enough, *collectively,* to force the issue? Why do box men rip or blow open your strong boxes? They do not proceed on mere guess work, they know when you have money enough in the safe to make their hazardous calling profitable. Would it be startling if I were to tell you that any one of a dozen box men could tell you, almost to a penny, how much money you are in the habit of keeping in your safe? They could tell you who your banker is, the approximate amount of your balance; they know your rating, who draws the payroll, where your bookkeeper lives—in a word, they study you scientifically! They know you better than you know them!

Isn't it a fact that you rely too much on an already overworked, inadequate police department or on some well-known burglar alarm? For years, perhaps, you have worked long and hard and faithfully to accumulate and build up your business, and, having worked to establish it, you trust chiefly to luck to keep it from "taking wings unto itself."

The box man is nothing if he isn't scientific—and being scientific is simply saying he is up-to-the-minute. If he can possibly avoid it, he won't make any noise while operating—and you, Mr. Manufacturer or Merchant, help him work noiselessly! Turn off the electric power in your factory, loft or store at night and you will break the backbone of many proposed safe robberies. Drilling thru chill-steeled, case hardened steel, some six or eight inches in thickness by hand power would be slow work!

Let us take the case of a man who is *sure* his business is thoroly protected: Suppose there are three entrances to your place of business, the front, the rear and the elevator. All wired, you say? Good; and your windows, too? Good again. Now suppose I wanted to crack your safe. I would do one of several things. I could visit your place of business during the day and see for myself if you have a burglar alarm system installed. I may come in to buy or sell goods—and smoke one of your "specials" while spying out the land. Or I could make the acquaintance of your bookkeeper or yourself—introductions are easy to obtain. I'd pose as a capitalist, for instance. This method always brings to the surface a fraternal feeling. Wouldn't it be natural to inquire about your method of protection? I could quote any newspaper, any day of the week: "I see so-and-so had his safe cracked last night," etc., etc., and you would tell me all you knew—particularly if you felt that you were amply protected. That is exactly what the scientific box man will do.

Knowing your doors, windows and elevator entrance were wired—would I attempt entry thru them? I would not—I would come thru the wall, floor or ceiling. It is done every day in the year! Are your walls, floor and ceiling wired?—particularly the floor?

It amazes me to see how lax the shrewd man of business is; he overlooks so many of the little things—literally bids the safe blower or burglar welcome.

Is it necessary to keep large quantities of money in your safe? Is it necessary to send a young girl or man to the bank for the payroll—thus endangering their lives? Doesn't your newspaper tell you of the frightful loss or maiming of life because of this useless procedure? Why do you not pay by check? Tell me one reason why you cannot or will not and I will give you a dozen reasons why you should.

And remember in figuring the actual loss stolen—in money—during any given year, that amount should be multiplied by ten. John Smith [*Continued on page 245*



*International*

President Wilson at the first meeting of his Cabinet in 1913—alert, vigorous, full of enthusiasm for his theories of world democracy, and eager to carry out a high program of progress



*International*

At the last Cabinet meeting of Woodrow Wilson's administration. The change in the President's appearance is tragic evidence of how completely he gave himself to the service of his ideals

# Woodrow Wilson

## And the Service He Has Rendered His Country and Humanity

## By Hamilton Holt

THIS week a great American passes from the political stage. What will the verdict of history accord him? Will he rise to immortality? Will he be remembered simply as a great figure of a great war? Or will he gradually recede into oblivion? It would be idle to attempt to answer these questions now. Contemporaneous judgments are proverbially untrustworthy. I shall scarcely venture, therefore, to do more than recall some of the salient facts on which it now seems likely his ultimate fame will rest.

I shall never forget the first conversation I had with Woodrow Wilson. It was at a dinner party given by Andrew Carnegie fifteen years ago. Dr. Wilson, then president of Princeton University, had just finished his monumental "History of the United States" in four volumes. Only that very morning our Literary Editor, the late Dr. Kinsley Twining, had brought in a long and eulogistic leading review of the work. Feeling that it would interest the author to know what The Independent's estimate of his history would be, I leaned across the table during a pause in the conversation and after congratulating him on producing such a monumental work, told him that we would give it a most favorable review. He thanked me and said: "Do you know, Mr. Holt, this history is not my magnum opus. My ambition in life is to write the history of democracy. But in order to qualify myself to write the history of democracy I first had to know the history of the United States. Being a college professor I naturally turned what I learned into book form before passing on to the real task at hand."

Whether Woodrow Wilson himself ever writes the history of democracy or not, he has at least made enough democracy to keep the whole tribe of historians busy for years to come. Democracy evidently is and always has been the keynote of his life. It is Woodrow Wilson, Democrat, that the future must appraise.

Undoubtedly his first real fight for the cause was at Princeton. He had scarcely assumed the presidency of that "pleasantest Country Club in America," when he determined that the "side shows should no longer draw the students away from the main tent." If only the students, he thought, could meet their professors and each other without invidious and prevailing social barriers, it would democratize Princeton. The alumni let him have his way with the curriculum. The intellectual side of the University was of slight concern to them. But when he began to reform the social life of the students the worms turned. That was sacrilege. Woodrow Wilson was promptly kicked upstairs into politics and at once was nominated for Governor of the State of New Jersey.

New Jersey was famed far and wide as "the mother of trusts." For years the State had been under the dominion of corporations and their political henchmen. The ex-college president fought his campaign on the issues of the direct primary, a corrupt practices election law, a public service commission to fix rates, an employers' liability law, and a workman's compensation law. The politicians knifed him at the polls, but he won. He did more than that. He at once set about redeeming his preëlection promises. Before his term of office expired every campaign pledge had been enacted into law.

His record in New Jersey brought him the presidency. When he entered the White House the political astrologers prophesied that he would split the Democratic party in two, as he had already split Princeton. But the first two years of his term as President witnessed the complete solidification of the Democratic party under his leadership. It was the Republican party that remained divided.

The record of his party on domestic issues under his leadership was a notable one. The Federal Reserve Act took the banking control of the country out of the hands of Wall Street, and put it in the hands of the Treasury Department acting thru a Federal Reserve Board. Big business uttered various and sundry wails. But I do not know of a single banker today who has not thanked his stars that the law is on the statute books. It is the only thing that has saved the country since 1914 from a series of panics, especially during the present period of falling prices, financial deflation and industrial unrest.

I have only space to mention a few of the other reforms enacted by a Democratic Congress under a Democratic administration. The tariff was reduced on an average of from 42 per cent on imports to 26 per cent, and a tariff board

was created to study the whole subject. The old trust muddle was untangled and a commission created to investigate business conditions and to make recommendations as to what should be done with corporations that persisted in pursuing anti-social ends. The seaman's act, the child labor act, and the farm loan act were also passed. The income tax law was perfected so that incomes of less than $3,000 a year were exempt and those of more than $20,000 were given a few extra surtaxes. The Sherman law was amended and its terms were more clearly defined. Local price fixing was forbidden, and interlocking directorates were abolished in railroads, banks, trust companies, and interstate corporations.

Woodrow Wilson had already made good. Where Roosevelt and Taft sowed, he reaped. His domestic reforms were all in the direction of a concreter democracy. Originally elected as a partizan he was reëlected as the champion and standard bearer of progressivism with little regard to party. It was evident that not since the foundation of the Republic had any political leader voiced the sentiments of the American people more acceptably in those things they believed.

The Great War broke out. I shall not attempt to make a résumé of the events that followed; suffice it to say that despite the raging of the storm the old Ship of State ploughed her way thru the political waves on an even keel, tho with each crash of the breakers every European government was shaken from stem to stern.

Whether President Wilson should or could have brought us into the war earlier will always be, I suppose, a mooted question. It is easy, of course, to pass judgment after the event. But once we were in the fight no leader could have marshalled better the moral and material power of the country behind the war than the President. To be sure his Administration at first made a mess of transporting coal, building ships and manufacturing airplanes. But with those glaring exceptions, we did astonishingly well. In no other war we ever waged was there so little scandal. In no other war were the people so united behind a leader. But it was not as executive prosecutor of the war that Wilson's fame will rest. It was rather in his moral leadership. That raised him at once to the position of spokesman of the whole Allied cause. The issue personified was the autocrat William versus the democrat Wilson.

IT was Woodrow Wilson who focused the heterogeneous and often diverse ideals of the war on the one ideal of pure Americanism, which is democracy. The peoples with one accord followed the banner he unfurled.

It was Woodrow Wilson who first announced that the United States wanted no territories nor indemnities. Europe marveled.

It was Woodrow Wilson who first drove the wedge in between the Hohenzollerns and the German people. Autocracy began to totter.

It was Woodrow Wilson who first enunciated the basis of peace. His fourteen points won the war. Had not he, or some other responsible head of a great power, done this the Allies might have lost the war. The people had then been fighting for over three years. No government had publicly proclaimed the aims for which it was asking its people to die. It looked as tho the whole three years of agony would end in a stale-mate. The people were getting restive. They began to fear an imperialistic peace. They demanded to be told what the governments wanted so that having achieved it the governments would not make them fight on merely to gratify the secret ambitions of selfish politicians.

Mr. Samuel Gompers was invited to go to England and France to confer with labor leaders in those countries. He said to me afterwards, "I don't think, I know, that had not Woodrow Wilson or some other responsible head of a state proclaimed the aims of the war when he did, there would have been revolutions in England and France in the early part of 1918." If that had been the case surely Germany would have won the war when she made her great drive in March and April before the United States had more than a division or two on the front lines.

Some have said that the Allies should not have stopped fighting until the peace was dictated by the sword in Berlin. That undoubtedly they might have done. The German army was on the run and nothing could have stopped our progress after America had turned the tide at Chateau Thierry. But on accepting the terms of peace Germany gave up so much of her arms and equipment that she rendered herself militarily impotent. We could have got no better terms at Berlin than we got at Versailles. Thus by negotiating instead of dictating peace probably the lives of a half a million Allied troops were saved. Woodrow Wilson deserves the chief credit for this.

BUT most important of all, it was Woodrow Wilson who was the first spokesman of a great power to insist that this war end all war. He was the world statesman who more than any other detailed the plan for the establishment of a League of free nations to enforce peace. This was the frontispiece of his program at Paris. The diplomatists at the Conference recognized this and naturally made him pay a price for their acceptance of his program. They voted for his League, on condition that he concede to them some of their pet plans. He had to compromize. But he undoubtedly got more than any other American could have obtained and certainly he obtained more of what he wished than any European statesman at the Conference.

Finally as a result of his presence at the peace table a Covenant was framed that really "had teeth in it." Fortunately it was an integral part of the peace treaty, tho every effort was made by the enemies of the Covenant to thwart this. But President Wilson knew that once the Covenant was taken out of the Versailles treaty peace would necessarily have to be made on an entirely different basis. Boundaries would have to be drawn along the old military lines, ticklish points would have to be settled then and there on the principle of give and take instead of being deferred for later decision, when passions had cooled and more normal world relations been established. He put the whole weight of his personal prestige in the scales and won out. But in doing so he created so many enemies both at Paris and at Washington that from that moment his influence began to wane.

Woodrow Wilson sailed for home and submitted the Covenant to the Senate. The discussion started. The four greatest constitutional authorities in the Republican party all made suggestions for its revision. Mr. Taft and Senator Lodge each made five suggestions, Mr. Hughes made seven and Mr. Root made nine. Mr. Taft told me afterwards that Mr. Wilson had incorporated every one of his suggestions in the revised Covenant and that he was "completely satisfied." Mr. Lodge, however, who curiously enough made the same suggestions that Mr. Taft did, said the Covenant is now "worse than ever." One suggestion by Mr. Hughes and three by Mr. Root were not accepted by Mr. Wilson. But it so happened that none of the other gentlemen made the same suggestions. In every case, however, where two or more of these preëminent constitutional authorities in the Republican party agreed on a suggestion it was accepted by Mr. Wilson and finally incorporated in the revised Covenant.

The Republican Senators, under the circumstances, could have claimed with much justice that the Covenant was perfected by their party. But they did nothing of the kind. Instead they started in to poison gas the treaty. In this they were successful. Not only did they defeat the Covenant twice in the Senate, but they were able to get themselves indorsed in the Republican platform and to nominate a reservationist Senator for the Presidency.

Then the campaign began. In all my public experience I have never known an issue so distorted and misrepresented before the people. I have no objection to contestants drawing different conclusions from a given set of facts. But when the facts themselves are completely misstated, and continue to be misstated even after proof to the contrary is given, one almost comes to despair of political human nature. The indisputable fact is that on election day the American people, who for the most part never read the Covenant, passed upon a document that is different from that they supposed it to be. Of course during the campaign both sides played party politics to the limit. But the Republicans must be held responsible for first making the League a partizan issue, and every candid man knows this is the truth. The action of the Republicans in the Senate under the leadership of Senator Lodge, during the year and a half the issue was before the Senate, constitutes, in my judgment, the worst action of public men holding high public office in the history of the United States.

Well, the President was badly defeated. He had tried to hold the people up to the moral hights they attained during the war, and they turned and rent him. Altho he was the only diplomat at Versailles representing a nation 100 per cent disinterested, he was repudiated by his own people. I admit he is human. I remember he asked the country to return a Democratic Congress. I know he tried to be the whole Cabinet. I realize he did not sufficiently conciliate the Senate. I concede he took an unrepresentative peace commission to Paris. I am not unmindful that he kept T. R. and General Wood out of the war, etc., etc. All this and much more may be freely admitted.

But what have these things to do with the great issues at stake? Woodrow Wilson will die some day. So will his critics. But the Republic will live. The only question before the United States Senate or the American people was whether the twenty-six articles of the Covenant were good or bad for the United States. The personal traits of Woodrow Wilson had no more to do with the case than the flowers that bloom in the spring.

To be sure Mr. Wilson should have realized that mortals —even Senators—have their little prejudices and vanities. The tragedy of it all is that he went ahead, swerving neither to the right nor to the left, but pleading his cause as tho all he had to do was to present the issue clearly to his countrymen and they would decide it solely on its merits. Woodrow Wilson is a great statesman, but evidently a poor politician—and Republics are proverbially ungrateful. For my part I am ashamed of my countrymen for the way they have treated this great soldier of conscience, this wounded veteran of the war.

I am proud, however, of the manner in which he has borne himself under it all. He has not talked back to his calumniators. He has never whimpered. He has not tried to dramatize his sick bed. He has never opened his wounds to the public. He is too proud to fight that way.

Any man who holds the office of President of the United States occupies the most exalted position on earth. He presides over a confederation of forty-eight sovereign states, the greatest "association" of nations hitherto known to history. The only way for a man to rise above the Presidency of the United States is to ascend into the international realm and there work for the political organization of the world in order that law, justice and peace may prevail. This Woodrow Wilson has done more than any President of the United States. Already forty-nine nations have joined the League that his genius translated from the dreams of the poets, the prophets, and the philosophers to the realm of practical statesmanship. America to her eternal shame still remains aloof. But another immortal President once said that nothing is ever settled until it is settled right, so we may confidently expect that the time will come when our people will realize the real service Woodrow Wilson has rendered his country and humanity. And when that day dawns the United States will have taken her rightful place at the council table of the nations.

## Someone Must Pay

IN discussing the German indemnity it must be borne in mind that the choice is not between Germany paying for reparations and no one paying; it is between Germany paying and France and her Allies paying. The devastated regions must be rebuilt by some one; the ships sunk by submarines must be replaced by some one; the wounded soldiers must be pensioned by some one. If it is impossible for Germany to do all this, is it possible for France to bear the burden alone? Financial experts seem pretty well agreed that owing to the chaotic condition of German finances and the loss of Germany's colonies, iron mines and part of her coal and overseas trade, Germany can carry only part of the reparations burden. But those "liberals" who object to imposing any substantial indemnity on Germany forget that the alternative is the virtual imposition of an indemnity on France and the other Allies. The invader should be made to pay as much as he can; the victims of the invasion will have to pay the balance.

# With Harding at the Helm

## By Talcott Williams

PRESIDENT Harding in the interval between his election and his inauguration has confirmed the duplex impression he made in the campaign. Those who believed him a weak man, uninformed, wavering and yielding to every influence that blew across his track, believe so still. Those who know him and have met him personally in the past three months see in him the kind of man the American people have so often chosen for President—honest, well-intentioned, hearing all who come with acceptance, keeping his own counsel, slow in decision, but hard to move when his decision is made. He has no o'erleaping ambition. He does not propose to transform the world. He has no scheme to alter the conduct of all the earth's affairs. He is not troubled over his place in history.

He is aware that he has a lot to learn and is not afraid to tell people so. He has summoned those from whom he believed he could learn. He has heard them with the sympathetic attention of the newspaper man who has early mastered the difficult lesson that the way to find out what is in a man is not by disagreeing, but by giving him and his views a sympathetic welcome, such as commits no one.

Man after man has been to Marion and come away with a warm and rosy impression that the new President agreed with all he had to say; but as he analyzed what his host had said he discovered that the coming President had said nothing which either revealed a future policy or made known a settled purpose. These, the President-elect has kept to himself for the very good reason that no chief executive of the United States can lay out a personal plan which he proposes to drive thru. Washington, when he became President, was reproached with slow indecision. Lincoln, from November, 1860, to April, 1861, drove to mad exasperation the men of decision because he refused to act, as state after state seceded, as mints, custom houses, camps, arsenals, forts and troops were seized. He waited until the South by its attack on Fort Sumter brought the North to arms.

With three significant exceptions, Jefferson, Jackson and Roosevelt, no President has had a definite initiative, a determined purpose. Jefferson had to reverse his policy and buy Louisiana. Jackson brought himself to a deadlock with the Senate and precipitated the most disastrous panic of our history, as his term closed. Roosevelt went on from reform to reform, named his successor, quarreled with him, split his own party and made Woodrow Wilson President of the United States the first time, and the second time

could not prevent his reëlection in spite of a vehement personal opposition more bitter than any ex-President has ever shown to the election of a successor.

The Presidency is a job. Events shape it. No President can say in advance what he is going to do. If he does, he lays up trouble for himself and for the people.

On three points the coming President is perfectly clear. He believes the American people as a whole does not want the "Wilson League." The election returns certainly look like it. If ever "the country went hell-bent" for anything it did this time. It is possible to minimize the verdict by pointing out that this factor combined with that factor and that with the other and conclude, as the solitary, last man said to Noah:

> T'aint much of a shower anyhow
> Go along with your —— old scow.

But a vote of 16,138,914 to 9,142,438 is enough for most people. It certainly is to the man it lifted from Senatorial obscurity to the world's foremost post.

The peril of this overwhelming verdict is that it deceives the man who gets it into believing that it makes no great difference what he does, the people will approve. This leads, for instance, to the selection of a man like Harry M. Daugherty for Attorney-General, in spite of exposures already made which may lead to investigation. All that has been exposed is already known to Mr. Harding, not specifically but in general.

Two kinds of honesty exist in the world. Plain downright honesty,—we all know it. The other kind of honesty is law-honest, legal-honest, professional-honest, banking-honest. We also all know that kind of honesty. It is practised by a man who is always finding out what the law allows, what "professional practice" permits. What can be done legally in paying a debt, collecting one or putting out a security.

This is Mr. Daugherty's brand of honesty. A man whose relation to a bribery fund has to be investigated, who is close to a bad bank failure, who defends the dubious practice and offers of a fraternal insurance company when their plundering paths had been laid bare by Mr. Daugherty's colleague in the Cabinet, Charles E. Hughes, and who won a dubious pardon like Charles W. Morse's, is not the right man for Attorney-General. Mr. Daugherty's legal honesty is not impugned. No crime is charged. He did what many lawyers do and still remain "honored members" of the bar. But as in the familiar tale of the driver who was rejected because he said he could drive within six inches of the edge of the precipice, Uncle Sam, plain, honest, straightforward Uncle Sam, does not want an Attorney-General who drives too near the edge of so many perilous practices. An appointment like this comes because Senator Harding has been so deep in the vat of Ohio politics that the dye has mastered the dyer's hand.

Why, then, does Mr. Harding select Mr. Daugherty for Attorney-General? For the same reason that Abraham Lincoln selected for Secretary of War Simon Cameron, the most conspicuous corrupt politician of that day. Mr. Daugherty is far from that.

Charles E. Hughes's selection for Secretary of State is perfect. It shows courage, a resolute determination to get the best man. It was bitterly detested and vehemently opposed by the Senatorial *junta*. The machine in all its forms hates Hughes just as a wolf hates a strong and faithful sheep-dog. This appointment encourages confidence in the President-elect, shows that he has a will and mind of his own and on the supreme question of common action by nations to prevent war President Harding proposes to go as far as the verdict of the American people against the Wilson League permits. So if Hoover accepts, public confidence will be complete in him.

Mr. Hays is another political appointment and a good one. A President must have one man who knows the men, the affiliations and the relations of political forces and of men in active politics. This is indispensable. Mr. Mellon for Secretary of Treasury is also needed. The country has suffered for lack of a man who knows business and banking. The amateurs have done enough harm in the last eight years. The one serious objection, if true, is the heavy contribution raised by Mr. Mellon in the election. A law should make any man who contributes, say over $5,000, ineligible to Federal posts. But the law is as it is and the average man is unwilling to give so as to leave no deficit for rich men to carry.

The appointments to the Cabinet are a good beginning. Barring Mr. Daugherty, they are above the average. They are encouraging. They are not "too good for human nature's daily food," but the Cabinet is a fairly efficient body and superior man by man to the Cabinet which goes out of office. No man in that has had a career, apart from his place in the Cabinet, which gave him a national reputation. Hughes, Hoover, Wallace and Hays have this and Denby and Fall come near it. Mellon is known to bankers and coal and iron men. Not to others. Wallace is foremost in agricultural journalism. Davis is known only to labor. Denby knows China and Fall Mexico.

Besides believing that the country is against the "Wilson League," the new President believes, second, that it is equally necessary to find out what Europe is ready to concede as it is to find out what this country will accept. Third, his aim is to secure an association of the larger nations which will be in frequent conference, but left free as to whether each is to aid the decision of the association by force of arms. Even the European powers have given up the use of arms in practice, tho the Covenant provides for it. The international court, the new President favors. He is opposed to the various side bodies, commissions for disarmament, colonies, shipping, labor, etc.

President Harding will give a sound, steady administration like McKinley's. He will recognize both wings of the Republican party and each will hate him for it. The Senate will not run him; nor will he run the Senate. He will not be aspiring or inspiring, but he will be on the job. He will keep out of collisions with other countries, he will yield neither to labor nor to capital, neither to reactionary nor radical views, and he will be bitterly criticized by the "idealists" and the "practical" men. After he is out the country will see he was a good President. While he is in, he will not arouse enthusiasm at home or abroad.

## Stopping at the Top

IN Sydney Reid's article, published elsewhere this week, we are informed that Mr. Samuel D. Riddle of the Glen Riddle Farm, Berlin, Maryland, swears that he will retire Man o' War forever from the race track. He realizes that if his superhorse is allowed to continue to race, the time will come—it may not be next year or the year after, but it will inevitably come—when he will be beaten.

If Julius Cæsar had quit when he conquered all Gaul, if Napoleon had refused the kingly crown when Europe was prostrate at his feet, if John L. Sullivan had retired from the ring before Corbett knocked him out, if Adelina Patti and Sarah Bernhardt had left off a few of their final farewell tours, if Ty Cobb had quit baseball before he was eclipsed by "Babe" Ruth, the "Colossus of Swat," if d'Annunzio had died in defense of Fiume instead of taking flight, if Woodrow Wilson had abdicated in favor of Vice-President Marshall when he was stricken ill, these great personages would occupy even higher niches in the Hall of Fame than they now do.

If we were Galli-Curci we would take high C in our most thrilling song some night soon and stop then and there, not even finishing the song, but leaving the audience right "up in the air." We would never sing again in public.

Is Man o' War to be the one unconquerable hero in history? Let Mr. Riddle stick to his decision—if he can.

# The Story of the Week

## Enter Hughes

PRESIDENT-ELECT Harding's first announced appointment was the choice of Charles Evans Hughes as Secretary of State. Mr. Hughes accepted the post as "a call to duty which no one could refuse." It is believed that the new Secretary of State will be given a much freer hand in conducting the foreign affairs of the nation than any of his predecessors in office since John Hay and that President Harding will permit him wide latitude in formulating the policy of the United States with reference to the League of Nations. Mr. Hughes's own attitude on the question is not very clear. He has sharply criticized certain features of the existing League, notably Article X, but he has never been classed as a "bitter ender" and it is worth remarking that the irreconcilable opponents of the League in the Senate were even more opposed to his appointment than to that of Elihu Root. Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, Senator Knox and Mr. David Jayne Hill were the four men whose claims for the chief place in the Cabinet were persistently discussed in the press and in political circles. Senator Knox and Mr. Hill were so hostile to the League of Nations that the appointment of either of them would have been an open declaration of war against the pro-League Republicans.

The career of Secretary-designate Hughes has been one of great distinction, tho he has not hitherto undertaken diplomatic work. He is a native of New York State and a graduate of Brown University. After studying law in the Columbia Law School he was admitted to practice and became one of the most successful lawyers and investigators in the country. His exposure of certain gas companies and insurance companies in New York brought him into the public eye and led to his nomination for Governor. In 1906, and again in 1908, he was chosen Governor in spite of the hostility of the Republican "machine." Fruits of his administration were the establishment of the Public Service Commission, the abolition of race-track gambling, and the enactment of direct primary laws. President Taft appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1910, where he remained until his nomination for President by the Republican convention of 1916. He succeeded in reuniting the Republican and Progressive parties during the campaign—tho many individual Progressives "leaked" away to the Democratic camp — and carried all of the northern states east of the Missouri River except Ohio and New Hampshire. But the vote of the Far West, and especially the close result in California, turned the election against him. During the war President Wilson chose him to conduct the investigation of airplane construction. He courageously defended the Socialist Assemblymen when an attempt was made to expel them from the New York Legislature last year. During the campaign of 1920 he supported the Republican ticket and was regarded as eminently eligible for party honors, altho it was uncertain whether he would be made Secretary of State or Attorney-General or replaced on the Supreme Court bench.



*© International*

**THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND HIS YOUNGEST DAUGHTER**

**President Harding's choice of Justice Charles Evans Hughes to head the new Cabinet was announced on February 19 from Florida where Mr. Hughes had been in conference with the President-elect. The new Secretary of State combines the qualities of national popularity with the legal training of unusual scope and mind sympathetic to international agreement for the maintenance of peace. During the treaty fight, he advocated reserved ratification of the Versailles League and proposed several reservations which were considered by the Senate majority in the preparation of its final program**

## Senate to Restrict Immigration

ON February 19 the Senate passed the Dillingham bill restricting immigration from any country to a fixed percentage of the number from that country already resident in the United States. The chief amendment to the original bill, as described in The Independent of February 26, was the lowering of the percentage of admissible aliens from 5 to 3 per cent for any nation. By the bill as amended only 355,461 immigrants from Europe and western Asia could arrive in any one year, and the majority of these (on the basis of the 1910 census; the nationality figures for 1920 not yet being complete) would come from Germany, Great Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia. Only two Senators voted against the restriction bill, Senators Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, and France, Republican, of Maryland.

The measure proposed by the House of Representatives, shutting off European immigration generally for a brief period, was defeated by forty-three votes to nineteen; three Republicans and sixteen Democrats upholding strict exclusion. A motion to amend the Dillingham bill by limiting alien immigration to one per cent of the alien population of the country was likewise lost, and a compromize reached on the basis of the 3 per cent limit. The proposed new law does not apply to the American continent nor to the countries of eastern Asia; it is an attempt to regulate European immigration in such a way as to favor immigration from those countries which have sent us the greatest number of their nationals in times past and to discourage the influx of alien elements that the country is not "used to."

## Dr. Bryan's Prescription

WILLIAM Jennings Bryan has intervened in the discussions as to the way to cure the Democratic party of whatever it was that happened to it in 1920. He declares that it is no time to talk candidacies, that the party must concentrate on principles and policies, and lest there should be any doubt as to what these must be he has gone to the trouble of preparing a platform of twenty-two planks, all ready for consideration.

With respect to foreign policy he

favors "a" League of Nations which will "provide for arbitration of all disputes that can be arbitrated, and an investigation of all others," but reserving to each nation the right to reject the findings of the League agencies. The United States should assemble an international conference on disarmament; compulsory military training should not be required in time of peace; and every declaration of war, save in the case of actual invasion, should be subject to a referendum.

With respect to domestic policy he is even more free with suggestions. The President should be limited to a single term of six years, and a new Administration should take office in January instead of in March. A majority of the Senate should suffice to ratify a treaty. Prohibition must be enforced "without fear or favor." Profiteering is to be resolutely prosecuted, and gambling in foodstuffs prohibited. Private monopolies are to be "taken over by the Government, national, state or municipal." The excess profits tax is to be maintained and the enactment of a tax on sales opposed, and taxes in general to be reduced by "economy." Boards of conciliation, without coercive powers, are to be established to mediate in industrial disputes. There should be a Federal guarantee of bank deposits and "action" that will maintain the Liberty Loan bonds at par. The Farm Loan Bank is to be strengthened and extended. There should be a national primary election law and voting by mail should be permitted in elections. The Government should publish a "national bulletin" under bi-partizan control.




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**BURIED, BUT NOT DEAD**
**The rumors of its death were greatly exaggerated**

## Knapp Objects to Leaving Haiti

REAR Admiral H. S. Knapp in a report made public on February 13 presents in final form the results of his investigations in the affairs of the Republic of Haiti and the results of the American occupation. He insists that the withdrawal of American forces would not only work great harm to the Haitian people, but would be contrary to their wishes. The anti-American agitation, he declares, is carried on by a small group of natives who cherish political ambitions and represent at the most not more than five per cent of the population. He points out the danger of being misled by the name "republic" into thinking that Haiti is really an independent and democratically governed commonwealth like the United States:

> The so-called Republic of Haiti, left to itself, has been a tyrannical oligarchy in which those in power fattened upon the vast mass of the population, while those of the governing class out of power sought every opportunity to get into power, by fair means or foul, with the same corrupt personal ends in view.

He pointed out that American occupation had for the first time brought tranquillity and security to peaceful Haitians and that they could now pursue their private business without fear of banditry. He praised the police work of the native gendarmerie, organized under American auspices, and said that it was increasing in efficiency.

The demand for our evacuation of Haiti was widely echoed in the American press during the recent political campaign; partly because the occupation of Haiti had been one of President Wilson's policies, tho based on Republican precedents, and could be used as ammunition against him, but partly also because of genuine moral indignation, highly creditable to us as a nation, called forth by reports of "indiscriminate killings" of natives by American forces.

## Counter Revolution in North Dakota

THE program of reforms so boldly undertaken by the Farmers' Non-Partizan League in North Dakota has been endangered by a serious financial crisis. Under the influence of the League, North Dakota had established public grain elevators, mills, packing houses and cold storage plants, and also a financial system, centering in the Bank of North Dakota, and a liberal extension of rural credits. The management of the Bank, and especially its close connection with the political activities of the League both within and without the State, caused much unfavorable criticism in conservative financial circles, but the bank managed to keep going until the great slump in the price of wheat hit North Dakota. As North Dakota, more than any other state, is devoted to wheat growing the fall in grain values greatly embarrassed the State Bank and the small private banks as well. When the Scandinavian-American Bank of Fargo closed on February 14 because it could not meet its debts to the State Bank it was the thirty-second bank in North Dakota to shut down during the agricultural depression, and only two had since that time been reopened.

North Dakota also found difficulty in floating a new bond issue of $6,000,000. As the assets of the State Bank were "frozen" by the hard times and the low price of grain, it was necessary to look to outside bankers, in Chicago and Minneapolis. The bankers of these cities, hostile politically to the Non-Partizan League and distrustful of the soundness of the finances of the State, refused to help the loan unless the Bank of North Dakota were liquidated and reorganized as an ordinary rural credits bank, with curtailment of the state-owned industrial enterprizes. Some doubt was also expressed as to the validity of the bond issue. As a result negotiations with the private bankers broke down and the Non-Partizan League was left to face the situation caused by the collapse of the financial structure which it had built.

Naturally the financial breakdown of the League program involved the League in political difficulties as well. The leadership passed from A. C. Townley, the imperious organizer of the League, to Attorney-General William Lemke. A so-called Independent Voters' Association met in convention at Bismarck and demanded the recall of Governor Frazier and Attorney-General Lemke.

Who was to blame? That is a point on which opinions differ.

Opponents of the Non-Partizan League condemn the whole experiment of the North Dakota Bank as unsound and Socialistic and accuse its managers of gross incompetence in the handling of funds. They point out that while North Dakota bonds cannot be floated even at 9 per cent the neighboring state of South Dakota has 6 per cent bonds selling at a premium. On the other hand, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins of the Committee of Forty-Eight ascribes the situation to the deliberate machinations of "Wall Street":

> This same banking group, thru its Minnesota connections, frankly told the government of North Dakota that if they gave up their legislative program—the program for which the people of North Dakota had voted and which they had demanded for their own protection—it would furnish the money and take the bonds. In the meantime it succeeded in inserting a joker in the North Dakota law making it optional, instead of compulsory, for

the local banks to deposit their state funds in the Bank of North Dakota. Consequently, the latter could not furnish the necessary funds to its local banks and communities, and the thirty-two local banks who are said "to have failed" simply had to declare a moratorium and close their doors until the situation straightened out.

## Japan Apologizes

THE Japanese Government has expressed deep regret for the accidental shooting of Lieutenant Langdon of the American forces of occupation in Vladivostok, and has punished the officials adjudged responsible. Secretary Colby's statement of the settlement of the affair follows:

A most thoro and exhaustive examination was conducted by the court-martial, resulting in the removal from the active list of the Japanese army of Major General Nisihara, commanding the Japanese garrison at Vladivostok. The court held that General Nisihara had been guilty of a misinterpretation of the barracks service regulations and had thus incurred primary responsibility for the unfortunate incident. He has been deprived of the rank of Brigade Commander. . . .

Some minor officers were sentenced to short periods of imprisonment. In addition to demoting the responsible commanding officers, the Japanese tendered a formal apology thru the commander-in-chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Force in Vladivostok and also thru the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The sentry who did the shooting was held to be excused by the orders issued by his superiors, on whom the responsibility and the punishment rests, but he was given a short term of imprisonment for testifying inaccurately at the trial.

## Reparations and Uncle Sam

SINCE the United States has failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, which provides for the payment of reparations by Germany, the indemnity has been fixed without regard to the American point of view, altho as the greatest financial power in the world the Allies would have been overjoyed to have us participate in the discussion. Indeed, by courtesy, the United States has been permitted "unofficial" representation on the Reparation Commission. Thus we could, at least, "listen in" on the negotiations concerning the fixing of the German indemnity. But even this degree of representation has now been withdrawn. Roland Boyden, who represented the United States at the Brussels financial conference last year, has resigned from the Reparation Commission and presented the following statement:

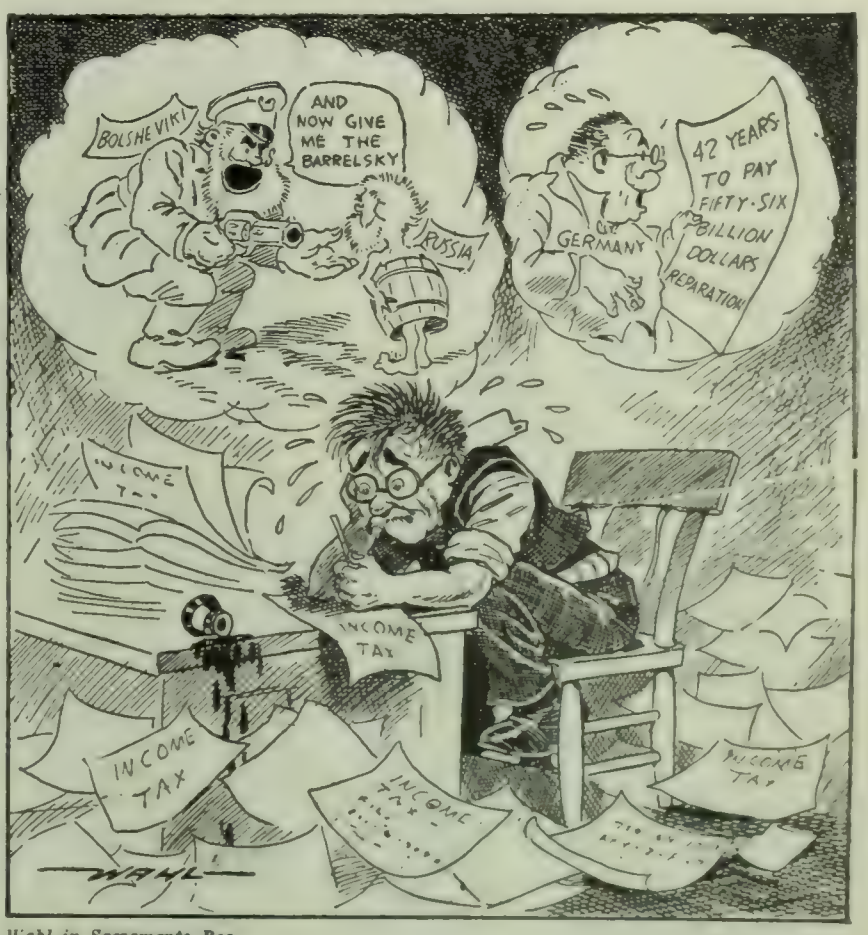
I am instructed by my Government to announce the retirement of its unofficial representatives from the Reparation Commission. This decision has been reached only after long hesitation and careful consideration. All representation upon the Commission was, in the beginning, unofficial, in anticipation of ratification of the Treaty of Versailles by the signatory powers. The other powers have ratified and their representation has long become official. The United States has not ratified, and, as the time has passed, its unofficial representation on the Commission has become anomalous.

The withdrawal of our unofficial representation from the Reparation Commission is probably due to the same causes which led to the retirement of Ambassador Wallace from the Council of Allied Ambassadors, the severance of even indirect connection with the agencies of the League of Nations, and the partial withdrawal of our army of occupation on the Rhine; that is, President Wilson's reluctance to embarrass President-elect Harding and his administration by "foreign entanglements" which the Republicans may not wish to continue. President Harding will be free to renew unofficial representation on the Reparation Commission, the Council of Ambassadors and other inter-Allied agencies, but he will not be committed to such a course by any act of the present administration. In other words, President Harding will be presented with a white sheet of paper on which he can write his own foreign policy.

Not that the United States can disinterest itself wholly in the outcome of the negotiations on the German indemnity. For one thing, Germany still owes us a large sum for the support of our army of occupation on the Rhine. For another, the United States will be asked to take German indemnity bonds as payment for at least a large part of our loans to the Allies; and while Congress is at liberty to refuse this arrangement it must consider it. Already President Wilson has presented to Congress the Allied agreement of 1919 by which a special issue of German bonds, taking priority over other reparations payments, will be tendered by Belgium in satisfaction of the debt of $171,780,000 loaned by the United States to Belgium before the armistice. Then, the effect of the proposed 12 per cent levy on German exportation will affect in numberless ways our trade with Germany for the next forty-two years. American foreign trade will also be deeply affected by the general sum of the indemnity; if it should prove either so severe as to prevent the industrial recovery of Germany or so inadequate as to hamper the industrial recovery of France. It is on all accounts much to be hoped that the Harding administration, either by ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, or by some special agreement with the Allies, will be able to give the United States a place in all the international conferences dealing with reparations.

## Along the Rhine

IN order to help Germany sustain the burden of reparations the Allies have decided to cut down the army of occupation along the Rhine, for which Germany is required to foot the bill. Count Sforza, Italian Foreign Minister, announced in the Chamber of Deputies that the expense to Germany of the Allied occupation of the Rhinelands would be reduced to 240,000,000 gold marks annually (about $60,000,000), including the expenses of all the inter-allied commissions. This will save to Germany about $300,000,000 a year, and will almost offset the proposed levy on German exports, at least for the first year or so. The American army of occupation is now a mere skeleton force, but its cost is high in comparison with its size because the American soldier is better paid than the French, British or Bel-




*Wahl in Sacramento Bee*

**Come to think about it, folks—we haven't such a bad country after all!**

gian. Germany is still owing the United States large sums for the upkeep of our forces on the Rhine.

German sympathizers in the United States have been carrying on so active a campaign of defamation against the French army of occupation along the Rhine that both the French and the American Governments have been forced to make statements on the subject. It was alleged that the French force was largely made up of "negroes" and "savages" introduced with the purpose of humiliating the German civil population and that they were committing all manner of atrocities. In a letter to Senator Spencer of Missouri the Secretary of State explained the actual situation. The French did have black regiments, tho not in large numbers, in the original army of occupation. These troops came mainly from Senegal, a French African colony. But the last of these troops were withdrawn from German soil as long ago as last June. The only non-European troops still remaining in the French zone of occupation are from Morocco and Algeria; mixed regiments of Berbers, Arabs and French colonials, all of them belonging technically to the "white" race. The Germans have brought no complaint against their conduct. Some of the Senegalese misbehaved, but the French authorities maintained strict discipline and punished all instances of misconduct. It was, no doubt, a political error to use them for garrison duty, as the Germans, whose race feeling is strong, resented their presence more than they would the presence of European soldiery. But to keep up an agitation over conditions which ceased to exist many months ago must, as Secretary Colby said, be set down simply as "propaganda directed against France."




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**No head for figures**

## The World's Armies

THE War Department at Washington has issued a statistical statement showing the absolute and relative size of the armies of the world. It contains many surprizes and differs radically from pre-war figures. Who would have guessed for example that little, peace-loving, neutral Switzerland has the largest army in the world in proportion to its population, larger in absolute size than that of all Germany with fifteen times its population, or that China and Poland had armies larger than those of France or Great Britain? Of course these statistics, while accurate, are highly misleading since they do not allow for the possible preparedness for active service of the various categories of "reserves" in different nations, nor for different degrees of military preparation and training. No one supposes that the Swiss "standing army" of short term militia is a military organization of the same type as the highly trained professional army of Great Britain or the United States; and it is obvious that the great standing armies of Poland and Greece are due to the fact that those nations are still practically on a war footing, and that when definite peace is made with Russia in the one case and Turkey in the other most of these forces will pass into the reserve. Moreover a Chinese army is certainly so far inferior in equipment and discipline to a Japanese that it is not right to compare them on a basis of numbers alone. All these qualifications must be borne in mind in reading the War Department figures on the size of standing armies.

Soviet Russia has at present the largest standing army in the world, as might be expected from its war footing and from the vast population it represents. Our War Department estimates it at 1,500,000. China with 1,369,000 soldiers comes next. France, the dominant power in Europe, has a standing army of 732,000 French and colonial troops, which is less than Poland with 815,000, but France has also 1,560,000 men enrolled in the reserves. The United States has 222,900 men in the army, but must, by Congressional resolution, reduce this figure to 175,000. Germany has 150,000, which will be reduced to 100,000. This does not include the indefinitely large forces of armed police and volunteer local guards, which constitute the real menace of German aggression. Japan has a regular army of 278,000, not including large reserves. The War Department table places the present strength of the British standing army at 425,000; the Italian at 464,000.

Reckoned on a percentage basis, Switzerland has 425 soldiers for every ten thousand of her population; Greece 320; Poland 271; Rumania 186; France 185; Czechoslovakia 164; Yugoslavia 135; Italy 126; Great Britain (colonies not included) 93; Bulgaria 72; Hungary 46; Japan 36; Austria 33; Germany 27; the United States 21. The relatively small size of the German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian standing armies is due to the fact that their armies are limited by treaty, and does not mean that these nations have voluntarily repented of their former militarism.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**The life preserver may save his wages**

## Lloyd George on Top

PREMIER Lloyd George has won a double victory in recent weeks. He has met the new session in Parliament without disaster and he has maintained his strength in a by-election in Wales. To begin with the lesser triumph. Several by-elections have recently gone unfavorably from the point of view of the ruling Coalition. At Cardigan, in Wales, a determined attempt was made to capture another seat away from the Coalition by running Llewellyn Williams as an independent Liberal against Captain Ernest

Evans, who was backed by Lloyd George. A defeat in Wales would mean far more to the British Prime Minister than a defeat anywhere else, because he himself is a Welshman and very popular among his own people, and if he could not rally his own mountaineers to his standard all Britain would believe his personal prestige to have evaporated. But Captain Evans carried Cardigan by more than 14,000 votes to about 10,500. There are many by-elections looming in the near future from widely scattered constituencies, but the Coalition could better afford to lose them all than to have Wales go back on her "favorite son."

Parliament reopened on February 15. King George gave the opening speech, briefly summarizing the program of the Government, in person. A "speech from the throne" by English custom represents not the King's own opinions (supposing him to have any), but the views of his ministers; but it is so brief and expressed in such general terms that it cannot be compared with a Presidential message to Congress. It resembles rather the broad declaration of policy which an American President makes when he is inaugurated. The King's speech warned the Irish that "neither Irish unity nor Irish self-government" could be obtained by "criminal violence." He spoke of the forthcoming conference at London concerning the revision of the Turkish treaty and expressed the hope that it would restore tranquillity in the Near East. Hope was also held out for a trade agreement with Soviet Russia. The widespread unemployment in England was deplored and legislation dealing with the situation promised, tho labor was warned that hard times "may be alleviated but cannot be cured by legislative means." Protection of "essential key industries" against "certain aspects of unfair and abnormal competition" was promised. A reduction in expenditures and a bill restricting the sale of liquor "in the light of experience gained during the war" were also forecasted.

Mr. Asquith, on behalf of the independent Liberals who are now in opposition to the Coalition Government, attacked the King's speech as "notable for its omissions" and demanded fuller explanations from the Premier. The Labor party also showered the Government with questions, and Lord Robert Cecil, the distinguished Conservative champion of the League of Nations, for the first time sat with the opposition parties. The Irish policy of the Coalition was, of course, one of the main points of attack. Premier Lloyd George in reply painted an optimistic picture of returning peace and order in Ireland. He said that until the Government had acted in Ireland "Sinn Fein soldiers patrolled the country, Sinn Fein police patrolled the town. Police were besieged in their barracks and their families were boycotted and the necessities of life denied them." Today the Sinn Fein courts and patrols had disappeared, the Irish Constabulary was able to get recruits, the British courts had recovered their authority, boycotting was at an end and open murders no longer occurred, the assassins being forced to waylay their victims from ambush. He predicted that the reign of terror would soon be broken. He refused to publish General Strickland's report on the fire in Cork, but assured the House of Commons that individuals guilty of "acts of indiscipline" had been punished.

On February 18 Premier Lloyd George had to meet an attack on the reparations agreement by Horatio Bottomley, a British journalist of jingoistic tendencies. Mr. Bottomley urged that the Allies go into Germany and "take" what was owed.

But Lloyd George pointed out the impossibility of this and said that he would not take the responsibility of "advancing proposals which upon the advice of the best experts we know to be utterly impracticable and would only raise false hopes in this country." He thought that Germany could pay what was now demanded of her by reforming her finances and introducing adequate taxation, such as the British and French had to meet. By a vote of 181 to 40 the House rejected Bottomley's motion of censure. In this way Lloyd George obtained a free hand to continue the reparations negotiations with France and Germany.



*Paul Thompson*

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF YALE

**The choice of Dr. James Rowland Angell to succeed President Hadley as head of Yale University has brushed aside the century-old tradition that the president of Yale should be an alumnus of the University or a member of the faculty. President-elect Angell is a Michigan graduate and (speak it low!) he took his A. M. at Harvard. He has been for most of his career a member of the faculty of the University of Minnesota and of the University of Chicago. In 1919-20 he was chairman of the National Research Council, and his latest work has been as head of the Carnegie Foundation. The Yale Corporation in announcing Dr. Angell's election said: "No one in America combines the breadth of educational experience and business ability, high public service and spiritual ideals, more completely"**

# Milner for Quitting Egypt

THE British lion may be an intrusive sort of animal, but he is as apt to stroll out of a country as casually as he enters it. At different times the British Empire (at least as a "sphere of influence") has spread over and again abandoned: France, Hanover (as a royal connection), Helgoland, the Ionian Islands, Spitzbergen, the Sudan, Transvaal, Persia, the Caucasus States, Afghanistan, Tibet, Java and the Dutch East Indies, Samoa, eastern New Guinea, Argentina, the Philippines, the Guianas and West Indies generally, the United States of America and many other little blocks of territory up and down the world. Sometimes, as in the case of New Guinea and the Transvaal, the lion came back, regretting his earlier departure. Such may be the case in Egypt, if the new native Government set up there does not succeed in functioning. But it is for the moment an interesting sight to see Lord Milner, the arch-imperialist, appearing as the champion of Egyptian independence.

On February 18 Lord Milner, former Colonial Secretary, presented his report to Parliament advocating immediate negotiations with the native Government in Egypt for establishing new relations between Egypt and the British Empire. The report declares that "The spirit of Nationalist Egypt cannot be extinguished and an attempt to govern the country in the teeth of a hostile people is a difficult and disgraceful task." "We hold that in fact, as well as in theory, Egypt should be governed by Egyptians." The principle of the proposed settlement is that instead of being a British "protectorate," as proclaimed on December 18, 1914, and confirmed by Article 147 of the Treaty of Versailles, Egypt is recognized as an independent constitutional monarchy. Great Britain, however, is to have special relations with Egypt very similar in character to those which the United States has with regard to Cuba under the Monroe Doctrine plus the "Platt amendment."

Great Britain and Egypt are to be allies. The British will

protect the integrity of Egyptian territory and the Egyptians will offer to Britain military assistance "within her own borders" in case the British Empire is at war. The wording of this provision would seem to forbid the use of Egyptian troops outside Egypt without the consent of the Egyptian Government. Egypt will have her own representatives abroad, but will not enter into treaties "prejudicial to British interests." The British will withdraw their army of occupation from Egypt, leaving a garrison to protect the Suez Canal. Egypt will ask the advice of the British Government on the appointment of a Financial Adviser and an official of the Ministry of Justice. Great Britain will represent and protect the interests of foreigners of all nationalities in Egypt. After two years British officials now in the Egyptian service may be retired if the Egyptian Government so desires. A Constituent Assembly will make a constitution for Egypt which must be based on the principle of responsible parliamentary government and provide for religious toleration and the rights of foreigners. Persons of foreign descent born in Egypt count as foreigners, not as native Egyptians. After the new régime is firmly established Great Britain "will support an application by Egypt for admission as a member of the League of Nations" and will also negotiate with other Powers for the abandonment of their special extra-territorial rights ("the capitulations") in Egypt in view of the position of Great Britain as general protector of foreigners in the country.

# The Turkish Question

THE diplomatic conference of the Allies in London has as one of its main duties the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. By that treaty Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Armenia, Cilicia, Smyrna and Thrace were to be detached from the Ottoman Empire and the region of Constantinople and the Straits were to be placed under international control, leaving to full Turkish sovereignty only the major part of Anatolia (western Asia Minor). Two events impeded the carrying out of the Treaty. One of these was the outbreak of a rebellion of the Turkish "Nationalists," who threw off the authority of the Sultan on the ground that he was virtually a "prisoner" of the Allies, and formed a separate government under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal. In order to carry out their pledges, the Allies should have crushed this Turkish Nationalist rebellion by force of arms, but neither the French nor the British were willing to undertake a costly campaign of repression in Asia Minor. The task was therefore left to the Greeks; and now a second event occurred to save the Turkish Empire from final dismemberment. The Greeks voted to recall to the throne the formerly pro-German King Constantine and ousted from power Premier Venizelos, the close friend and associate of the Allies.

It was in vain that the Greeks announced that they were perfectly willing, in spite of the election, to go on fighting the Turks; it was even in vain that Venizelos, placing patriotism before his personal grievances, pleaded to the Allies to maintain the Treaty of Sèvres. The French, English and Italian diplomats all agreed that the terms of the treaty must be altered to the benefit of Turkey and that Greece should be punished for recalling Constantine by the loss of a large part of her territorial aspirations. The Greeks sent a delegation to the London conference under Premier Kalogeropoulos to urge the enforcement of the Treaty of Sèvres. The Turks sent two delegations; one, under Tewfik Pasha representing the "recognized" Turkish government at Constantinople; the other, under Bekir Samy Bey, representing the rebel Nationalist government at Angora. The demands of the two Turkish delegations respecting the revision of the treaty were very much the same, but neither delegation would recognize the other as the lawful representative of the Turkish nation.

It is reported that Premiers Briand and Lloyd George, representing France and Great Britain, have reached a preliminary agreement as to what concessions are to be offered to Turkey, tho these concessions must be approved by the general conference of the Allies. By this agreement the frontier line in Thrace (European Turkey) will be moved westward to a line between the ports of Enos and Midia. This would take from Greece about a fourth of the territory in Thrace promised under the treaty. Constantinople and the Straits are to remain under international control, but a Turkish representative is to be included in the ruling commission. Smyrna, instead of being given to Greece, will remain under Turkish sovereignty, but a Christian governor, approved by the Powers, would be appointed to protect the Christian Greek population. But if the Greeks should occupy the Smyrna region by force of arms it is hard to see what the Allies could do about it. Even if public opinion in England and France is opposed to the use of force to coerce the Turks it would be still more opposed to the use of force to coerce the Greeks, and it is probable that the Turks and Greeks would be left to fight over Smyrna with each other.

In eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus the political situation remains equally uncertain. The independence of Armenia has been affirmed in theory and the boundaries of the nation traced by President Wilson, but nothing has been done to make that independence an actual reality.



*Gilliams Service*

**One of the foremost women in international affairs is Mme. Henri Forchammer, of Denmark, recently elected temporary chairman of the International Women's Congress, and one of the three women members of the Assembly of the League of Nations. The other two women members of the assembly are from Norway and Sweden**

On the contrary, the Bolsheviki and the Turkish Nationalists between them have crushed independent Armenia and left it as a tiny little province ruled by a "sovietized" government and therefore practically under Russian control. The barrier state of Georgia, which has so long resisted the advance of Bolshevism in the Caucasus, has also been overwhelmed by Russian armed forces.

Georgia is one of the little states of the Caucasus, formerly a part of the Russian Empire, which snatched at independence when old Russia collapsed into anarchy. In recent months it has followed an anti-Bolshevist foreign policy and expelled Bolshevist sympathizers from its borders, thus giving the Russians a pretext for invasion.

Advancing with overwhelming numbers, the Bolshevist army entered Tiflis and set up a provisional Soviet Government. Supplies belonging to the Allies of a value estimated at $20,000,000 fell into the hands of the Bolshevist invaders. What is of more permanent significance, the fall of Georgia render easier military combinations between the Russian Bolsheviki and the Turkish Nationalists against British rule in Mesopotamia and Persia.

# A Little of Everything



## The Art of Canning Music

### By Austin C. Lescarboura

Real music, and by that is meant the compositions of the greatest musicians of all time, became popular only when the phonograph brought such music within the reach of all. But the phonograph remains one of the greatest mysteries confronting the layman, tho in fact it is one of the simplest of present day mechanical wonders.

To make a record it is necessary merely to use a thin disk of suitable material (usually glass) an inch or two in diameter, to which is connected an arm terminating at its free end in a cutting tool. This cutting tool rests on a thick disk of soft wax, and as the disk turns at a fixed and constant speed the tool cuts or engraves certain grooves representing the mechanical equivalents of the sound waves. The grooves vary in accordance with the pitch, the delicate modulations, the harmony and the volume of the sound waves striking the glass disk.

Now this wax disk is the so-called master record. It is too soft to be played; in fact, were it played several times the soft grooves would be worn smooth, which is but another way of saying that the latent sound waves represented by the grooves would soon be wiped out. So it becomes necessary for that reason, as well as for the reason of making many copies of that record for universal distribution, to employ some system of impressing the delicate grooves on a more durable material.

The first step is to coat the soft wax master with graphite, which is a black powder that clings to every particle of the wax. The coated master is placed in a copper bath, and a current passed thru for several hours to obtain a copper plating in the form of a thin shell. This shell fits into every groove and depression of the graphite-coated wax, so that the copper, when stripped from the wax master, is a faithful replica in every sense. However, the wax is no longer of value as a permanent record, hence the first electrotype, as this duplicate is called, must become the master record. It is therefore necessary to make another electrotype, but this time the grooves are reversed; hence still another electrotype is made for the final operations. In other words, the final electrotype, which is nickel-plated and carefully finished for the purpose, is three times removed from the master wax record. If anything happens to the final electrotype, which is the one used in moulding operations, recourse may be had to the preceding electrotype or even to the master electrotype, which is carefully stored away.

Once the final electrotype is obtained the process is simple. Withal, it is one that lends itself to quantity production. The electrotype is placed in a powerful press, and the record material, a composition consisting largely of shellac, rotten stone, the mineral barytes, lamp black, and in some cases an ingredient made from rags, is placed between the jaws of the press. In the double-disk record, two electrotypes are used, so as to impress themselves on the two surfaces of the record material. The material is warm when placed in the press and in a semi-plastic condition. However, in a fraction of a minute it cools and hardens in the press and is ready to be removed. The disk is then polished, the rough edges smoothed off and the labels affixed.

Nothing is more intricate and more baffling to deal with than sound. Certain instruments are more difficult to record than others. The 'cello is one of the most difficult to handle; so is the piano. The violin is perhaps the simplest. A good band records beautifully, while an orchestra is generally difficult. Then again there is the matter of interference: if too many instruments are employed in an orchestra or band selection, they only serve to confuse each other until the *ensemble* is a muffled mass. There is a very definite limit to the number of instruments that can be recorded at one time with various recording systems. One leading manufacturer of records tells us that the better plan is to select perhaps eight or ten master players to represent an entire orchestra or band. These players, properly grouped about the recording horn and provided with the proper musical score, are able to produce the effect of an entire orchestra and do not overtax the delicate recording mechanism.

## A New Broom

A new broom sweeps clean—if it is not left standing in the corner. In an excellent correspondence course on citizenship the New York State League of Women Voters is setting out with the most enlightened competence to see to it that American women put their new citizenship to work. If the course brings half the results it deserves, the new broom *will* sweep clean—not merely cover the ground, in the fashion of a suffrage inherited thru tired, accustomed centuries. The point about the course is that it considers citizenship not as the right to vote on certain legally appointed days in the year, but as a state of being, involving all of the citizen's faculties and energies on every day of the year.

The pamphlets of which the course consists, obtainable from Mrs. Caspar Whitney, Educational Section, 37 West 39th Street, New York City, are grouped under such titles as "Structure of Government," "Woman's Special Interests in Government," "Ques-



© Keystone View

**Learning to swim without water; this beats the piano stool or the swimming pool! These Vienna boys are learning the correct arm and leg movements on specially constructed frames**

tions of the Moment," "Public Schools and the Child Problem," etc. Experts in special lines deal with a wide variety of subjects coming under these general heads; political parties, highways, courts, Americanization, labor, prevention of epidemics, hot school lunches—this scattering selection indicates the range of subject. There is a great deal of condensed and clear information thus made easily available; and there is besides much suggestive and stimulating discussion of such questions as "Why the citizen should know history," "Social Psychiatry," etc.

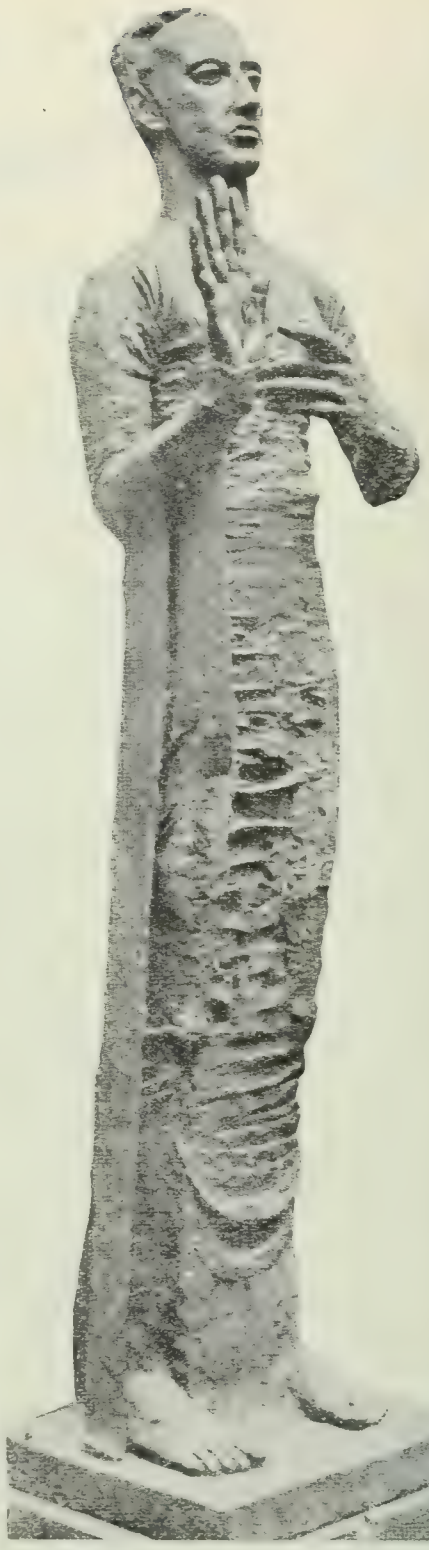
It is easy to illustrate the pamphlets' combination of readableness with sound and vigorous educativeness:

> The health of the family depends as much on the city Department of Health as on the mother's care. . . .
>
> The slum is an economic crime, condoned by a public which pays the penalty in contamination and contagion thrust back upon itself. . . .
>
> Since minors are citizens, and since they are regarded as intelligent enough when they reach the age of sixteen or seventeen years to attend college, might it not be wise to give them a limited franchise, as, for example, in voting on school affairs?

By treatment from every angle—political, historical, sociological, psychological, economic—this course rounds out the conception of citizenship until it becomes a sound and whole conception of a way of life in general. At the head of an announcement leaflet is a quotation from John Galsworthy: "That nation is most civilized wherein we find the most happy, healthy, wise and gentle citizens."

## Artistic Heresy

It is a curious fact that the physical appearance of Christ, a matter that no one knows anything about, is still a matter so firmly settled by centuries of painters and sculptors who knew just as little about it that when some one breaks the tradition, as Jacob Epstein has in his "Christ," the world with one accord denounces his statue as false, unjust, and blasphemous. The past has permitted the features of the face to vary, from the strong patience of a Rembrandt "Christ" to the weak softness of a Hoffman; but invariably art has presented the passive virtues of meekness and forbearance, and a physical shape that has the pleasing gentle grace of flowing draperies, and curling hair and beard. Here is the Epstein "Christ," gaunt, misshapen, ugly, with head thrown back, a curious full-eyed, proud-lipped face, and a look not of submission but of steadily blazing challenge, while one hand points to the scarred palm of the other in stern reminder.



*The London Sphere*

**The Epstein "Christ" from the angle that is supposed to give the resemblance to President Wilson**

Wherever the statue has gone, England especially, it has stirred a storm of horrified disgust and artistic enthusiasm. It stood for most of this past year in the Leicester Galleries in London, with an exhibit of Mr. Epstein's portrait heads. The portraits had not a quarter of the attention they deserved and there was always a buzzing crowd around the "Christ." Many were repelled by the meager flat-chested figure covered only with the remnant shreds of earthy gravecloths; others by the large, coarse hands and feet; others by the harsh, unbeautiful face. There was wide discussion of the type of the face, which was decided to be negroid, Egyptian, Mongolian and other things. Much was made of a probably accidental resemblance, from one angle, to President Wilson. Clergymen and laymen attacked the statue, from the pulpit and in the press. In the meantime artists and art critics were giving it an unusual unison of approval as a noble and sincere and powerfully dramatic work of art. Finally the statue was purchased and taken to the country house of the owner, whose name was kept secret while excitement was at its hight, but who now turns out to be A. Cherry-Garrard, a new man among conspicuous collectors and art patrons.

Of course one is quite at liberty to dislike the statue, on any grounds. But it is hard to make one's religious objections very reasonable. It is irrelevant to resent as sacrilegious its representation of physical ugliness, for it does not claim a physical realism. As to the conception of character—there was, to be sure, a Christ who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me"; but there was another who cried out, "Ye generation of vipers!"

## Incidentals

France's population was reduced 4,000,000 by the war.

***

There are 8000 women now studying in German universities.

***

France proposes to send air attachés to all her Embassies and Legations.

***

Two hundred and sixty-four boats went thru the Panama Canal last October.

***

More than 150 Wisconsin communities are interested in Parent Teachers' Associations.

***

Owing to the shortages of teachers between 300,000 and 400,000 children in the United States last year had to go without schooling.

***

The International Chamber of Commerce is backing a world-wide plan for the compulsory arbitration of international commercial disputes.

***

The money lost thru fires in the United States from 1915 to 1919 was sufficient, say fire underwriters, to build new homes for 1,416,375 persons.

***

For the first time in its history, the great Krupps works at Essen, Germany, have worked a year without making a single implement of war.

***

Ski jumping is very popular at the University of Wisconsin since the arrival of fifteen students from Norway who are experts at the sport.

***

Caproni, the Italian aerial inventor, proposes now to construct a giant plane to carry 300 persons across the Atlantic in about thirty-six hours.

***

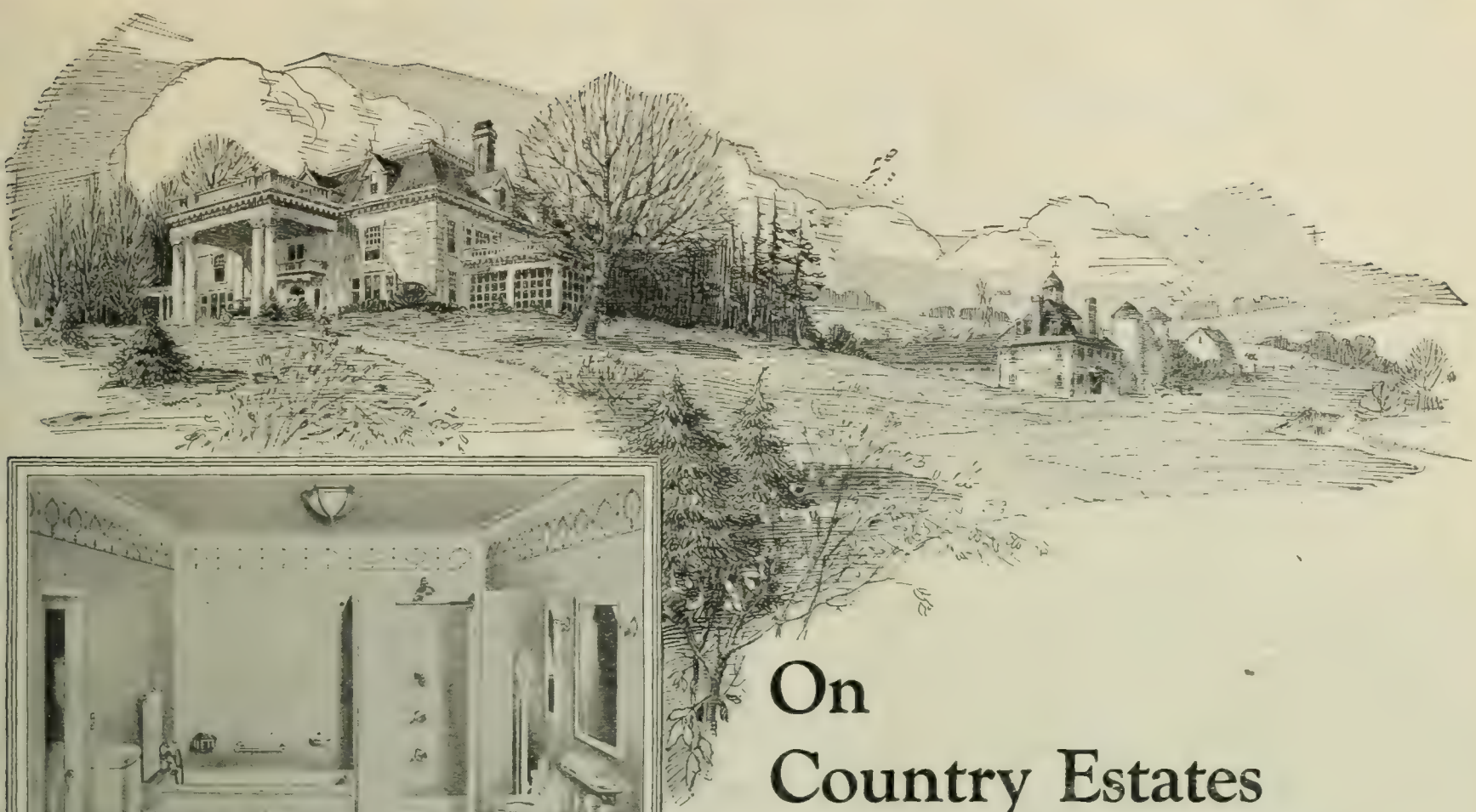
There is one divorce for every seven marriages in Japan, one for every ten marriages in the United States, and one for every ten thousand in England.

***

The University of Wisconsin has just installed a machine in its geological department which can exert a pressure of 400,000 pounds on underground rocks.

## A Little of Everything

**Swiss cheese holes and dinosaurs,**
**Discovered Cretan minotaurs,**
**Facts about the distant suns**
**And the range of German guns,**
**Recipes for household ice**
**And better ways of growing rice,**
**Figures on the marriage rate**
**And pictures of a wrought-iron gate,**
**German coins of porcelain,**
**Agriculture without rain,**
**Photographs by wireless sent,**
**The latest chemical element—**
**Such joys, O muse, be thine to sing**
**In a Little of Everything.**





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# Your Garden in March

## Suggestions That Will Help the Countryside Dweller to Keep Up With the Spring

By Hugh Findlay, Lecturer in Horticulture at Columbia University

### Greenhouse

**Catch Crop** Sparks' Earliana, Bonny Best, or June Pink tomatoes may be planted among the last crop of lettuce. The plants should be kept to a single stem and trained to stakes or wires. A crop of fruit may be realized the early part of July.

**Cuttings** Propagate geraniums, coleus, stevia, lantana, ageratum, snap dragons and chrysanthemums. Keep the cutting-bed cool, shaded and moist. Cuttings should be removed from the sand as soon as the root system is formed.

**Seedage** For an early bloom sow the seed of marigold, snap dragon, stock, verbena, aster, ageratum, balsam, larkspur, pansy, lobelia, petunia, scabiosa and other annuals. As soon as the second or third leaf appears transplant the seedlings to thumb pots or into flats filled with rich soil.

**Dahlias** Break up the roots so that there are from one to three eyes left at the crown, and plant these in six-inch pots filled with a rich soil, one-half decayed manure and one-half garden loam and decayed sod. A little sand mixed in is not objectionable.

**Early Start** Three to four cucumber seeds may be planted in a strawberry basket filled with rich garden loam. The bottom may be cut from the basket, the sides lifted off, and the plants transplanted to the open without disturbing the roots. Corn, string beans and potatoes may be started in the same way. Gloxinias, caladiums and tuberous rooted begonias may be started the early part of the month.

**Easter Flowers** Easter lilies, hyacinths, lilac, deutzia, and cinerarias should be well in bud by the last of the month. Buds that are too far advanced may be checked by keeping the plant in a cool dark place for a time.

**Ripening Bulbs** In order to keep bulbs over from year to year it is necessary to give them a period of rest. Small and few flowers are the first signs of the loss of vitality among such bulbs as cyclamen and calla lilies. Place the pots or flats in a shaded place and allow the soil to dry gradually. After all the foliage has dried remove the bulbs and pack them in sand. All bulbs should be kept plump. This is the month to start to rest the gladioli, oxalis, cyclamen and calla lilies. Forced bulbs of tulips, narcissus, and hyacinths may be planted out the last of the month.

**Roses** Spray frequently on bright days to keep in check the red spider. Be careful in ventilating so that mildew may not be encouraged to grow. Frequent applications of liquid manure will produce larger flowers and stems.

### Flower Garden

**Pruning** The latter part of the month, prune back the hardy flowering roses. Do not be afraid to prune them close, leaving three or four eyes to each stalk of new wood. Cut out only winter killed tips and bruised branches of the climbing roses. Never prune the climbing rose back after it has bloomed.

**Vines** As soon as the soil is workable, plant vines. Make a large hole four feet square and four feet deep close to the wall. Fill this with a well-mixed compost suitable for the vine that is to be planted. Prune back only the winter killed canes of flowering and foliage vines.

**Bulb Beds** Remove all manure and litter the last of the month. Use a five-pronged fork in lifting the litter. Be careful not to injure or break the tulip tips which are about one inch long the last of this month. Keep some loose straw near the bed to throw on it should a hard freeze threaten.

**Planting** There is no better time to plant shrubs than during March. Get the soil ready and set out the plants as soon as they arrive from the nursery. Fit the fine rich soil around the roots. Prune back vigorously this first year.

Divide the roots of perennials and transplant them before the buds and roots become active. Lilies of the Valley and Funkia are both fine plants for shady places and may be planted the last of the month. Sow sweet peas as soon as the soil is workable. Don't fail to make this soil rich six to eight inches in depth before sowing the seed. Place the support, especially if of wire, before the plants appear, so as to prevent injury.

Plant out all roses the last week in March. Pack the soil tightly about the roots. A light clay is the best soil for most varieties.

**Cultivation** Turn the manure, mixed with a little bone meal, under. Use only a four-pronged digging fork and do not fork deep enough to disturb the roots or crown of the plants. A spade is sure to injure both. If the soil is a clay type do not spade it when moist.

**Early Flowers** After raking the lawn, sprinkle a few applications of finely ground bone on the parts where such flowers as the crocus, snowdrop, squill (scilla) are expected to appear.

### Vegetable Garden

**Soil Preparation** Spread a heavy application of manure over the ground even tho it was manured and left in the rough last fall

As soon as the frost is out of the soil, spade or harrow this manure into the first four inches of the soil. The plant food is then in a position for the young vegetables to thrive on it. Have the soil rich, fine in texture and easy to cultivate.

**Seedage** If you have not already sown in the hotbed the seed of beets, cabbage, cauliflower, celery, lettuce, onions, egg plant, peppers and tomatoes, do it early this month. South of New York City, sow the seed of kohlrabi, leek, carrots, beets, turnips, smooth peas, radish, salsify, New Zealand spinach and Swiss chard out of doors. If the soil is cold and wet, the last week in March, wait until it is in good condition before proceeding to the planting.

**Permanent Crops** If you anticipate setting out a new bed of asparagus, rhubarb or horse radish first get the soil in good condition. For a family of five plant twenty-five asparagus roots, two feet apart in the row; seven plants of rhubarb, three feet apart in the row; and eight plants of horse radish, eighteen inches apart in the row. Before the growth starts top-dress the old asparagus bed with decayed manure and bone meal. Dig this into a depth from three to five inches. Dig in the protective covering of manure about the rhubarb plants. Be careful not to disturb or injure the fleshy roots.

**Hot Beds** Do not fail to place a protective covering over the glass each night. March is a changeable month. Close the sash early in the afternoon in order to retain the heat from the last rays of the sun. Do not allow a draft to strike the tender plants.

**Commercial Fertilizer** A little commercial fertilizer applied frequently and worked into the soil close to the growing plants is of more value than when applied broadcast. The amount required for a square rod (nitrogen), nitrate of soda, two pounds, one-half to six gallons of water for a solution. Sulfate of ammonia, two and one-half pounds (potash); kainit two and one-half pounds; sulfate of potash, two pounds (both difficult to purchase). Wood ashes, one-half bushel (phosphoric acid); ground rock four pounds; dissolved bone, one and one-half pounds, and basic slag, five

pounds. Where decayed manure is available commercial fertilizer is not necessary.

## Fruit and Berries

**Grafting** On mild days, graft the apple, pear, cherry and plum. Three years after the scions are inserted they should bear fruit. Only rehead one-third of the trees each year. Use liquid grafting wax in cold weather. If the trees have been girdled by mice or rabbits, bridge graft them before the sap flows. Be sure to remove the buds from the scions used as bridges.

**Spraying** If you have not already sprayed for the scale insects, with lime sulfur one to eight, do it before the buds start. This dormant spray not only destroys these sucking insects, but also holds in check the scab that might become active. Spray on calm days.

A few warm days, the last week of this month, may bring out the buds and the tent caterpillars. Destroy this chewing insect by spraying with arsenate of lead, three pounds to fifty gallons of lime sulfur. Never burn the web of the caterpillar. This practise always injures the branches and often kills them.

**Planting** Plant blackberries, raspberries, currants, gooseberries and fruit trees as early as the soil is workable. Be sure that the roots are placed in their natural position with the best soil packed about them. Never place manure in direct contact with the roots. But decayed sod, chopped up fine, is recommended.

**Strawberries** Remove the litter. Work in the manure close to the plants as soon as the frost is out of the ground. The straw should be saved to place under the fruit in order to keep the soil from spattering on the fruit during a rain. A little pulverized sheep manure and bone meal sprinkled about each plant will bring results later. Keep all runners cut off if a high quality, large berry is desired.

**Grapes** This is a good time to plant the grape vine. It is a long-time investment, therefore prepare the soil from three to four feet in depth before planting the vine.

## A "Burglar-Proof" Safe? The Box Man Says There's No Such Thing

(*Continued from page 230*)

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# The Best Person in Our Town

## "Hole Hog" Hunt

### By R. Wilbur Babcock

*Some time ago The Independent asked its readers for descriptions of "The Best Man or Woman in Our Town." Altho the contest is over, there were so many interesting responses that we are going to print a few more from time to time. Here is a good story about Wilson P. Hunt, good citizen and chief of the Moline Tool Company, Moline, Illinois.*

"Daddy, do you know whom I like the best of any man outside of our own family?"

"No, Ruth, I don't."

"It's Mr. Hunt. I like the things he does, the way he does them and I like him."

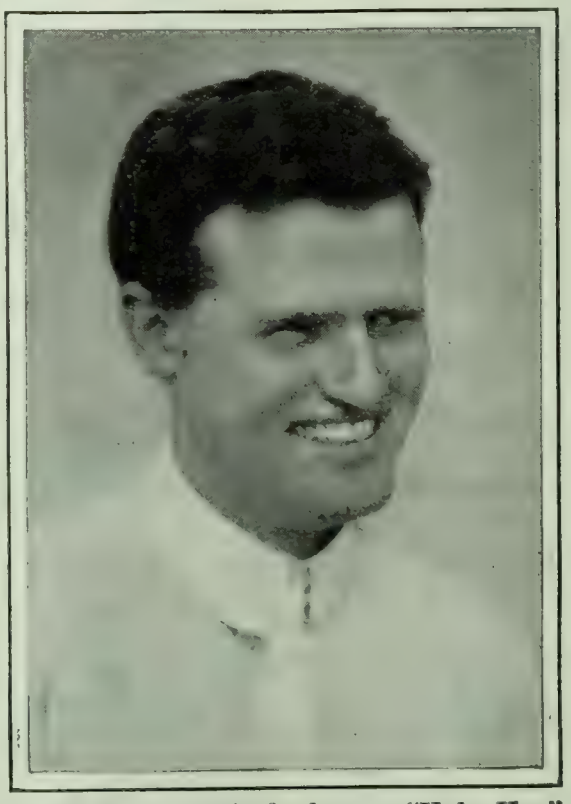
The verdict of my ten-year-old girl is the verdict of all who know "Wilson," or "President Wilson" as they call him in Rotary.

He has all the earmarks of a great man. He was born very early in life and was named after President Wilson—only a year or two after, however. He thawed out his bare feet on the warm spot left by the retreating cow hastening down the hillside to be robbed of her wealth before "sun-up." He dug holes, chased gophers, and killed snakes for a diversion and raised corn, pumpkins and oats for a living—tho he neither sowed nor reaped wild oats, thinking that a waste of time and money and a bad example for those who came after him.

Then came the lure of the lathe: even in his dreams he could see the smooth-turning lathe cutting curls of steel, leaving the shining shaft of steel behind, while all the time the siren song of the shop kept ringing in his ears.

One day a friendly hand was laid upon his greasy shoulder; he threw the belt and turned to look into the grey eyes of a "finder of men." "Wilson, there's room at the top for a man with ideas." That was the corridor that led to the throne room of success. For that friendly hand, as tho by apostolic succession, made Wilson a "finder of men," as all men know.

Today the trade knows him as "Hole Hog" Hunt, because he caught the idea of digging holes from his friends, the ground hogs and the gophers, and crystallized it into steel; and today the great factories of the country are digging holes in iron and steel faster than a hundred gophers working overtime for double pay.



**In Moline everybody knows "Hole Hog" Hunt; folks turn to him for advice and help and inspiration—and mighty few are disappointed!**

As you hear the hole hog contentedly grunting his way thru a big cylinder head, taking six holes at a bite, you shrewdly guess that it's because that hog was raised in a happy family. No labor troubles stop the hole hog from digging his shining holes, for "Wilson" is for his men, and his men are for him. No wonder the shop has the atmosphere of a big busy family. Of course he is growing rich—not only in money and influence but best of all in friends. But even that isn't what makes him the greatest man in our town. It's because he "is wondrous wise."

You can always tell who is the greatest man in your town by trailing the first man you find with an idea for the welfare of the community. In nine chances out of ten we will find him crossing the tracks past Abraham's candy factory to the Moline Tool Company. No, you needn't wait for him; he won't be out until Wilson has found out all about his scheme and "O. K.'d" it or sent him away with a smile and a better plan to help his fellow men.

The fact that he is president of the school board, superintendent of the Sunday School, president of Rotary and has something to do with the Y. M. C. A. and the Helping Hand and a dozen other organizations for the uplift of his fellow, is nothing against him; those are the things that he couldn't keep people from knowing. But you ask a lonely sailor on a mine sweeper in the North Sea what makes our hero great, and he'll show you a whole bunch of cheering letters where cushy checks nestled; or drop into Le Havre and hunt up the poorest orphan in the city and if you look hard enough you will find a whole raft of Moline Tool Company letterheads stained with tears of gratitude — for Wilson is generous.

He doesn't let his left hand know what his right hand does, but it's not because he's ashamed to; both hands are so busy helping others that they don't get a chance to sit down and chat.

Don't get the idea, however, that he is any "Lady Bountiful." If you are in need his hand feels as soft as velvet;

but if you try to "put something over on him" you will find that underneath the hand of velvet is the hand of steel. You never catch him with any "sentimental sob stuff." Just show him a chance to help in the making of manhood or womanhood and he's with you to the limit.

I don't think that he ever had much schooling—perhaps that's why he wants every boy or girl in our town to have all he can get and the best brand. But I've noticed that whenever a noted speaker comes to our town Wilson Hunt entertains him. If you are lucky enough to share a meal with them (Wilson doesn't dine—he eats) you will discover the reason for his culture. He somehow seems to catch the personality of the other man. It is men, anyway, and not books that make character.

Like all great men he is simple; not simple-minded, but just plain good and homey. When you go into his home you feel as if you had dropped onto a nice soft sofa with your best girl and you don't hate anybody. That's why he is the greatest man in Moline—because everyone loves him, from the street urchin to the millionaire manufacturer, and from his desk there radiates a thousand unseen lines of helpfulness, good cheer and inspiration. I take it that that man is greatest who puts his money not into his pocket but into the making of men and women; he is happiest in whose presence you feel the noblest, who profits most because he serves best. "Yes, Ruth, I think you are right, perhaps he is our greatest man."

## Starting with the Children

### By Etta B. Worsley

*The story of a woman whose fine record of community achievement wins her the title of "the best woman" in her town.*

A slender, brown-eyed, southern woman, whose name is Edwina Wood, began her public career as a kindergarten teacher in 1895. Since that time her activities have been so numerous it would take a small catalog to hold them.

According to her own statement, every bit of work she has done has grown out of her interest in children. She says, "As supervisor of kindergartens, my association with little children has given me insight into the community life and has made me keenly interested in everything that bears on child development."

Miss Wood realized before most people that it would be a splendid thing for the children to have free kindergartens in the public schools. There were a few mill kindergartens and pay schools for the little ones, but none for the great middle class. So, with the coöperation of Mr. Carleton B. Gibson, since a Commissioner of Reconstruction to Belgium, and Mr. Gunby Jordan, a prominent citizen and philanthropist, her plan was carried out. Now every elementary school has its splendidly equipped kindergar-


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ten, and Columbus is the only city in the state of Georgia, and one of the few cities anywhere, with such a system.

Beside supervising these schools, Edwina Wood still oversees the mill kindergartens, and two others for colored children, and has a normal training school for kindergarten teachers, giving the teachers both theory and practice. She graduates an average of four teachers a year, who go forth to teach in other schools. Her work along this line was recognized by the women



**For more than a quarter of a century Miss Wood has directed and developed school and civic work for children in Columbus, Georgia. Ask almost any one in the rising ranks of worthy citizens in Columbus now how he got his start and you'll find a tribute to Miss Wood's early influence**

of the state when they appointed her State Federation Chairman of Kindergartens. In this position she is working to get state laws passed that will allow state money to be expended on kindergartens.

Eight years ago Miss Wood was made the first president of the City Federation of Women's Clubs. She made the organization noteworthy. It now numbers twenty clubs.

As president of the City Federation, Miss Wood began a health campaign. She believed that healthy parents and healthy children are the starting point of progress. By inaugurating Baby-Saving campaigns she aroused the interest of the public in the health of its future citizens. She brought prominent lecturers to Columbus, who addressed the people on health. In 1912 she got Columbus on the Redpath Chautauqua circuit, the club women guaranteeing from $1,500 to $1,750. The Canning Club work of Muscogee County was begun during her term of office and financed by the Women's Clubs until taken care of three years later by the county.

At Miss Wood's earnest request, $500 was raised by the clubs to have a survey made of the town by the National Playground Association of New York. This was in 1915, and was for the purpose of interesting the city government in public playgrounds and supervised play for the children. This woman of vision failed to persuade the city council that by spending money on this constructive effort less would be spent on junior criminals.

After the entry of our country into the European war, however, Miss Wood's work on the survey bore fruit. The National Playground Association became the War Camp Community Service. Subsequently Camp Benning (now Fort Benning) was located near the city. The War Camp Community workers were sent there and finding the survey already made immediately "got on the job." Now that the war is over, the W. C. C. S. is not going away as we supposed, but will continue on a larger scale, spending a considerable sum of money and using Columbus as an experimental laboratory.

During her summer vacation, instead of resting or studying at a northern summer school, she has been occupying the position of hostess of the Soldiers' Club Rooms, but her chief work has been to assist in establishing Community houses. These houses, located in the outlying mill sections of the city, are for the pleasure and benefit of the girls of the neighborhood. Beside comfortably furnished club rooms, there will be playgrounds with supervisors of play for the children.

Edwina Wood is a director and one of the most interested workers in the Public Health Nurse Association, which cares for about four hundred sick per month, paying from 1100 to 1500 visits per month; director of the Red Cross, member of the Child Welfare committee, working for pure food, sanitary conditions, etc., president of the Students' (Literary) Club, supervisor of the primary department of the First Baptist Sunday School; besides helping with the various Parent-Teachers' organizations of the schools, both white and colored. She frequently lectures to colored men and women and helps them in their club work.

During the war she was chairman of the Woman's Division of War Savings Stamps Drive, chairman of Woman's Division United War Work Drive, chairman of publicity for the Red Cross for the period of the war, spoke in the Liberty Loan and all the other drives, and when she had any time to spare she could be found quietly working on surgical dressings at the Red Cross rooms.

Miss Wood is a charming person socially and a thoughtful and devoted member of an inspiring home circle. She is known to every class of people in Columbus and loved by all. It is no wonder that when Edwina Wood walks on the platform each spring at the opening of Chautauqua she can get no farther than "Friends—" before she is greeted with a thunder of applause.

## After I Talked With Harding

(*Continued from page 228*)

but shy. No matter how important the things he does as President, they will not be spectacular. But by the close of his first four years I think this country will realize that it has had one of the most satisfactory administrations in internal affairs ever known. There will be no flaming appeals, no paramount issues; just order and decent government. At the end of four years we will probably find it a little difficult to tell just what Harding has done, but we will like him. That is the sort of a Senator he has been. He has not introduced much legislation; in fact a list of the bills he did introduce was used against him in the campaign for those bills were comparatively unimportant. But I have known his type in other legislative bodies; they do not make much noise, but they carry lots of weight. They are the men you have to have on your side or your bill does not go thru.

There are in Senator Harding elements of greatness, unplumbed and impossible to describe until he has shown himself in action more clearly. He possesses vast reserve power that the recent campaign did not disclose. He has an ideal of what this country is and ought to be and in his own way he has contributed to that ideal. He is no time server nor job hunter, and yet, as I said before, in his idealism there is nothing flashy. I do not expect to see him the storm center of any paramount issue, introduced by himself. I do not even expect the rows and wrangles which any President must have to become public. He will win or lose quietly and with good grace. It will remain for fate to determine how conspicuous the name of Warren G. Harding shall be among our presidents. I have an abiding faith that if destiny decrees a stormy administration for him he is equal to any emergency. I believe he has it in him to take his place with the greatest of the American Presidents. But fate and not Harding must furnish the emergency. Harding is not the kind of a man who likes crises or emergencies. He loves order and efficiency and economy. I forecast now that he will assemble one of the ablest Cabinets this nation has ever known. Part of his greatness is that he knows brains. He is well regarded by the ablest men in the Republican party.

I have been a Democrat all my life. I have never been active in politics. I never had the remotest thought of taking part in any political campaign. But on my return from Marion and after I had written my article for The Independent I went to the Republican National Committee and offered my services without remuneration. They were accepted and I spoke for Harding in several states. I like him. I am absolutely convinced that he is going to be a great President—an unconspicuously great President—and that is what we have needed for a long time.

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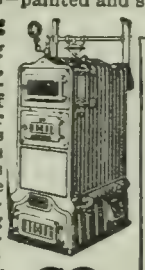
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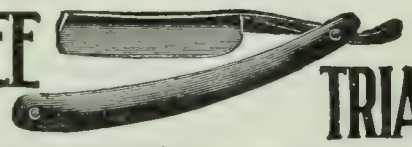
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# The Greatest Horse in the World

(*Continued from page 229*)

that a colt should know and brought him up in the way he should go. It was not very long before Man o' War distinguished himself—principally by eating. He had a colossal appetite. He proved very swift and very vigorous. Colts are kittle cattle so far as health is concerned. They are tender and as susceptible to ailments as human beings. "Big Red" had only one bout with sickness and he knocked it out in a round. His temperature went up to 106 and his friends were badly scared. But before they could do anything he cured himself without any medicine.

So Man o' War grew and thrived and studied his catechism, and in 1919 he was introduced to racetracks to contend with other two-year-olds. During the season he entered ten races and won nine, and the racing world began to take a good deal of notice of him. Men wondered if this was to be another of those great horses that make turf history. The season of 1920 answered that question. He was entered in eleven races and won them all. He met the best horses of his year and beat them hollowly. Then he went out of his class, meeting the best of the older horses, and defeated him as easily as his other antagonists. He broke records and he won more money than any colt had ever won on the turf before—$249,265.

At Belmont Park last June he won the Belmont Stakes. The New York *Times* of the next day, June 13, commenting on the race, said: "It was the greatest exhibition of speed ever witnessed on any racetrack. . . Man o' War finished half a furlong before Donnacona in 2:14 and 1-5 seconds, clipping former figures 2 3-5 seconds. . . . Riddle refuses offer of $260,000 for Man o' War."

All through the summer he kept up his victories, not so impressive for the fast time he made as for the ridiculous ease with which he won. When in full stride expert horsemen could see that he was going faster than they had ever seen a horse going before—much faster. His stride was something new in their experience. The best of the other racers covers from eighteen to twenty feet in a stride, but Man o' War covers twenty-five feet. So there isn't any neck and neck racing with him. When his jockey gives him a fair chance he passes the other horse almost as if he was standing still. Another astonishing thing about Man o' War's stride is its hight. He does not skim along the ground, but rises as if flying. At the top of his stride photographs show that all four of his feet are from eighteen inches to two feet above the track. The American people generally will have an opportunity of seeing this for themselves because Man o' War is in the movies now.

Last August 22, at Saratoga, Man o' War beat the great Whitney colt, John P. Grier, with ease, winning all the way. The distance was one and one-quarter miles and the time 2:01 and 4-5 seconds. This equaled Sir Barton's time at Saratoga and the time made by Housewife at Brighton, England, in 1904. But it was manifest to everyone present that Man o' War could have finished three seconds faster if not pulled up.

But the British are hard to convince and they thought they had, in Sir Barton, a horse that could take Man o' War's measure.

On September 17 it was announced that the Kenilworth Jockey Club of Canada, thru its general manager, Mr. A. M. Orpen, had offered a purse of $50,000 and a gold cup representing the championship of the United States and Canada for a match race between Man o' War, Sir Barton and Exterminator. Sir Barton's owner, Commander J. K. L. Ross, quickly accepted, as did Mr. Riddle; but Mr. Willis Sharp Kilmer, owner of Exterminator, objected to the terms. He wanted the race to be one and one-half miles instead of one and one-quarter, and he wanted it made a handicap, with W. S. Vosburg, official handicapper of the Jockey Club, assigning the weights. To this the others would not agree, and consequently Mr. Kilmer stayed out of the race. Meanwhile the purse had been increased to $75,000. The racers were to meet at scale weight for age, Man o' War to carry 120 and Sir Barton 126 pounds.

The match took place on October 12 at the Kenilworth track at Windsor, Ontario, across the river from Detroit. This is a small track and the crowd was so large that it had to be admitted to the infield. There was disorder and inconvenience when every now and then someone dashed across the racetrack. This made for slow time, because, with the danger of injuring someone, the jockeys were obliged to keep their mounts away from the rail. In addition to that, the track itself was slow.

About half the spectators were Americans, who all wanted to bet on Man o' War. Sir Barton money was rather scarce, and the odds kept mounting till they reached 20 to 1 against Sir Barton. Even at that the Americans continued to bet on their favorite, and altogether there were between $2,000,000 and $3,000,000 up on the race.

The starter gave stern warning to the jockeys and held them fifty-five seconds before he was satisfied to let them go. Man o' War had grown impatient and had nearly broken the webbing twice. When the start did come Sir Barton gained a length in the first few jumps. There was a wicked looking bend about fifty feet from the start, and Sir Barton led to and around this, but after they passed and straightened out Man o' War went by Sir Barton like an express train passing a wagon. In the first quarter of a mile he led three lengths and every jump increased this advantage.

The crowd on the Kenilworth track went perfectly crazy. The American winners yelled wildly, shook hands with whoever was nearest, threw their hats, gloves and walking sticks in the air,

slapped each others' backs, and shouted again and again, "I told you so." But the British losers were just as wild. They forgot all their financial griefs and triumphed with the wonder horse.

After the finish the crowd swarmed around Man o' War and the Riddle party like swarming bees about their queen. If permitted they would probably have picked up Man o' War and carried him off on their shoulders.

Man o' War, clad in his overcoat, stood by looking interested, but as tho he did not quite understand what all the stir was about. Mr. Riddle was seized with a sudden inspiration. Picking up the gold cup he dashed away and filled it to the brim with pure, cold water. "First drink out of this cup belongs to you," he said, and offered it to the hero of the occasion, who graciously accepted. A great cheer went up at that.

Then away went Man o' War in his private auto and returned to his Maryland mansion. He is a good traveler, being without those numerous sillinesses which are found in many horses of lesser merit. His philosophy accepts the world as he finds it and seems to consider it a pretty good sort of sphere. He has confidence in the men about him and is quite sure that they will not ask him to do anything that is not right. So he does not worry about railroads, autos, mowing machines, aeroplanes or other new and strange contraptions. And he does not worry about the strangers who come to see him. He seemed pleased to meet the writer and very graciously allowed him to rub his nose.

So Man o' War is retiring undefeated and leaving behind him no horse that would have any chance of defeating him on even terms. Horses here that Man o' War has defeated can beat any of the French or British champions, and there are no others worth considering. Supremacy among racehorses is not a matter of guesswork but of exact knowledge. There is no animal upon whom civilized man has lavished so much care as upon the thorobred horse. Arabia had the swiftest horses four centuries ago, but long since lost the lead; the best of the Arabs now would make a poor showing on a British or American racetrack. A generation ago a fourth rate English racer was taken to Arabia and tested against the best that the proud sheikhs could produce, and the English horse won every time.

The world is not indebted for many good things to rough, tough, gruff, bluff old Henry VIII of England, but it certainly is so indebted to him for the modern racehorse. He took very vigorous measures for improving the breed of English horses. He imported horses from Turkey, Naples and Spain. Elizabeth carried out her father's policy, and James I bought Markham Arabian. This was the first of the pure Arabs brought to England, but not long after came Place's White Turk, Lister Turk, Byerly Turk, Darley Arabian and Godolphin Arabian. The blood of all these is in all the thorobreds of the present day.


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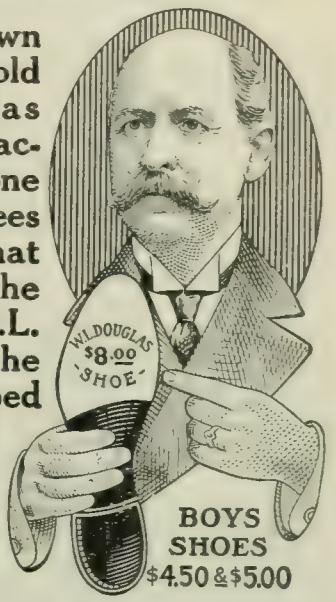
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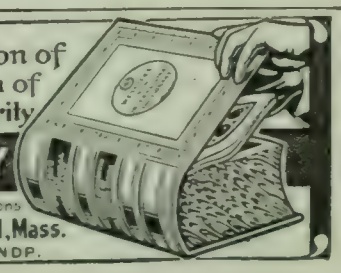
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Man o' War in closing his racing career at this time leaves many interesting questions unanswered. He is only three years old and may reasonably expect to be better next year and perhaps even better than that in his five-year-old form. How fast could he go three miles—five miles? This must be left to conjecture. Strong as he is, Man o' War is still a delicate creature whom it would be easy to injure, and Mr. Riddle will run no risk of injuring him. Of his courage and endurance there is no doubt whatever, but the same cannot be said of his discretion. Allowed to do his best in a long race he might easily strain himself, and that must not be allowed to happen.

He is as safe as a horse can be at Glen Riddle farm in Maryland, five miles from Berlin. The situation is a sandy plain among the pines on Chincoteague Bay. The climate is mild, and stimulating sea breezes blow in from the Atlantic, about fifteen miles distant. There isn't a stone that could injure a horse's foot within twenty miles of Glen Riddle farm. There's a mile track on the farm and an indoor track also that is nearly a quarter of a mile in length. Man o' War gets all the exercise that is good for him, but henceforth he will not be called upon for any strenuous effort.

Presently he will go back to the Blue Grass country, there to reside as a sort of country gentleman and general equine benefactor. He will put aside fame and glory for the rewards of domesticity.

But even tho the eager world will never know the best that Man o' War could do, what he has already done will go ringing down the ages, stirring emulation among all those red-blooded humans who love a good and generous horse.

*New York City*

# Independent Opinions

In the Independent of November 6 we ventured to criticize certain provisions of the Constitution, particularly that a President may remain in power four months after he has been repudiated and a Congress does not regularly convene till thirteen months after it has been elected. But this modest suggestion brings out the following patriotic protest:

It is now 133 years since the Constitution was signed by the body of men who framed it. And it is a strange paradox that this great instrument upon which rests all governmental authority was in itself a violation of authority by the body which framed it. That it was needed then no one now pretends to deny. That it was successful beyond the hopes of its framers is the common knowledge of mankind. It was an emergency measure secured to us by a margin so narrow that it barely escaped failure. Yet no code in the annals of history has been so successful. It contains all necessary checks and balances and provisions for amendments. It is true that at times it has seemed to fetter us but its seeming imperfections have later all proved to be virtues. In every generation there have been some men who would discard it but they have been few and of shallow reason. No better substitute has yet been offered for its representative and coöperative powers in government. And it is now easy to see that the war legislation if left in the hands of an autocrat like Wilson would lead us to chaos. We owe our governmental success to the Constitution. We have now passed thru three epochs of our history. First, when the Constitution was adopted; second, when it was tested by the Civil War, and, third, when it was insidiously attacked by visionary theorists who camouflaged their attack by utilitarian hot air. It has stood the test of them all. Perhaps it would be charitable to believe these latter did not realize their true position.

It is gratifying now to believe the Constitution will weather all future storms from Socialists, Bolsheviki, I. W. W.'s, etc.

I am not of the school of Edmund Burke who believes we have reached governmental perfection. Neither do I believe in the divine right of kings or constitutions. But I do believe that our Constitution is the best governmental code ever yet conceived by mankind and that we should continue to be governed by its provisions—developing under it until mankind has reached a higher plane of intelligence than will be reached for many generations yet. When mankind forgets its greed and racial and religious hatreds; when we change our very nature and take on a universal benevolence and wisdom we can then safely cut loose from our national moorings and drift into the peaceful sea which washes the shores of Utopia. But until that happy day we would better hold to that which is good.

W. H. Main.

*Barry, Illinois.*

The author of the editorial in question quite agrees with what is said about the strong points of the American Constitution and the great part it has played in history. In fact, he admitted as much in that very editorial. But it does not seem either treasonable or Bolshevist to suggest further amendments and improvements. The Constitution itself was made to replace the Articles of Confederation which proved inadequate to the needs of the new country. The Constitution has since been amended nineteen times and will be amended many times in the future. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in discussing possible amendments, even tho they may involve some very fundamental changes. The new administration intends to admit the president of the Senate into the Cabinet and a bill has been introduced into the present Congress to curtail the dangerous delay in installing an elected President and Congress.

Good news comes to us from California—the best possible news for some folks, tho of course we are not personally concerned—that there is no more hell. Caro Bugbey MacArthur writes from Berkeley, the intellectual center of California with the possible exception of Los Angeles and Stanford, as follows:

We believe here that scriptural hell did terminate yesterday—the 16th of November, 1920, when that part of the Lord God that had protected the Messiah came over from Palestine, came up from below

ground, where he had sheltered and detained those whom he felt could not trust to live with other immortals.

This information comes by automatic writing and its authenticity can therefore not be disputed. It is accompanied by a long poem in which Nero and Pierpont Morgan have collaborated. It begins:

I, Nero, the great fiddler,
  Hey diddle diddler,
Am free today because
  The Lord God has taken my place in
    captivity and I
Am nearly beside myself
  With rage at Her who
  Rubs and rubs
    The punctuation marks
    Off the map.

Lack of space prevents us from giving the entire poem, unfortunately, for we can truly say that no more remarkable poetry has come into The Independent office in the seventy-two years of its existence.

In your issue of December 4 under the caption of "When Green and Orange Mix" your correspondent, C. A. McCurdy, M.P., British Food Controller, states that: "When the Irish themselves decide upon the form of Government which they want England will concede it to them."

Permit me to state that this is the "stock" argument of partizan Englishmen. It never varies. Eighty-four per cent of the Irish people have decided at the polls the form of Government that they wish. England's answer is machine guns, tanks, aeroplanes, one hundred and fifty-three thousand soldiers and all the paraphernalia of war.

Unlike your correspondent, A. C. Gardiner, the brilliant English journalist; Arthur Henderson, the English member of parliament who has just returned to London from Ireland; Sydney Brooks, the English publicist, and other fair-minded Englishmen have forcibly pointed out that England's method of "governing" Ireland is a failure.

It was with the most profound regret that I observed in The Independent coincident with your article certain cartoons from English papers, making, as it were, a joke of the Irish situation. Happily the cartoons only represent a paper or two read by a small section of the English people; but I was sorry to see them reproduced in your paper. Alas, it is no joke to have women and children dragged from their beds at night and turned out in the street with scanty attire in the winter when England's soldiers search and loot the house. It is no joke to strip and whip men because they will not divulge the names of the members of the Republican party, the party who were elected by eighty-four per cent of the people of Ireland. It is no joke to be beaten and bruised after the whippings, and—as in one case of which I have positive evidence—to have the pliers applied to all the finger-nails and have them bent back to extract the names required.

ALFRED MANLEY.

*Fort Wayne, Indiana.*

With Captain Manley's letter comes another making the opposite criticism—that we are too pro-Irish and anti-English. As a matter of fact we aim to present in our Story of the Week the facts of the case so far as they can be gathered from the daily press without comment or bias, while our contributors and editors discuss this question like any other to suit themselves. Our cartoons are selected with the same object of showing the variety of public opinion and their publication does not imply that we approve of them in any case, in fact we must usually disapprove of at least half of them on any subject. We recognize fully the seriousness of the Irish situation and have no intention of making light of it.

The failure of the American Senate to approve of the Covenant of the League of Nations in any form has brought discouragement and despondency upon liberal-minded men all over the world. How our English friends feel about it may be seen from the following letter written by a prominent member of Parliament who has for years labored for peace and friendship among all nations:

I do not like to judge any other nation: but I wonder how far your countrymen realize that it is they who have ruined the one chance humanity has had of putting an end to war. With America out of the League of Nations nobody cares a jot about the League. It has no life, no ideals, no reputation. We *may* pull it along; but I do not think so. It has not sufficient strength to prevent war now, and I fear it will not do any better in the future; and the only reason for this will have been that the great western republic held aloof. All our opponents are now laughing at us and saying "We told you so! Human nature is not going to be changed by a scrap of paper." And we have to admit with sorrow that human nature is terribly selfish and shortsighted. To you and other Americans who have been able to see further ahead, the situation must be most depressing. But we must go on laboring and it may be that Providence is preparing some new catastrophe by which to show men the way to salvation. The lessons of the last war are well nigh forgotten already; but another war (which is by no means impossible—indeed, I think it is probable) may have a more lasting effect. It will certainly have more ghastly results. The fact is that neither the German, nor the British, nor the American peoples have yet seen what war is; i. e., war as the Serbians, the Armenians, the Belgians and the inhabitants of northern France have seen it. The soldier knows what it is and a certain number of civilians who have taken part in the operations abroad, and here and there a few people at home have been bombed: but war has not yet come *into the homes* even of belligerent countries and, to the neutrals, war has brought more prosperity than adversity.

So I think the world-war has yet to come; because mankind has failed to seize the chances of peace offered by the recent upheaval. It may perhaps not be a war of guns and ships, and it looks rather as if it would take the form of a world revolution. We are very near to that in Europe. The spirit of self-control seems to have withdrawn itself and every class is rebelling against the others: the working men against the capitalists or the capitalists against the working men; and both of them against the Government. And every class deserves to be rebelled against since it is purely self-centered in its opinions. There is no real altruism. There was a sudden and short-lived outburst of it during the war: but it has disappeared since the peace. If only America had shown the way by an act of international self-abnegation (as her entry into the League would have been) things might have been different.




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On the Monon and Southern R. R.

One of our readers, E. K. Carruth, of Clinton, New York, seems to be annoyed by our annual request for information, tho how an editor can find out what he wants to know without asking for it we don't see. But he kindly sends us the following Information Test as a substitute for that we published on October 2, 1920:

These questions are an unfair test of general misinformation, one that you ought to flunk magna cum laude if you are a faithful reader of The Independent. When this test was given to members of a college faculty, they failed miserably and the examiner was lucky to escape with his life. Try yourself out this evening and see whether you are qualified to be a college professor. The answers are unfit for publication—next week or any other.

1. Name the next four Presidents of the United States. 2. How often does the third day of the week come on Tuesday? 3. How easy is rolling off a log? 4. How plain is the nose on your face? 5. Why do two and two make four? 6. How many grapes make a bunch? 7. Who was Solomon Levi and what was his business? 8. Over which ocean did my Bonnie lie and did her mendacity deceive anyone? 9. Who dragged whom how many times around the walls of what? 10. Who wrote Shakespeare?

11. Group these letters so as to form the names of five cities in the United States (more letters are given than you are to use) A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z.

12. What war did Wilson keep us out of?

---

Ever since I read your inexcusable article, "The Unveiling of Victoria," in the November 6 Independent, I have felt indignant. Is there not real trouble enough in the world and sin enough that we are obliged to combat without pulling good old Queen Victoria out of her grave and shaking her by the hair of her head, and apparently in enjoyment, in the faces of your millions of readers, including hundreds of thousands of students who have been taught that as far as royalty goes, Victoria was at least one of the purest and most sympathetic of all the world's rulers for all time?

And did it not occur to you that there are many, many ex-English and ex-Scotch Americans who would feel insulted at such an uncalled-for tirade by an editor of a leading paper in our homes and schools? Even conceding it is all true (and many of us who lived under her reign know it is not) what possible good could come from such an "unveiling"? I have been an interested reader of your usually good paper the greater part of my life, but I feel that I cannot let this go by without a protest, and there will be much unexpressed revulsion of feeling. Those of us who were nearer to her than yourself perhaps know that she died of a broken heart over the South African war. A "jingo queen" indeed!

(Mrs.) Laura K. Campbell.
*Huntington, W. Va.*

We are sorry that the editorial, "The Unveiling of Victoria," gave offense, but we do not see how our correspondent can blame us for what is contained therein or still less how she can say it is not true. The quotations were all given from Queen Victoria's own letters and many other such may be found in the volumes of the "Life of Disraeli," from which we quoted. Nothing was invented and nothing added. If one regards the "unveiling" as im-

proper one must blame the authors, Monypenny and Buckle, who are foremost authorities on that period and were given the right to use the queen's letters by the Government and the royal family. How can anybody find fault with us for quoting what they thought was desirable to print? Is it not better to present the picture of Victoria as she actually portrayed herself in her own letters than to swallow whole what others, not knowing these facts, have said about her? Has not historic truth some claims upon our conscience irrespective of our feelings?

We have it in the Queen's own writing that she urged Disraeli to use force to restrain Russia; that she demanded the landing of troops on Gallipoli; that she threatened to resign if he did not; that she wished she were a man so she could fight the Russians; that she sympathized with the Turks rather than with their victims; that she wanted Gladstone suppressed because he championed the Christians. Does our correspondent prefer to think that Victoria was a liar rather than a jingo? The name "jingo" was the actual word applied at that time to those who opposed Russia and how can we deny that Victoria did take that attitude?

---

Queenie—Have you ever kissed a girl?
Oswald—Is that an invitation or are you gathering statistics?—*Widow.*

Stude—May I raise my hand?
Prof.—What for.
Stude—I want to ask a question.—*Columbia Jester.*

Teacher—Jimmy, give me an example of minority ruling.
Jimmy—When there is a baby in the family.—*Boys' Life.*

Lovey—Our new maid is awfully tall, isn't she?
Dovey—Yes, but I don't think she'll stay long.—*Princeton Tiger.*

Sweet Young Thing—But I've never been kissed before.
Unbelieving Young Man—What?
S. Y. T.—Before breakfast.—*Banter.*

Teacher—Name something of importance existing today that was not in existence 100 years ago.
Small Pupil—Me.—*New York Globe.*

"Do you love me?" said the paper-bag to the sugar.
"I'm just wrapped up in you," replied the sugar.
"You sweet thing," murmured the paper-bag.—*Store Chat.*

Newly Arrived Actor—My good lady! at the house I stayed in the landlady wept when I left.
Boarding House Keeper—Oh, indeed! Well, I don't intend to, so I want my money in advance.—*London Mail.*

Another good kid is Bill Gristim.
He went out with a girl and she kissed him.
His heart was aflutter;
The girl heard him mutter,
"This is great for the vascular system."
—*Yale Record.*

"I think Mr. Smith is a wonderful husband," said Mrs. Jones. "I heard him speaking in the most beautiful way of his wife to a lady on the train the other day."
"Yes, I heard that, too," said Mrs. Green; "But don't forget, my dear, that the woman Mr. Smith was talking to was his new cook."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*






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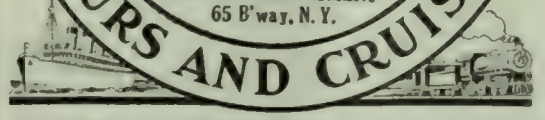
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**THE INDEPENDENT**
311 Sixth Avenue New York


# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

### I. "Hole Hog" Hunt.

1. Is the article an example of narration, description, exposition or argument? Prove that the answer you give is the right answer.
2. What makes the introduction effective?
3. In what respects is the conclusion a good conclusion?
4. Find in the article at least two examples of sentences that are somewhat like proverbs, or that can be made into proverb-like sentences. Express the thought of each sentence in the least possible number of words. Write a short explanation of one sentence. Give at least one specific instance in support of your explanation.
5. Find in the article ten words ending in "-ing." Give the syntax of every such word.
6. Give a definition of "metaphor"; of "hyperbole." Find in the article an example of each figure.
7. Write a somewhat similar article on "The Best Pupil in Our School," "The Best Teacher in Our School," or "The Best Man (or Woman) in Our Town."

### II. The Greatest Horse in the World.

1. What characteristics of plan and of style make the article different from most compositions written in school? To what extent should pupils imitate the characteristics you name?
2. Why does the writer begin the article by giving direct discourse? What are the advantages of using direct discourse? When should you employ direct discourse?
3. What principles of exposition do you find illustrated in the article? Consult any good rhetoric before you prepare your answer to the question.
4. Write an autobiography of "Man o' War." If you have read "Black Beauty" think of that story when you write the autobiography. Make your story do much more than tell events. Make it reveal character.
5. Write a narrative founded on any part of "Man o' War's" history. In your narrative develop a climax in which considerable suspense is involved. If you have read the story of the chariot race in "Ben Hur" think of that when you write your narrative.
6. Imagine that you find some means of carrying on a conversation with "Man o' War." Write an "interview" with him. If you have read any of Jules Verne's books remember how probable Jules Verne makes even the most impossible event. Make your "interview" as probable as possible.
7. Select from the article ten words with which most school pupils are not familiar. Give a definition of every word.
8. Select from the article ten especially well-chosen, picturesque adjectives. Give the syntax of every adjective.

### III. The Story of the Week.

1. In many cities great numbers of people go to hear "news talks." The speaker gives a résumé of the most important events of the week. Stand before your class and give a "news talk" on recent events most worthy of consideration.
2. Tell something concerning the history of Haiti before the American occupation. Consult any good encyclopedia for information. At the close of your talk tell what the American occupation has accomplished.
3. Draw from the news of the week at least five propositions suitable for debate. Express every proposition in the form of a resolution.
4. Imagine that you are any one of the important persons mentioned in the news of the week. Prepare a short speech in which you present "your" views of an important event in which "you" have taken part.
5. Give a clear explanation of the following expressions that are now in current use: coalition, constituency, liberal, prestige, "Speech from the Throne," "Message to Congress," Soviet Russia, jingoistic tendencies, rural credits, floating a bond issue, state-owned industrial enterprizes, reparation.

### IV. Woodrow Wilson.

1. Write in a single sentence the principal thesis of the article.
2. Write a properly numbered and lettered brief of the article.
3. Read aloud, as tho it were a declamation, the concluding paragraph of the article.

## History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

### I. The Change of Administration—After I Talked with Harding. With Harding at the Helm. Woodrow Wilson. Enter Hughes.

1. What is Mr. Crowell's verdict on President Harding? What is Mr. Williams's view? What strong qualities in the new President are brought out in these articles?
2. Mr. Crowell declares that President Harding will be "an inconspicuously great President." Of all the Presidents from Washington to Wilson inclusive which would you rank under that heading? Which would you rank as both conspicuous and great? Which as conspicuous without greatness? Which as neither great nor conspicuous? Can you think of any contemporary European statesmen of these four types?
3. "With three exceptions, Jefferson, Jackson and Roosevelt, no President has had a definite initiative, a determined purpose." What were the leading policies of these three statesmen?
4. What can you tell about the new Secretary of State? What three men held that position during President Wilson's administration? What are the chief duties of the Secretary of State? Name as many as you can of the men who have filled that office with distinction.
5. What can you tell about the job of being President of the United States? What powers are specifically granted to him in the Federal Constitution? How far can he influence legislation? How is he limited by those "unavoidable nuisances entrenched behind the Constitution," the Senate and the House of Representatives? How is his power limited by the Supreme Court?

### II. The Near East—Turkish Question. Milner for Quitting Egypt.

1. What is a "mandate"? What parts of the old Turkish Empire were to be placed under mandates of foreign Powers?
2. Why were the Allies angry at the result of the recent Greek elections? Why is France urging a revision of the Treaty of Sèvres?
3. Show on a map how the Bolshevist victories in Armenia and Georgia are a menace to British control in India, Persia and Mesopotamia.
4. How did the British ever come to occupy Egypt? What was the relation of Egypt to Turkey before the Great War? Can you think of any reason why the British are now considering leaving Egypt independent in its internal affairs?
5. Compare the relation of Great Britain and Egypt to the relation between the United States and Cuba and Haiti. Show how the British interest in the Suez Canal has led to interest in the affairs of Egypt just as American interest in the Panama Canal has led to close political connections with the Republic of Panama. (A map showing steamer routes between Great Britain and India by way of Suez would make this comparison evident).

### III. Reparations—Lloyd George on Top. Reparations and Uncle Sam.

1. Suppose the House of Commons had supported Mr. Bottomley's resolution against Premier Lloyd George. Could Lloyd George have continued to represent the British Empire in the negotiations on the German indemnity?
2. Why did President Wilson withdraw the "unofficial" American representative from the Reparation Commission? Why did we not have "official" representation on it?

### IV. State Banking—Counter-Revolution in North Dakota.

1. What was the Farmers' Non-Partizan League movement? In what respects did it resemble the Populist movement?
2. Why did the fall in the price of wheat embarrass the financial plans of the League in North Dakota?
3. If you are a student of economics or business, what is your opinion of the merits of the North Dakota State Bank plan? Do you think that its apparent failure is due to (a) the invasion of a field of private enterprize by public authorities, (b) mismanagement of a banking plan which was not unsound in itself, (c) a "Wall Street" conspiracy against the Non-Partizan League, (d) an accidental result of the slump in grain?

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

Clara—Willie's quite a machinist, isn't he?

Nett—Yes. When his father started to come down the steps the other night, he made a bolt for the door.—*Sun Dial.*

'Twas midnight in the parlor
'Twas darkness everywhere.
The silence was unbroken for
There was nobody there!
—*Virginia Reel.*

Love is like an onion;
We taste it with delight,
But when it's gone, we wonder
What ever made us bite.
—*Lehigh Burr.*

An imaginary line is the waist,
Which seldom stays long where it's placed,
But ambles and skips
Twixt the shoulders and hips,
According to popular taste!
—*Froth.*

On the mule we find
Two legs behind
And two we find before.
We tickle behind
Before we find
What the two behind before.
—*Pelican.*

Magistrate (to accused pleading that he thought the house he entered by the door after midnight was his own)—Then why, when you came face to face with the mistress of the house, did you jump out of the window and run to hide yourself?

Accused—I thought it was my wife.—*Blighty.*

Black—Did you ever go fishing with a girl?

White—Once.

Black—Did she protest against hurting the fish?

White—No; she said she was sure they were all perfectly happy because they were wagging their tails.—*Voo Doo.*

Dassent drive the flivver;
Dassent kiss my wife;
Fall into the river—
Dassent save my life;
Dassent cut a caper;
Fillums blooey, too;
Can't even read the paper—
'Cause the law's went blue.
—*New York Tribune.*

A teacher, in charge of the second primary grade in a Denver school, was telling the children about Columbus one day not long ago. She told them all about the home life of the discoverer of America and all about his people.

"His relatives," she said, "were woolcombers."

The next day Columbus was discussed again. "By the way, children," said the teacher, "do you remember what his relatives were?"

There was a moment of profound stillness. Then a little fellow in the rear of the room raised his hand.

"You may tell us, Willie," said the teacher.

"They wus barbers," said the boy.—*Denver Post.*

## Remarkable Remarks

E. W. Howe—The brotherhood of man is mainly nonsense.

Warren G. Harding—Inevitably there must be reconstruction.

Chancellor Day—It is the capitalist who fills the workingman's dinner pail.

President Hibben of Princeton—Why should I object to cigarets when I use them myself?

Senator F. B. Willis—No individual or clique or faction will control Warren G. Harding.

Nina Wilcox Putnam—The only people who think while not working nowadays are red agitators.

George M. Cohan—My little stage ventures keep me sufficiently exercized, mentally and physically.

Rev. E. V. Bigelow—It may be that the evils connected with the twelve hour shifts overbalance the benefits.

G. K. Chesterton—The average Englishman does not take much interest in what foreign nations think about him.

Mrs. Warren G. Harding—I am going to do what I please. I have never done it. And I am going to see what it is like.

Blasco Ibanez—The negro has an unquestioned superiority in all musical emotions that can be expressed with the feet.

Governor Miller—I assert that the individual woman herself has the right to say whether she shall bear and rear children.

## Opening Nights

*Smooth as Silk.* A play of honest and dishonest crooks written and principally played by Willard Mack. Sufficiently tense and mysterious. (Lexington Theater.)

*The Great Adventure,* a dramatization of Arnold Bennett's delightful novel *Buried Alive,* is presented in New York by a competent cast, but Deirdre Doyle as the heroine is easily the star. (Neighborhood Playhouse.)

*Blue Eyes,* a musical comedy by Leon Gordon and Le Roy Clemens, with music by I. B. Kornblum and lyrics by Z. Myers. Not even the comedy acting of Lew Fields and Mollie King can save this distinctly third rate production. (The Casino.)

Erno Dohnanyi, a Hungarian pianist and composer who came to the United States twenty-one years ago, roused new artistic enthusiasm by his first New York recital this season. He played Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Mozart, and five of his own compositions—all rather conservative. (Aeolian Hall.)

Four one-act comedies by Clare Kummer show the author of "Rollo's Wild Oat" in her most entertaining vein of sparkling dialog and subtly suggested moods. *The Choir Rehearsal* and *Chinese Love* are miniature musical comedies, starring Sallie Fisher—the former perhaps the best piece of the four. (Punch and Judy Theater.)



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## The Passing Show?

These proud dreadnaughts of our fleet have been likened to a lot of medieval knights in armor, a comparison, as Mr. Driggs points out in the article on the opposite page, that finds ready approval among aviators and equal wrath among naval warriors of the old school. The opposing views have brought their controversy to white heat recently, and its solution is of immediate importance, for the taxpayer buying battleships these days wants to know just what he is getting in the way of defense

The Independent
March 12, 1921

# Are Warships Obsolete?

## Here Are Some Plane Facts

By Laurence La Tourette Driggs
President of the American Flying Club

THE chief flying officer of the United States recently likened the proud dreadnaughts of our great fleet to a lot of medieval knights in armor. This striking simile suggested just enough inkling of the scorn aviators feel for the blustering bravado of hitherto invincible armadas of war, to provoke instant wrath from gallant old naval captains, and quick curiosity from the lay public at large. And it is well for all of us that such a discussion should arise. The issues should be threshed out thoroly and clearly. Each side should be given a public hearing. The dispute should be settled in the public mind, before the public purse is opened for vast expenditures in the public defense.



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**All these planes—nearly a hundred—could be bought for less than one-tenth of the cost of a warship; and they have destructive equipment to sink a whole fleet**

For dreadnaughts of today cost the public treasury the formidable sum of $40,000,000 each. This sum will provide a thousand aeroplanes, each aeroplane equipped with destructiveness sufficient to sink the most powerful ships of the sea, according to the claims of General William Mitchell, admittedly the best informed authority on aviation in the United States today. Either we must ignore this prophecy, and like ostriches hide our heads against this danger, while we proceed with our former navy plans, or else we must take the bull by the horns, and investigate, before we spend great sums for defensive armor which may prove useless. The droll offer of the Secretary of the Navy to personally mount a battleship and fight a duel with General Mitchell in his aeroplane is not a convincing argument for the superiority of the battleship. It is simply humorous, and is doubtless intended as such. The deliberate statement of General Mitchell before the Committee of Naval Affairs, however, is serious, and was intended as such. "We need no money to demonstrate the proposition. Give us the warships to attack, and come and watch it," said he to the committee. Wouldn't it be wise to sacrifice one of our warships, without insisting that our Secretary of the Navy be included, rather than to accumulate more expensive warships to be destroyed by an enemy?

It should be made clear at once that aeroplanes will not presume to destroy the armored ship of the fleet simply by means of dropping bombs on her decks. Aviators of vast experience in the war will admit that dropping bombs upon a moving object is a difficult feat. It is difficult, however, in proportion to the altitude of the aeroplane over the target. At a hundred feet, or five hundred feet elevation, it would be quite impossible to miss a target the size of a battleship. But at such a low altitude, the risk to the aeroplane from the ship's guns is enormously greater than it would be at ten thousand feet, where the risk is practically nominal. There would be no dearth of volunteers in the Air Service however, willing to fly to certain death in the accomplishment of such a signal victory over a mighty antagonist. Pilots aplenty would pass in single file 50 feet over the decks of a dreadnaught until their tons of explosive effected its destruction, were such a sacrifice deemed necessary. But it isn't.

Aeroplanes of today can carry [*Continued on page 274*

# Editing a Magazine

## Third of a Series of Seven Articles

### By Hamilton Holt

**"Wonder What an Editor Thinks About"**

**In this series of articles the Editor of The Independent invites the readers to come into his sanctum, to see for themselves the "inside stuff" that makes up modern journalism, and to share some of the secrets that he has learned in the past two decades while editing The Independent and keeping a watchful eye on the progress of his "esteemed contemporaries." Mr. Holt's first two articles were published in the issues of February 5 and February 26**

IN some periodicals the editorial is paramount. In others it has been relegated to the background and has become a mere casual comment. The magazines, like the dailies, seem to be laying less stress all the time on their editorial departments. This is an unfortunate state of things, for the editorial rightly should be the soul of the paper.

The public is supposed to want its editorials short, sharp and snappy. But my experience has been that the length of an editorial has little to do with its effectiveness. If it is good, it will be read and recognized whether long or short. The short editorial can seldom be anything more than a dogmatic expression of opinion, whereas the long editorial is necessary if the reader is to be given the reasons for the judgment expressed, or provided with the data necessary for him to form an opinion of his own. I have come to the conclusion that the best plan for the editorial make-up—at least for The Independent—is to intersperse the short with the long. In that way variety and adequacy can best be secured.

In filling vacancies on the editorial staff, my rule is not to go to the daily papers. The editors of the dailies usually rise from the ranks of reporters and reporters next to diplomats are the most abandoned and chronic cynics on earth. The daily editors, moreover, spend most of their time reading what other editors say. It never occurs to them to go either to living or printed sources of information. Moreover the average daily journalist seldom takes an active personal part in the great constructive movements of the day. He is content to play the mere critic or commentator. When we want a new member on our staff we generally go to the colleges and entice away some promising professor who usually can be depended upon quickly to acquire the magazine point of view.

It is a curious fact that the ideal editorial writer is much more likely to be found in the classical than in the English department of a university. I have never known a teacher of Latin or Greek who was unable to write good English, but many a professor of English has submitted articles to me that were slovenly and even ungrammatically written.

So much for the editor and his problems. Now a word about the author. And first let me say that the editor considers that he belongs to a more responsible class than the author and from the beginning has been accustomed to treat him as a "rogue and a vagabond." We editors have been able to maintain this superior attitude because we are the few, and control the only avenues by which the authors can reach the public, whereas the authors are many and have to compete with each other for our favors. As that helpful book, "Writing for the Magazines," has said, "The population of the United States consists of 100,000,000 people, most of whom seem to be ambitious to write."

Authors may be divided into three groups:

1. Literary aspirants.
2. Recognized authors.
3. Celebrities.

Different magazines vary in their use of these three classes, but the average weekly and monthly of family reading and current events will divide the three about equally. If the magazine prints a dozen contributions per issue, about four will be by unknown writers, four by professional authors and four by celebrities.

Literary aspirants comprize not only the garret poets and the starvelings we are familiar with in the comic papers, but all the young writers and recent graduates of schools of journalism and those immature or supermature ladies in the hall bedrooms of city boarding houses and in waste spaces of the rural districts who love to write and hope some day to be American Jane Austens and Marie Corellis. Of these countless would-be writers by far the greater number fail because they have nothing to say. The stream of manuscripts that come from this class to a paper like The Independent would surprize most people. We accept one to a bushel basketful we reject. When in doubt our rule is, unlike that of the whist player, to refuse trumps. Still we have to go over all these unsolicited manuscripts, for who knows but what some mute, inglorious Amy Lowell may be among them. If we do not read every letter of every syllable of every word of every article submitted to us we do conscientiously go over them despite the belief held to the contrary by the host of editor trappers who glue the inside pages of their manuscripts together, or turn one upside down and then receive them back in the same arrangement with our polite rejection slip enclosed. If only the aspirants would write of the things they know about they might not fail so lamentably. They are like the country weekly at the village crossroads which tries to compete with the London *Times* in telling Lloyd George and Harding what to do.

There is material in everybody's vocation for one good essay or story and in everybody's avocation for a bit of prose or verse, preferably prose. Editors now accept almost any kind of articles except nature stories on the hush of the woods, Christmas fiction beginning "The snow was falling in great, white flakes," sonnets beginning "As one who," or sad poems beginning "Only a." Some of the very best matter that we ever printed in The Independent has come from those who thought they could not write. Indeed one of my former colleagues dated the beginning of his literary success to an article I accepted and printed in The Independent describing how all the editors in New York rejected his manuscripts. And one of my present colleagues was brought to us because we returned a soft answer to his wrathful letter.

The recognized authors may be defined as those who are capable of making a living by authorship. They generally establish a regular connection with one or more magazines. We usually make them a standing offer to send us anything and everything they write. It is the cultivation of these recognized authors that makes magazine editing such a satisfaction and joy.

When we solicit manuscripts from celebrities, however, the relation between editor and author is reversed. Instead of being sought we seek, and often beseech the haughty celebrity as much as starving poets importune us, instances being known where the [*Continued on page 271*




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**In the glare of the Great White Way is the habitat of Manhattanites, a queer, provincial folk afflicted with mental astigmatism**

# Manhattanites

## A Strange Species Found Only Near Broadway

## By Chester T. Crowell

### Author of "Welcome Stranger" and "Land of the Pilgrims' Pride"

IN writing of Eastern cities—and Eastern men and women—from a Texas point of view, I have purposely failed to give attention to that most delightfully humorous creature, the Manhattanite. He belonged in my article on New York, but he is so rich in comedy that he is worth a separate article. He is funnier than the funniest cowboy; funnier than a Southern negro at his best; funnier than an Arkansas politician. He is beyond comparison—he is in a class by himself. He refers to himself as a New Yorker, but he really is not; he has not heard yet that Brooklyn is a part of New York. He is a Manhattanite, and he suffers from a form of mental astigmatism, which for convenience I call "Manhattanitis." Of course there are Manhattanites who do not suffer from Manhattanitis. To them this article does not apply. I am writing of the Manhattanite who regards Rahway, New Jersey, as a frontier settlement.

You ask him where an absent acquaintance has gone and he replies "somewhere out West." It never occurs to him that this is not specific information. It includes everything from San Francisco to Galveston, not to mention both the Dakotas. To his way of thinking there is no need for being specific. If a person is not in New York, what does it matter where he is? He is just nowhere. He can't live until he returns.

No one is quicker to laugh at the local or state pride of some proud provincial than this Manhattanite; yet, he is the only American citizen who honestly and solemnly believes that his little island is the heart and soul and body of the United States of America. A "Californian" at least argues, but a Manhattanite assumes you admit every other place is an "abomination of desolation." He believes that the United States is made up of Manhattan and "somewhere out West," but principally Manhattan. In other words, he believes that Manhattan comes first and after that comes nothing sixteen times, then "somewhere out West."

I join him in admiration of the Woolworth Building, Grand Central, the Palisades of the Hudson and several other things, but he asks me to enthuse over the sight of a string of automobiles on Fifth Avenue. I look at him startled; can it be that the man does not know that the most crowded streets in the United States are not in New York? Doesn't he know that on a summer evening on a good road near Indianapolis, one can see two rows of automobiles, each thirty miles long? Doesn't he know that in Texas we travel by automobile more than by railroad? Has he not heard that Dallas is one of the greatest automobile markets in the world? Doesn't he know that there is room in the Kansas automobiles for the entire population of the state? He doesn't know that. He even calls my attention to the telephone facilities. Poor, benighted wretch! There is nearly as much long distance telephoning in Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, as there is in New York City. He shows me hotels that were built fifteen and twenty years ago or even earlier. Doesn't he know that nearly all of the hotels in the Southwest have been built since these antiquated old rock piles became relics? In the language of a colored friend, he "don't know nuthin' "—except Manhattan.

He complains about the exactions, not to say the piracy, of the hat check vampires in these hotels. He complains of the high prices. He complains about the difficulty of obtaining theater seats—and finally I gather the purport of all this complaining; he is not complaining at all. He is bragging. Nothing delights a Manhattanite more than to be outrageously robbed, so that he can go around talking about it. I am sorely tempted to establish a shoe shining parlor in New York and charge five dollars a shine. The place would be crowded. If it were not crowded the first day, I could proceed to crowd it with hirelings, and then its success would be assured. Nothing so delights a Manhattanite—next to being outrageously robbed—as to have half his clothes torn off, fighting his way in to get robbed.

"They're doing it, you know, this season," he says, as he stops to pick up an ear or two that was torn off in the crush. "Very silly, you know," he adds, "but one must do it. Quite the thing. Everyone's doing it this season."

After he has made a particularly star-spangled ass of

himself—a sort of carmine ass, standing out against an azure blue background, he makes some such brilliant comment as this: "The American people are *so* extravagant." The American people are nothing of the sort. The American people are a pretty sensible crowd. But the Manhattanite is worse than extravagant. His case borders on idiocy.

GETTING back to the subject of hotels—because Manhattanites love to talk about hotels—I had an amusing experience some months ago. Visiting Philadelphia in company with the type of Manhattanite whose knowledge of geography may be summed up in the statement that the world is bounded on the top by the East River and on the bottom by the North River, we stopped at a magnificent hotel. My friend left instructions with the clerk that we were to be called at eight o'clock the following morning and that an automobile should be ready at nine thirty. At dinner that evening and five or six times later, my friend confided to me the overshadowing fear that we would not be called in the morning and that the automobile would not be there. He had left Manhattan and he knew that nothing could possibly be done right beyond its hallowed precincts. In the two or three hundred hotels where I have stopped in various parts of the United States I have never failed to receive a requested call, except in Manhattan. It is a fact, generally known, that hotel service in Manhattan has been notoriously bad for more than a year. The only way you can avoid this information and live on the island is to contract a severe case of "Manhattanitis."

A few weeks ago I was draped over a barber chair in the basement of the Waldorf-Astoria, when the voice of the young lady at work on my index finger penetrated the hot towels on my face to the following effect:

"Is your home New York?"

"Texas."

"Oh, yes! Texas. I know where that is."

How wonderfully clever of her. Such a tiny spot on the map; queer that she ever discovered it.

"Cowboys and oil millionaires. I just love cowboys."

What she loves is moving picture stars. A really, truly, sure-'nough cowboy is generally about as lovely as a mud fence. Both cowboys and mud fences are useful and generally honest, but fond as I am of them I refuse to permit the slander that they could appear lovely in the eyes of a manicurist in New York.

"I have a fren' from Texas; he's awfully funny—he lives here in the hotel. Took me to a show las' night—I was awful embarrassed—he didn't tip the taxi driver."

"Wasn't that terrible," I groaned. "Think of a criminal doing a thing like that in the presence of a lady. She orter called the perlice. Think of this erl millionaire not tipping the taxi driver!"

So I gently told the lady that Manhattan is one of the few places in the United States where one does tip the taxi driver. In Texas, a man who drives the automobile might shake hands with you and wish you a pleasant journey and ask you how the wife and kids are; but if you tipped him, he would probably crack you over the head with the extra tire. I wanted to go on and tell her that there are quite a number of American states where tipping is a misdemeanor under the law. But it is very dangerous to inform Manhattanites about the United States. Unless you tell them something that they have already seen in the movies, you may succeed only in convincing them that you are a liar. I yearned also to tell this young lady that most of the people in Texas have never seen a cowboy or an oil well—that most of the people in Texas are cotton growers. But there have been no cotton growers in the movies that I can recall and it would not be safe.

Next to hotels, the favorite subject of the Manhattanite is bitter condemnation of the scoundrels who forced prohibition upon this country while *all* of the men were in France. But there is light ahead, he tells you in a burst of confidence. This thing will not last long! His beloved cocktail will soon be back! Poor, benighted, subway mole! He babbles about a referendum on prohibition. If he ever got it, he would find out that this country would vote just about 80 per cent for drastic enforcement of prohibition. Manhattanites have even asked me what the sentiment is among the ranch people. They are talking about moving picture ranch people. The only ranches I know personally are in western Texas and that part of the country has been dry so long that most of the young men out there have never seen a saloon, except in Dallas or Fort Worth. Hundreds of those boys from the ranches saw intoxicating liquor, for the first time, in France. Many of those with whom I have talked tried it and did not like it.

One of the most delightful examples of a severe case of Manhattanitis that I have ever seen came to my attention recently in a New York newspaper. It appeared in a story about a murdered woman. One or more women seem to be murdered every day in New York. This particular woman was unidentified at the time the reporter was writing. He furnished this exciting clue to her identity: "She was evidently a woman of refinement, her nails were manicured." All that proved to me was that she had recently been the possessor of seventy-five cents and had spent it in a manicure parlor. But, to a Manhattanite, manicured nails and certain types of hair-dressing and the lavish use of color effects completely concealing the countenance are sure proofs of refinement.

I met in conference recently with three worried, puzzled Manhattanites—business men. They had just been cheated out of $5,000. One of them remarked: "He certainly had a pleasing address. I am astonished. He certainly inspired confidence." The next day I looked at the subject of these remarks. If ever there was a crooked, shifty eye, set in a twisted crooked face, it was the dishonest eye of this sneak. But his attire was simply perfect. Your true Manhattanite believes that a crook must resemble the burglar in the movies. This man answered every test of character that a Manhattanite could prescribe. His clothes fit well, his shoes were neat, his manners were beyond reproach, and to clinch the argument, his nails were manicured. "He was evidently a gentleman of refinement." Clothes are fearfully important in New York. The Manhattanite thinks his island is a harsh, cold-blooded temple of business. It is not. It is a playground. Scores of thousands of men in New York come to work at ten in the morning and leave at three-thirty. Nearly all the offices close Saturday afternoons. Nearly all of the offices close by five o'clock. The cities where people work, and work hard, and are judged much more severely for merit alone, are Kansas City, St. Louis, Dallas—in other words "out West."

Nothing delights me more than to hear the Manhattanite discuss our national problems. "The American people," he says, "are amusement mad." They are not. Ninety per cent of them are starving for amusement. The oppressive Puritanism of the rural [*Continued on page 274*

## *Time's Prisoner*

### *By Harry Kemp*

*I am content with Now, whate'er befall,*
*Whether I will or no, Today is all;*
*No matter whether swift or slow my tread*
*I find tomorrow still a day ahead;*
*I cannot overtake eternity—*
*It turns to time and slips away from me,*
*And in like wise I go upon my way*
*Only a day ahead of yesterday!*

# Who's Who in the Cabinet

## By Talcott Williams

MOST of the criticism of President Harding's Cabinet shows very little knowledge of Cabinets and the conditions of their appointment.

**Photographs of all the members of President Harding's Cabinet are published on pages 268 and 269 of this issue**

A hazy idea that a new President can look over his party and pick the best men in it springs up in the half-informed half of the public mind when Cabinet making comes once in four years. This idea is nonsense. Not even a Czar was able to do that, any more than a college president can get the best scholar on the subject for each vacant professional chair. All appointments are compromizes, except possibly Adam's selection of Eve. Even there Lilith is in the background of tradition.

For one thing, it costs a man $10,000 and upward a year to be a member of a Cabinet. There has not been a Cabinet in forty years in which some one man did not impair his private fortune often past repair. This held up Hughes's decision for a long while. A Secretary of State cannot possibly do his job under $20,000 to $25,000 a year. He gets $12,000.

A President must first make sure that all his party is represented. The organization end of the party can easily be represented. The campaign and its management settle that. The difficulty is in getting adequate representation of the moral, intellectual, reform, progressive end of the party. These forces are never organized. For a President to select Hughes and Hoover for this end and purpose is the best ever. "Too good to be true," most candid men will say. I felt sure of such appointments when I was writing for Harding in The Independent last summer and most of my friends were sniffing at him. I am glad to say I have nothing to take back of the good I said of him then.

Hughes and Hoover are fine gold, but nobody ever dared to coin pure gold for general currency and the needs of the market. Coins and Cabinets need an alloy. Mr. Daugherty, the Attorney-General, is just brass, unblushing brass at that. His selection is the worse because the post was never so important. The Attorney-General is no mere counsel of the Government or its attorney trying cases. He tries almost none. His is a great administrative office. He runs the largest law office in the world. No other Government law office has a fraction of the business he directs. The English Attorney-General is not even in the Cabinet. The Ministers of Justice in France, Italy or other European Cabinets select judges and public officers and follow certain cases. The United States Attorney-General selects more officials, judicial and other, than they do by several fold. He sets the tune for eighty-eight District Attorneys, whose business has been greatly increased by the legislation since 1906. He decides Federal policy as to action over great areas of discretionary prosecution created by trust acts, railroad legislation, the trade commission and a score of other bodies. His "opinions" to the President and departments constitute a volume a year constantly cited in the courts, and on international questions and the statutory powers of the President and Secretaries, the land office and many other sub-departments, "offices," "bureaus" and "commissions," the Attorney-General settles future action and policy.

These are not powers which should go to a man whom the criminals sought in order to get out of jail on contingent fees and the officers of shaky banks and insurance companies, to keep out of jail with fees in cash. A lawyer is known by his clients.

In some other post than Attorney-General there would not be the same objection to Mr. Daugherty. All he did, many lawyers do. No President can adequately administer his office, which necessarily involves political leadership and party policy, without men who know him and whom he knows as politicians. If a President ceases to keep his grip on his party, he is gone. There was much to be said for President Wilson's determination to see no Senator or Representative on patronage. All must go to the departments. The practical result was that he saw Congressmen most infrequently. He lost touch with his own party in both chambers. He could not hold them. In the critical Congressional election of 1918 he was ignorant of the real situation, having no one by him familiar with the political trend. Mr. Tumulty was worse than nothing. So the President issued his fatal letter urging a Democratic majority. A hostile Congress was chosen. He lost the Treaty and his life work failed. Grover Cleveland got out of touch in the same way and was helpless in his last two years. Taft was not as well informed as were Roosevelt and McKinley and as President Harding will be with Hays and Daugherty in his Cabinet.

President Harding has organized a business Cabinet. President Wilson's Cabinet was made up of lawyers and professors. Even Bryan, McAdoo and Daniels, who were not particularly associated in the minds of men with law, had been admitted to the bar, tho McAdoo and Daniels were in active business. For the present Cabinet, Mellon, Weeks, Fall, Wallace and Hoover are in close touch with business, tho Fall has practised law and sat on the Supreme Court of his state. No Cabinet has had so many men closely associated with business.

BUSINESS, banking and economic issues will lead in the next four years, but to have over half a Cabinet of men fresh from active business has its risk, particularly now. The rising economic issue pending is whether manufactured products shall drop with cereals, fruits, sugar, coffee and most foods, with silk, wool, cotton, hemp and jute, with copper, lead, zinc and tin. Even coal has lost, and mineral oil is yielding. Wages, above all, are falling rapidly under the pressure of unemployment.

The steel trust leads in the open determination to keep up the prices of advanced products. Building the country over is halted because structural steel and house furnishings are held up. The textile mills are endeavoring by shutdowns to keep quotations on dry-goods from falling with raw materials, tho some reductions have come. Retail goods in retailers' hands have been slaughtered, but the manufacturers hope for rising prices in 1921, and mills, garment makers and retailers are holding off, hoping that, between the tariff, the inability of Europe to match its old output and its need of goods, the fall of prices will not reach the manufactured article and can be held up in metals and textiles, at least above the drop in labor, raw materials and food.

The managers of textile mills, iron and steel plants have not deliberately got together and said: "Behold, let us counsel together and see how we can compass this great iniquity before God and man"; but the resolute determination of President Gary of the Steel Trust to keep prices far above the drop in other things means this. Mr. Gary asserts that the Steel Trust can justly keep up prices to pay "reasonable profits" on "capital" created by its own bookkeeping on "depreciation" and "investment in the property." Such

a claim is general by manufacturers, but it should be settled, as are railroad rates, by adjudication. Mr. Mellon and Mr. Weeks will be for Mr. Gary's view. President Harding will go wrong if he follows Mr. Gary.

On the other hand, with the Federal Reserve Banking Act, our fiscal machinery for exports, our currency, our tangled debt—whose exact liability no one knows to the amount of $1,000,000,000—and the heavy credits to farmers reaching in all several hundreds of millions of dollars, all needing amendment, readjustment and new legislation; it is a good time to have men who understand business and most particularly fortunate that Mr. Hoover is in the Cabinet with his unrivalled knowledge of foreign business.

Secretary Hughes has loyally accepted President Harding's policy for an international association and not a League, in which each nation shall decide for itself how far it will go in the use of force to prevent war and to be first organized by the great powers. The European nations have practically abandoned the use of force under the decision of the Council, each acting on its own decision. France is preparing to aid Poland, if attacked by Russia, but England will not. Europe cannot disarm with Russia threatening the world and this country. The new Secretaries of War and Navy, Mellon, Fall, Hayes, Weeks, Denby and Daugherty personally believe in an army equal to defense and a navy second to none, as does the President. President Wilson has left every pending issue in a critical position so that the United States must continue its naval program, if from Yap across to West Africa the new administration is to maintain the claims advanced by its predecessors.

Toward foreign affairs Mr. Denby, from his personal experience and his published utterances, is a strong believer in protecting China and is opposed to the current policy of Japan. Senator Fall, during his service in the Senate, showed himself strongly in favor of military interference in Mexico. Mr. Weeks leans the same way. Mr. Hughes, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Hays, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Davis have either expressed opposition to military action or represent influences not in favor of the use of the army and navy.

The post of Secretary of Labor, created in 1913, goes to James J. Davis, not now active in "organized labor," tho holding a union card of a distant date. The "regular" trade unions have claimed the post. Assuming that those at work have grown in the last ten years with population, there are about 45,000,000 people at work for pay in the United States. "Organized labor" has about 6,000,000 of these. Farm labor is 14,000,000 in number; those who work in stores and offices number 4,000,000; unskilled labor, which many unions exclude, numbers 4,500,000. In all, the unorganized labor, including servants and all in personal service, is four times as large as the trade unions. If all the people who work for wages and salaries were included, the trade unions are outnumbered over eight to one. A Secretary of Labor should represent all at work, as Mr. Davis does. I have known something of his work in the "Order of the Moose." He is an efficient manager, an highly practical idealist and for thrift, fellowship and the under-dog; but also mixed up with the Republican party machine in Pennsylvania.

Taken collectively, of the ten in the new Cabinet, or eleven if Vice-President Coolidge be included, all but three, Daugherty, Davis and Fall, have been to college, an unusual but not an unprecedented proportion. Washington's Cabinet had but one non-college man. Four of the Cabinet are from the East, three from the mid-West and two from the far West. When President Wilson organized his first Cabinet, three voted in the same election district in Austin, Texas, in which Mr. House also voted. For the first time, the Cabinet has a former member of the Supreme Court and Mr. Hughes has also been twice a Governor of New York. Mr. Weeks and Mr. Fall have sat in the Senate, the former in the House. Mr. Fall has also sat on the Supreme Court in New Mexico. Mr. Denby served in the Marines as sergeant and Mr. Weeks, a graduate of the Naval Academy, did creditable service as a naval officer on our coast in the war. Mr. Wallace brings to the Department of Agriculture a most unusual farm journalist's equipment. Mr. Hoover is the first of any President's counsellors personally known in Europe and also enjoying a world-wide fame.

## Indiana

THE center of population of the United States still remains in Indiana, according to the census of 1920. There is no American but will feel a certain appropriateness in this. Indiana is as near to being the "typical" American state as we can find. Like the United States, it is still half rural and yet it contains some of the world's greatest manufacturing establishments. Like the United States it is usually Republican, but always doubtful enough to keep both parties on the alert. In Riley we have the American poet closest to the soil and freest from foreign influences; in Tarkington we have a heaven-born novelist of the inmost essence of American small town life. In virtues and faults, Indiana *is* America.

# The Pope and the Y. M. C. A.

## By Shailer Mathews

IT seems unfortunate that Benedict XV should have judged it necessary to publish his condemnation of the Young Men's Christian Association. He regards it as having used its social work as a basis for proselytizing among those who are members of the Roman Catholic church. This of course raises a question of fact upon which we are not competent to pronounce judgment without investigation. My knowledge of the work of the Association makes it difficult to believe that such proselytism at its worst can be more than incidental or local. It is not difficult to see how in an exclusively Roman Catholic country the preaching of Christianity in any form other than that of Roman Catholicism might be regarded as proselytism by ecclesiastical power. Any attempt at religious conversion might very likely include those who were nominally members of the Roman Catholic Church. But so far as the operation of the Association in this country is concerned, it would be very difficult to sustain the charge. It of course carries on religious work; but its general policy cannot be said, so far as observable, to include any attempt upon Roman Catholic faith as such.

We heard so much during the war about the fraternizing of churchmen on the field of battle that it is something of a shock to discover that the Roman Catholic Church does not believe the Young Men's Christian Association has quite played fair. Charges of this sort have been common against the Knights of Columbus and it is generally believed that no unimportant source of the propaganda of distrust waged against the Association lies within that organization. The action of the Pope cannot fail to strengthen this distrust. How much this will contribute to the prosperity of the Knights of Columbus it is hard to forecast. It seems altogether probable that it will increase the unfriendliness to the Young Men's Christian Association.

But the action of the Pope will bear an interpretation of more importance even than that of mere hostility to the Young Men's Christian Association. The Roman Catholic Church, with characteristic wisdom, has come to see that this is a day of laymen and of social service. Its bishops have issued one of the noblest of statements relative to the application of the gospel to social affairs. In America the church is organizing social settlements, developing the Knights of Columbus, extension work (another term for a popularized propaganda) and parochial schools. Each one of these institutions is frankly ecclesiastical. Wher-

ever any one of them has touched the life of the community it has not hesitated to criticize social institutions and church organizations of another sort. No one who knows the history of the Roman Church can fail to see that in fostering the participation of laymen in social service, it must sooner or later be brought into competition with the Young Men's Christian Association. For, tho strictly evangelical in its administration, the Association puts no religious tests upon its services and extends its opportunities to men of all religious faiths or none whatever.

For the Roman Catholics to recognize competition is to find anti-Roman Catholic propagandists. The condemnation of the Young Men's Christian Association is therefore an inevitable outcome of the extension of front on the part of the Roman Catholic movement. It has opposed Protestant churches as heretical. It is only consistent when it opposes any of their religious work in organizations not strictly ecclesiastical. We welcome a new social spirit in the Roman Catholic Church. It is regrettable, however, that it becomes a new occasion for that church to serve notice to the world that it will endure no compromize with Protestantism or institutions allied with Protestantism in the service of mankind. It will only serve to deepen the chasm between Christian forces at a moment when, with mutual tolerance of each other's positions, they should be standing together in the maintenance of Christian morals in society.

There is one consolation, however, in the Papal action. A good many people had felt that the Association was not growing in religious fervor and was relatively minimizing its strictly religious activities. It may be that this hostility of the Roman Catholic Church argues that the religious influence of the Association has been greater than was feared. At all events, if the Association is to be condemned because of evangelical fervor it is to be hoped that it will turn its proscription into a blessing and with renewed energy make its manifold and admirable activities more effective channels for popularizing the attitude and consequent behavior of Jesus Christ.

# Hughes and the League

## By Hamilton Holt

WHEN President Wilson brought back the preliminary draft of the Covenant from Paris and invited suggestions for its improvement, no American made a more lucid and analytic study of the document than Charles Evans Hughes. In his masterly address before the Union League Club of New York, Mr. Hughes expressed his willingness to have the United States accept the Covenant provided it was amended in the following seven particulars:

1. By explicit provision as to the requirement of unanimity in decision.

This was accepted in the revised Covenant in Article V, which states "Except when otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or by the Council shall require the agreement of *all* the members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. By suitable limitation as to the field of the League's inquiries and action, so as to leave no doubt that the internal concerns of States, such as immigration and tariff laws, are not embraced.

This was accepted in Article XV which reads, "If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the party, the Council shall so report and *shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.*" It is worth recalling that the wording of this provision was suggested to Mr. Wilson by Mr. Taft.

3. By providing that no foreign power shall hereafter acquire by conquest, purchase, or in any other way, any possession on the American continent or the islands adjacent thereto.

4. By providing that the settlement of purely American questions shall be remitted primarily to the American nations, and that European nations shall not intervene unless requested to do so by the American nations.

These two proposed amendments are practically covered in Article XXI of the Treaty, which reads as follows:

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

5. By omitting the guaranty of Article X.

This Mr. Wilson did not agree to. Article X guaranteed all members of the League in their sovereignty and territory "as against external aggression."

6. By providing that no member of the League shall be constituted a mandatory without its consent, and that no European or Asiatic Power shall be constituted a mandatory of any American people.

This suggestion was adopted in the paragraph in Article XXII which reads, "The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, *and who are willing to accept it. . . .*"

7. By providing that any member of the League may withdraw at its pleasure on a specified notice.

This suggestion was accepted in the paragraph of Article I which reads, "Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention to do so, *withdraw from the League. . . .*"

Thus Mr. Wilson and the other representatives of the Powers at Versailles accepted completely and unequivocally Mr. Hughes's first, second, sixth and seventh suggestions, substantially accepted his third and fourth, and rejected his fifth.

If Secretary of State Hughes holds the same views today that Mr. Hughes did a year and a half ago when he made these suggestions, it is evident that he will be willing to have the United States enter the League provided only the guarantee in Article X is omitted and Article XXI, dealing with the Monroe Doctrine, is further clarified.

If President Harding will permit Secretary Hughes to act along these lines he will get, and deserve to get, the support of every real friend of the League in the United States, whether Republican, Democrat or Independent.

## Lochinvar

SENATOR Hiram Johnson has been summoned across the continent to fight for the home rule of New York City against Governor Miller's plan for reorganizing by state action the transportation system of New York. Thus the ends of the continent meet, and thus the Mayor of New York confesses that home talent is unequal to the adequate defense of home rule. The Far West is still essential to the producing of young Lochinvars for Eastern consumption.

## Lithuania

WILLIAM G. McAdoo, a man not unacquainted with world affairs, urges the immediate recognition of Lithuania. The reminder comes on the third anniversary of the proclamation of Lithuanian independence, and it may well be that the Lithuanian people feel that less than justice has been done them by the United States which, proclaiming self-determination, has waited so long to "see" the new republic. It is true that independent Lithuania will be a small and weak country which would be well advised to enter some sort of federation with Russia, Poland or Latvia, but that is a matter which the people themselves should decide. Our duty is simply to recognize in law a government which exists in fact.

# The Story of the Week

## Congress Passes Tariff

IN the last grand rush of the closing session many projected laws fell by the wayside, but the most controversial measure, the Emergency Tariff bill, managed to secure a favorable vote in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The bill is not a complete tariff measure, as it is virtually limited to agricultural products. As amended by the Senate and further amended in conference a wide range of products was covered by the bill and some of the new rates are extremely high, tho their effect in increasing prices and values might not have been as great as seems to be anticipated by either the friends or the foes of the bill, as many of the products "protected" nearly monopolize the home market and yield a large surplus for exportation.

Wheat was rated to pay a duty of 35 cents a bushel and wheat flour a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem; flaxseed, 30 cents a bushel; corn, 15 cents a bushel; beans, 2 cents a pound; potatoes, 25 cents a bushel, peanuts, 3 cents a pound; onions, 40 cents a bushel; cleaned rice, 2 cents a pound; lemons, 2 cents a pound; peanut oil, 26 cents a gallon; cottonseed oil, 20 cents a gallon, with soya bean oil and coconut oil at the same rate; olive oil, 40 cents a gallon (in bulk); cattle, 30 per cent ad valorem; sheep, $2 a head ($1 if under one year old); fresh meat, 2 cents a pound; preserved meats, 25 per cent ad valorem; cotton, 7 cents a pound; cotton manufactures, a surtax of 7 cents a pound in addition to existing rates; unwashed wool, 15 cents a pound (washed, 30 cents; scoured, 45 cents); wool manufactures, a surtax of 45 cents a pound; sugar, 2 cents a pound (Cuban sugar, 1.6 cents); butter and substitutes, 6 cents a pound; cheese, 23 per cent ad valorem; milk, 2 cents a gallon (cream, 5 cents a gallon; condensed milk, 2 cents a pound); tobacco (unstemmed), $2.35 a pound; apples, 30 cents a bushel; cherries, 3 cents a pound; olives, 3 cents a pound (25 cents a gallon in solution).

As had been generally expected, President Wilson vetoed the tariff bill; pointing out in his message that agriculture could not expect substantial relief from tariffs in view of the fact that our export trade so greatly exceeded our importations. An attempt was made to repass the bill over his veto, but it failed in the House of Representatives by 201 votes to 132.

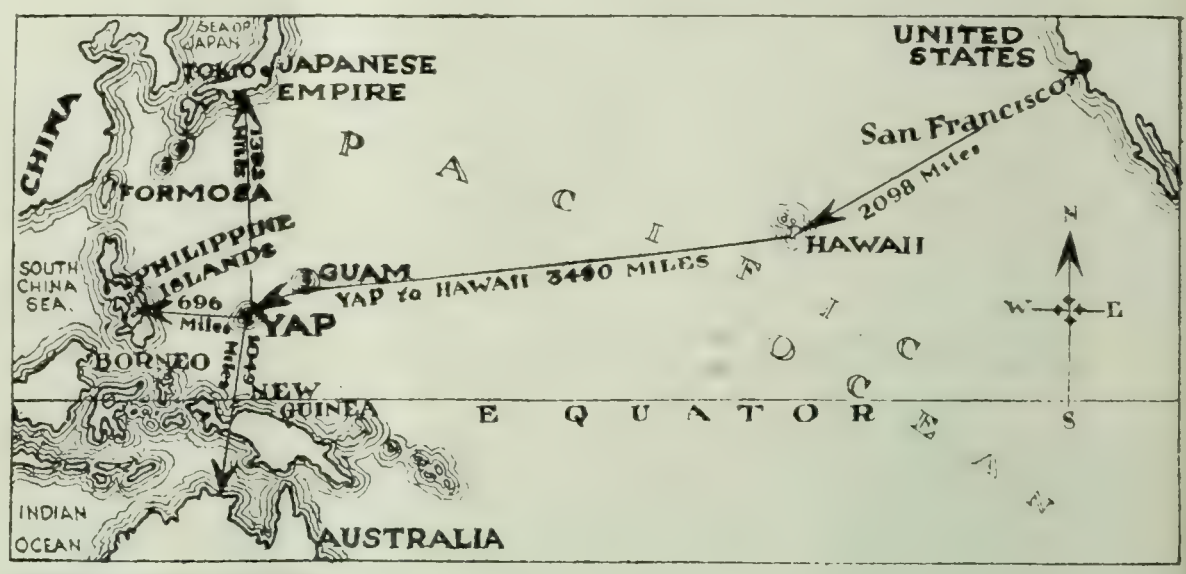
## Profiteering Not Illegal

A recent decision of the Supreme Court practically invalidates the sections of the Lever Act directed against profiteering. The Court held that the provisions imposing penalties for profiteering were too vaguely worded and did not meet the legal test of specific definition of the crimes charged. Chief Justice White declared:

> The sole remaining inquiry, therefore, is the certainty or uncertainty of the text in question, that whether the words: "That it is hereby made unlawful for any person wilfully to make any unjust or unreasonable rate or charge in handling or dealing in or with any necessaries," constituted a fixing by Congress of an ascertainable standard of guilt and are adequate to inform persons accused of violation thereof of the nature and cause of the accusation against them. That they are not, we are of opinion, so clearly results from the mere statement as to render elaboration on the subject wholly unnecessary. Observe, that the section forbids no specific or definite act.

The court's decision was given on an appeal by the Government from a lower court which quashed an indictment against a profiteer in sugar. The Supreme Court contended that the penalty clauses of the Lever Act relating to profiteering violated the fifth and sixth amendments to the Federal Constitution, which define legal safeguards, and especially the clause of the sixth amendment guaranteeing an accused person "to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation."

On the same day, February 28, the Court handed down a decision upholding the right of the Federal Government to exempt farm loan bonds from taxation. Because of the doubt on this point the bonds have been selling below par, and the decision of the Court should do much to make them more marketable.




*Courtesy of the New York World*

**"There seems to be more rime than reason in giving Yap to the Jap," is one newspaper's comment on the League's allocation to Japan of the mandate over this strategically situated little island. This map shows the relative position of Yap and the distances to important coast lines**

## Colby Protests

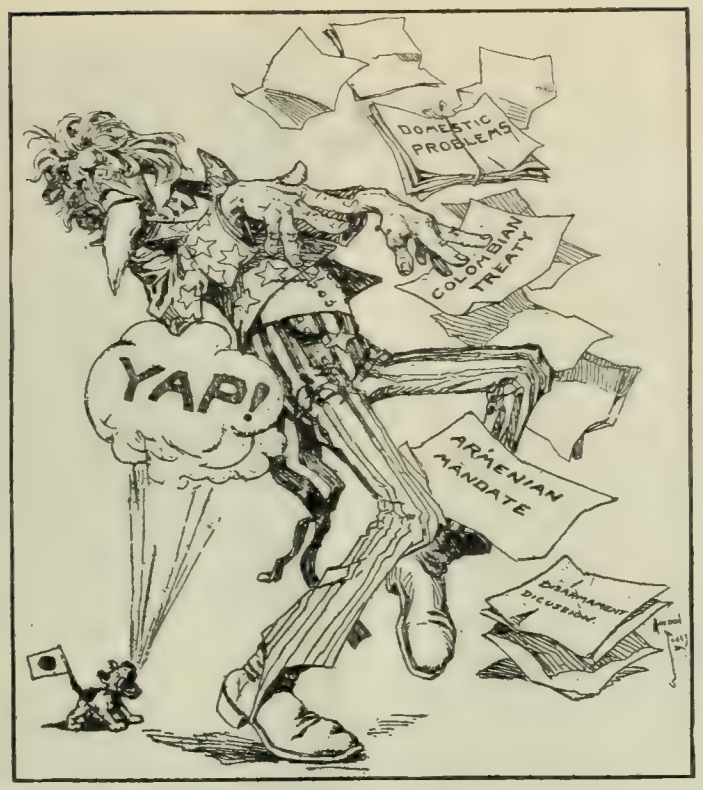
YAP is a small island to cause such a fuss. In the gazetteer it is stated to have but seventy-nine square miles and its population is of insignificant proportions. Yet just at present the Japanese claim to a mandate over Yap is causing more tension between Japan and the United States than the Japanese annexation of thousands of square miles of former German territories in the Pacific or even the commercial penetration and military occupation of Shantung and eastern Siberia. The reason for this is that the tiny island of Yap is an important cable crossing which would give Japan a strategic position in the Pacific. Secretary Colby sent a diplomatic note, of date February 21, to the Council of the League of Nations protesting against the allocation of Yap to Japan at a meeting of the League on December 17, 1920; the text of the decision stating that this assignment of mandate was made with the consent of the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers." To this Secretary Colby replies:

The Government of the United States takes this opportunity, respectfully and in most friendly spirit, to submit to the President and members of the Council of the League that the statement above quoted is incorrect and is not an accurate recital of the facts. On the contrary, the United States, which is distinctly included in the very definite and constantly used descriptive phrase "the principal allied and associated powers," has not agreed to the terms or provisions of the mandate which is embodied in this text, nor has it agreed that a mandate should be conferred upon Japan covering all the former German islands situated in the Pacific Ocean and lying north of the equator.

The United States has never given its consent to the inclusion of the Island of Yap in any proposed mandate to Japan, but, on the other hand, at the time of the discussion of a mandate covering the former German islands in the Pacific north of the equator, and in the course of said discussion, President Wilson, acting on behalf of this Government, was particular to stipulate that the question of the disposition of the Island of Yap should be reserved for future consideration. Subsequently this Government was informed that certain of "the principal allied and associated powers" were under the impression that the reported decision of the Supreme Council, sometimes described as the Council of Four, taken at its meeting on May 7, 1919, included or inserted the Island of Yap in the proposed mandate to Japan. This Government in notes addressed to the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan has set forth at length its contention that Yap had in fact been excepted from this proposed mandate and was not to be included therein.

Furthermore, by direction of President Wilson the respective governments, above mentioned, were informed that the Government of the United States could not concur in the reported decision of May 7, 1919, of the Supreme Council. The information was further conveyed that the reservations which had previously been made by this Government regarding the Island of Yap were based on the view that the Island of Yap necessarily constitutes an indispensable part of any scheme or practicable arrangement of cable communication in the Pacific, and that its free and unhampered use should not be limited or controlled by any one power.

Yap has cable connections with the American island of Guam, with the Dutch East Indies, and with the important Chinese port of Shanghai. President Mackay of the Commercial Cable Company testified before a committee of the Senate that "All messages for the Dutch Indies were sent via Yap under normal conditions, and during interruptions of our cable between Guam and Manila, which cut off all communication with the Philippines and China by our route, we diverted traffic via Yap to Shanghai over the German-Dutch system." The interest of the United States in the cable landings of Yap is therefore evident. But it is not certain how much success our diplomatic protests will have, especially in view of the fact that we are outside the League of Nations which assigns mandates. We still have the rights of a belligerent Power, however, as Mr. Colby pointed out, and the disposition of former German territories concerns us as one of the "Allied and Associated Powers."




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Look at the size of it!

## The Costa Rica War

THE little Central American republic of Costa Rica is initiating a war with the republic of Panama; a war which, in spite of its tiny scale, would concern us closely because of our position in the Panama Canal Zone. Like most international conflicts in Latin America the struggle began over a disputed frontier. The district of Coto in the province of Chiriqui had been awarded to Panama by one arbitral decision; to Costa Rica by a later decision. Panama refusing to recognize the second decision, Costa Rica sent a ship with a hundred soldiers to occupy the disputed region. Thereupon President Porras of Panama summoned his nation to arms by the following proclamation:

> The Costa Rican Government has dislodged our national authorities in the District of Coto, which they have seized. We must meet force with force, and I expect in this moment of supreme sacrifice that party differences shall be forgotten and that united we shall demonstrate that we know how to be Panamanians and subject ourselves to every kind of sacrifice to maintain the national dignity.

Panama and Costa Rica are about equal in population, neither nation having quite half a million. Both countries declared war on Germany, but neither has developed any substantial military or naval organization. Costa Rica keeps a standing army of about 1000 men with a possible wartime expansion to 50,000—if the guns can be found for them. Panama lacks even the tiny regular army possessed by Costa Rica, but it could probably mobilize nearly as many volunteers or conscripts in case of war. Colombia, the nation from which Panama seceded, may possibly intervene in the hostilities on the side of Panama; but there is an equal danger that Costa Rica's allies in the Central American Union, Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras, may join in on the other side.

The United States is placed in a difficult position by the controversy. It may be necessary to mediate to prevent a war, and our right to do so can be grounded not only on the general principles of the Monroe Doctrine, but also on our special duty to protect the Canal. But Panama would look to the United States as a protecting Power and expect our favor on that ground; whereas Costa Rica would rely on the fact that the disputed territory had been adjudged to Costa Rica by Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court. Whichever way our decision went, therefore, we would run the risk of making either Panama or Costa Rica unfriendly.

## Picking the Cabinet

PRESIDENT Harding has not found it is easy to build his cabinet. On the very eve of inauguration the newspapers were still writing of the "tentative slate" and "eleventh hour changes." His desire to consult everyone and, if possible, to please everyone, naturally caused great delay, as the appointments most favored by some Republicans are the most bitterly resented by others. For example, no appointment was received with more favor by the general public than that of Herbert Hoover and yet it is probable that no other appointment was so bitterly fought by influential politicians. Many names are missing from the list that the rank and file of the party expected to see associated with the new Administration. This was not, however, in all cases the fault of Mr. Harding. He offered the post of Secretary of the Navy to Frank Lowden, former Governor of Illinois, and at one time the leading candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. But Mr. Lowden declined. Whether he would have accepted the tender of some other cabinet post is not certain, but at all events he did not regard himself as possessing any special knowledge of naval affairs. Other Secretaries of the Navy, both Democratic and Republican, have entered on their duties without deeming such knowledge a prere-

quisite to taking the office, but evidently Mr. Lowden has a different opinion.

The first definitely announced appointment was that of Mr. Hughes as Secretary of State. In its issue of March 5, The Independent briefly sketched the career of Mr. Hughes and it need only be added here that the appointment has been received with approval in European countries. Newspapers in England, France, Italy and other countries have expressed their satisfaction that American diplomacy would be handled during these trying times by a man of his type and caliber. Henry P. Fletcher, former Ambassador to Mexico, has been chosen as Under-Secretary of State. He is a trained diplomat with a long record of service with the legations in Cuba, China, Chile, Portugal and Mexico and his appointment has been generally considered as giving much strength to the Harding Administration.

The second appointment to be anounced was that of Harry M. Daugherty of Ohio as Attorney-General. Mr. Daugherty is a well-known figure in political circles but he has held no elective office higher than membership in the Ohio legislature. He did more than any other man to launch and keep going the Harding "boom" before and during the national convention of 1920 and for many years he has been a close friend and political associate of the new President. The appointment has not escaped criticism, even from the Republican press, but to all remonstrances Mr. Harding replied "The opposition to his appointment has merely strengthened my conviction that I want him."

The important post of Secretary of the Treasury went to Andrew William Mellon of Pennsylvania, who was strongly backed by both Senators from his state. He is a wealthy and successful business man who did much to develop the industries and the financial institutions of Pittsburgh and other towns in western Pennsylvania.

To the great disappointment of many Republicans Leonard Wood was not made Secretary of War; tho he may be given the Governorship of the Philippines as "consolation prize." President Harding is not known to have objected to General Wood on personal or political grounds, but he was of the opinion that, as a matter of principle, a member of the cabinet should be a civilian at the time of his appointment. In the United States, as in England, tho contrary to the practice of Germany and many other countries, it has been customary to choose civilians as administrative heads of both the army and the navy. So the secretaryship went to John Wingate Weeks of Massachusetts, former Senator from that state and in 1916 one of the leading candidates for the Republican Presidential nomination. He is regarded as a competent administrator, and is a graduate of the Naval Academy.

Will H. Hays of Indiana, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, will succeed Mr. Burleson as Postmaster-General. Tho a "political" appointment it has been favorably received, as Mr. Hays is generally conceded to be an able executive.

The new Secretary of the Navy, is Edwin Denby of Michigan, with a record of service in the Spanish-American war to his credit. For a number of years he served in the House of Representatives and was a member of the Naval Affairs Committee.

One man enters the cabinet directly from the Senate. Albert Bacon Fall of New Mexico will be the new Secretary of the Interior. He "grew up with the territory" as farmer, rancher, miner, business man, member of the legislature, justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, and Senator since 1912. He is best known as an ardent advocate of a stern policy towards Mexico, with intervention as a possibility if a crisis between the countries should recur, and his inclusion in the cabinet has caused much uneasiness among the Mexicans.

Henry Cantwell Wallace of Iowa, editor and publisher

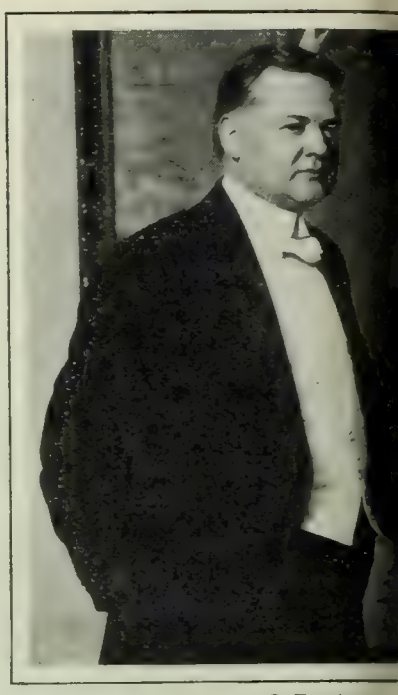
# The Cabi



*Paul Thompson*

SECRETARY OF LABOR

**James John Davis, a union man, has been close to labor problems all his life. He was born in Wales, went to Pittsburgh with his parents when he was four years old, worked in the steel mills at eleven**



© *Keystone*

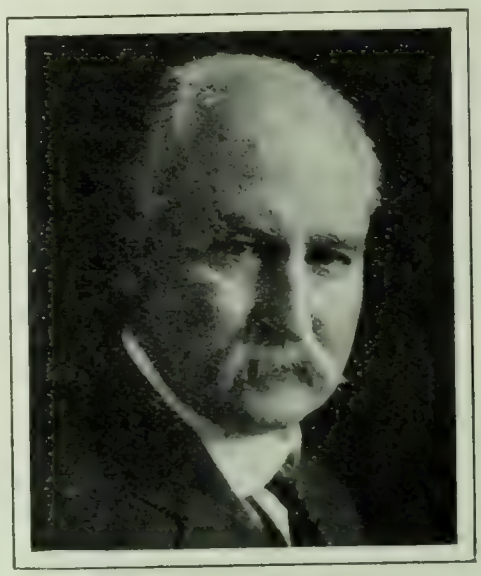
SECRETAR

**"With Mr. it is needl well conte outstandin President Hoover's force and ing, judici ed to do n istration glements years. Thi Hoover r ognition ministrato presented Civic For tice C**



SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

**Henry Cantwell Wallace, editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, has wide popularity among American farmers and knows first-hand the chief agricultural problems in the United States. He was born in Illinois, graduated from Iowa State College and later taught there**



© *Harris & Ewing*

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

**Senator Albert Bacon Fall, of New Mexico, has been a farmer, rancher, miner, lawyer, teacher, publisher, and judge**



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POSTMASTER GENERAL

**The youngest member of t net is Will H. Hays, forty-o old, graduate of Wabash lawyer in Sullivan, India Hays has been active in Re politics for at least twent since 1916 he has been chai the Republican National C**

# Complete





*Paul Thompson*

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

**Pittsburgh is represented for capital as well as labor. Andrew William Mellon has been in business there over forty years, since 1902 as president of the Mellon National Bank**

CE AND

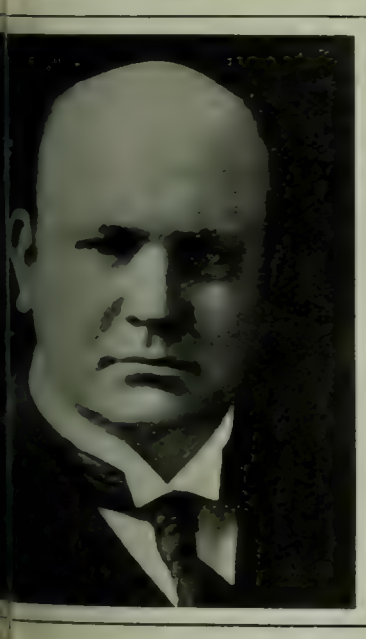
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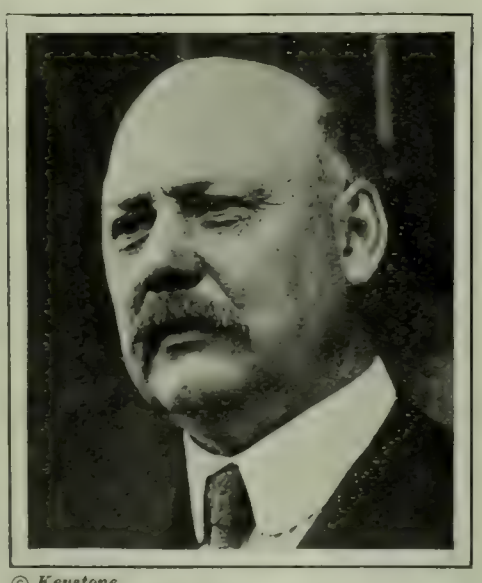
ATTORNEY-GENERAL

**Friends and critics both use the one word "politics" to describe Harry M. Daugherty's career. He practised law in Ohio, served in the State Legislature, and managed the Harding campaign at Chicago**



ECRETARY OF THE NAVY

President Harding followed
binet tradition of appointing
s to the posts of War and
Secretary of the Navy Denby
n actual service in two wars:
ner's mate in the navy during
anish-American War and as
t in the marines during the
War. As a young man he
en years in the Chinese Mari-
ustoms Service and he has an
e knowledge of Far Eastern
affairs



© *Keystone*

SECRETARY OF WAR

**Former Senator John Wingate Weeks, of Massachusetts, puts down his profession in "Who's Who" as banker, but he has spent much of his career in law-making and as advisor in national affairs**

and former successful farmer and raiser of live stock, will be the new Secretary of Agriculture. His appointment has been favorably received in agricultural circles.

James John Davis, banker, labor leader, steel worker, head of the Loyal Order of Moose, is slated for Secretary of Labor. He hails from Pittsburgh, like Secretary Mellon of the Treasury. The city of iron and smoke has thus the rare privilege of double representation in the Cabinet.

## Hoover Accepts

PROBABLY the most discussed appointment, and certainly the most popular, was that of Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Hoover was reluctant to accept, in spite of his friendliness to the new administration, because of the duties he had already undertaken with respect to European relief. But President Harding pressed him hard and he finally agreed to assume office on two conditions. The first was that he be permitted to continue for a time his connection with relief work. "I have no right," he said, "to ask the public to give money and then shed all responsibility of administering it at once." The second condition was that the Department of Commerce be reorganized and made a much more vital factor in developing our foreign trade than it is at present. His remarks on this point are of great significance:

I have outlined to Senator Harding several constructive proposals for the Department of Commerce, and it remains for him to make the decision. I believe that a reorganization is vital for the future of the Department of Commerce. That department has been a Department of Commerce in name only and is composed of scientific and semi-scientific bureaus of uncorrelated nature.

If I take the post it will be only because I believe that Senator Harding will stand behind me in making a real Department of Commerce. There is an enormous field for a proper Government bureau. It can be made a department of the first importance with the support of the Administration and Congress. Unless this is done, I am not warranted in shifting my responsibilities for relief work.

Aside from the reorganization of the Federal Government that was on the program of Congress and the Administration, by which bureaus related to commercial matters should be brought into the Department of Commerce, there is also a large field of activity for the department that does not involve legislation, more particularly in the definitely organized coöperation with the various industries for the purpose of expansion of foreign commerce, and the improvement of methods in domestic commerce.

## Roosevelt the Third

FOR the third time a Roosevelt has been selected as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. A European would probably infer that the office was hereditary, but there is no reason to suspect anything but the busy hand of coincidence. The late President Theodore Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy on the eve of the Spanish-American war; Franklin D. Roosevelt, recently Democratic nominee for Vice-President, held the same office during the Wilson Administration, and now Theodore Roosevelt, the son of President Roosevelt, has been appointed to assist the incoming Secretary of the Navy, Edwin Denby of Detroit. All three Roosevelts were active politicians with records of service in the New York Legislature. The new Assistant Secretary not only had the glory of the family name to recommend him for the post, but a brilliant record in the Great War, in which he was wounded and earned a promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. During the 1920 campaign he stumped many states on behalf of the Republican ticket.

Colonel Roosevelt declared himself opposed to disarmament except by agreement with other nations. He said:

There are those who are working for the limitation of armaments among the nations. It is a fine work and one to which we should turn our earnest efforts. We should be willing to do our part at the time the others do theirs, but we must not fatuously disarm ourselves and then blandly wait for the results of the deliberations of the other armed nations. We must hold to our traditional policy, which is known among nations, of an adequate army and a strong navy.

# The Prussian Election

THE elections for the Prussian Landtag (the legislature for the State of Prussia) took place February 20. The election was preceded by a violent monarchist propaganda on the part of the reactionary parties, openly proclaiming their intention of replacing the Kaiser on the throne, or at all events reviving the Hohenzollern dynasty. Jingo feeling was also inflamed by the approaching crisis over the German indemnity. In view of the revival of the old militaristic sentiment it was expected that the conservative and monarchistic parties would make big gains in the elections and perhaps place the present coalition of liberal and moderate parties in a minority. In fact, the reactionaries did make substantial gains, but not to the degree which was generally expected, and the hope of peacefully restoring the Hohenzollerns by a victory at the polls has for the present vanished.

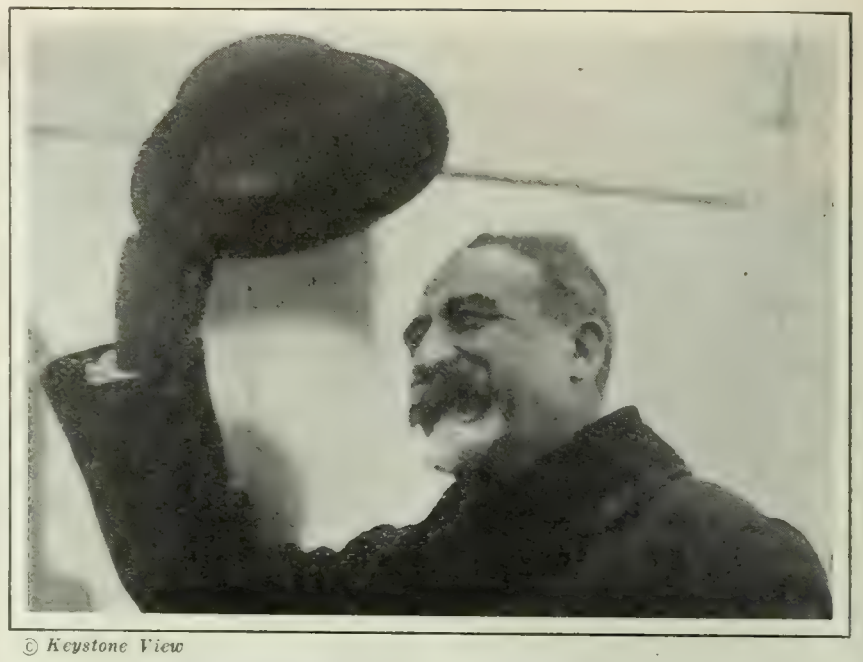
Of course, a violent *coup d'état* may yet be attempted to overthrow the Republic, but the fate of the Kapp insurrection of last year stands as a warning and the election figures show that any such attempt at the present time would be opposed not only by the Allies but by a majority of the German people.

Party lines in Prussia are those of Germany at large. As in France, there are numerous small parties instead of two great parties, but the German parties are somewhat more stable and clearly defined than the French parties; in fact, with slight changes of name and considerable changes of relative strength, the German parties are much the same as they were in Bismarck's day. The chief recent change in party organization has been the splitting up of the old Social Democratic party into three mutually hostile factions as a result of the war. The Social Democrats or Majority Socialists are supporters of the existing Government; they are opposed to experiments which smack of Bolshevism and they are loyally patriotic Germans who place their nationalism even before their Socialist program. The Independent Socialists are hostile to the Government and strongly pacifist; they opposed the war even while it was still being carried on with apparent success. The Communists or Spartacans are simply the Bolsheviki of Germany.

The non-Socialist or "bourgeois" parties are the Democrats (the old "Progressives"), the Center or Catholic party, the People's party (the old "National Liberals") and the German National party (the old "Conservatives"). The Democrats and Centrists are supporters of the present Republic. The People's party is reactionary and "jingo" in its policy and represents chiefly the great industrial magnates; it is not, however, definitely monarchistic. The National party is openly royalist and, of course, as aggressive as possible in foreign policy.

Latest returns group the parties in the new Prussian Landtag as follows (reading from "left" to "right"): Communists, 30 representatives; Independent Socialists, 28; Social Democrats, 111; Democrats, 25; Center, 83; People's party, 56; German National, 73. By adding together the majority Socialists, the Democrats and the Center party the Government retains a small majority, tho much smaller than in the previous Landtag. The Independent Socialists lost heavily to both the moderate Socialists and the Communists.

The National party made some gains at the expense of the liberal "bourgeois" parties. Otherwise the situation is very little changed. The Republic is still safe in Prussia; and as Prussia is two-thirds of Germany the election may be considered to have settled the question, for the time being, for all Germany. Royalist sentiment is very strong in Bavaria, but Bavaria can hardly restore the monarchy without endangering the unity of Germany and provoking civil war.



© Keystone View

**Spring styles in Washington this year show the Senatorial influence predominant. Even Italy has chosen one of her ex-senators, Dr. Rolandi Ricci, as the new Italian Ambassador to the United States. This photograph shows Ambassador Ricci's first greeting to Americans on the deck of the steamer at New York**

# Riots in Italy

THE settlement of the Fiume question has given Italy a chance to concentrate upon domestic problems, and these are indeed urgent enough. The epidemic of syndicalist strikes of a few months ago passed with little permanent ill-effect and the attempt of the extreme Socialists to gain possession of the party machinery on behalf of a Bolshevist program was signally defeated; but tho the Italian ship of state has escaped the rocks it is still storm-driven. The extreme Socialists and the extreme clericals and nationalists have had many riotous encounters in recent weeks in the Italian towns. In January there were serious conflicts in the provinces of Bologna and Modena. All permissions for carrying firearms were revoked by the Government and the prefects were ordered to disarm the population. Organizations of the Fascisti, or extreme nationalist Italians, retaliated on Socialist outbreaks by setting fire to the "Chambers of Labor" and other house property of the Socialist and Communist parties. The general public, standing more or less neutral, is terrorized by general strikes, first in one city and then another, by the temporary seizure of factories, and by shooting affrays in the streets. The underlying cause for all these disorders is, of course, the hard times of after-war reconstruction. Italy is not a wealthy country and it has been much impoverished by the war; it is more a matter of congratulation that Italy has escaped revolution than a matter of surprize that it has suffered from local outbreaks.

Not only the industrial towns but even the rural districts have been plagued by mobs of reds and counter-mobs of the Fascisti. In southern Italy, in the neighborhood of Bari, the peasants rose against their landlords and several bloody encounters took place during February. Near Bari most of the land is held in great estates; only about 11 per cent of the agricultural population owning land. The agricultural laborers and tenants complained of the oppression of their landlords, and when protests did not avail they joined forces with the Socialists and made armed raids on farms and country houses.

The Fascisti derive their name from the "fasci" or rods carried by the lictors of ancient Rome. Like the "vigilantes" of American towns, they aim to suppress lawlessness by direct action outside the law. Thus an anarchist or communist outrage is followed by the burning of the "Chamber of Labor," the local radical headquarters, or by an attack on the home of a ringleader. But these retaliations often provoke renewed outrages.

## Editing a Magazine

(*Continued from page 260*)

celebrity has a printed rejection slip which he returns thanking us for our distinguished consideration and regretting that "his engagements will not permit him to respond to our kind request, tho this does not imply any lack of respect for the magazine we edit." I have received such rejection slips from John Fiske and Herbert Spencer, not to mention others.

Some magazines aim to print articles only by celebrities. Griswold once wrote to Field, "Our October number is very good. There's Bryant, Cooper, Longfellow, Hoffman, and in November we have Longfellow, Cooper, Bryant, R. H. Tuckerman, Hoffman and Osgood." Nowadays editors are just as hungry for all-star numbers. But the trouble with celebrities is that they get careless, and if we are not extra careful they are apt to palm off poor stuff on us.

During the last few weeks, for instance, I had to reject seven effusions by the best known American poet, and articles by the foremost English mystery writer, the world's most influential labor leader, the greatest of Japanese statesmen, one of America's two greatest admirals, and a job lot of college presidents and professors. I hasten of course to add that we would have been proud and delighted to have had their names in our Table of Contents had their articles been up to our standard.

It is not at all impossible that I may see these rejected contributions subsequently in some other magazine; but even then I shall not disown my original judgment, for the acceptance of a manuscript does not necessarily imply a lack of merit on the part of an editor who has previously chosen to reject it.

Celebrities are divided into two main classes:

1. Celebrities by occasion.
2. Celebrities by nature.

When Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip returned from Petrograd the other day with $30,000,000 worth of concessions in his pocket from Lenin and Trotzky he was a celebrity by occasion. Probably half the magazine editors in town importuned him for an article on Bolshevism at his own price. But ten years from now an article by Mr. Vanderlip, giving his reminiscences of Darkest Russia, would have even less magazine value than a reminiscence today of the California earthquake by Caruso.

Celebrities by nature are those who have no closed season for their literary wares. Everything they say always goes with the public. Obviously presidents-elect of the United States, statesmen like Lloyd George and Count Okuma, generals like Pershing and Foch, and the presidents of Yale, Harvard, and possibly Princeton, belong to this category.

In the next article I shall go on to say something about the average author's attitude toward the editor.


# Worked On New Science For 40 Years

### The Author of "Characterology" traveled the world over in search of material



L. Hamilton McCormick
Millionaire Author of
"Characterology"

Mr. L. Hamilton McCormick, member of the well-known McCormick family of Chicago, has just completed his monumental life-work on "Characterology." It is in many respects the most remarkable study that has ever been offered the peoples of the world.

For the first time, Character Analysis has been removed from the sphere of uncertainty and made an exact science. Mr. McCormick's rules for reading character are so simple and so true that any one who studies the subject seriously can become an expert reader of character.

Mr. McCormick's treatise is remarkable not only for what it contains but also for the manner in which it was written.

Forty years were spent in gathering material — ten solid years devoted to the actual writing! The first edition was revised and re-written more than forty times before it was released to the publisher!

"Characterology" is a work of 700 pages. It is illustrated with charts and a unique collection of photographs of life and death masks of renowned and notorious individuals, with biographical and analytical readings!

It takes up every feature and tells you what each different type signifies—the contour of the head; profile indications; the different types of heads, foreheads, eyes, eyelids and eyebrows; the different types of noses; the mouth, lips and teeth; ears, cheeks, jaws and chin; hair and neck; brain and cranium; complexion.



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
A photograph of one of the many death masks in "CHARACTEROLOGY." The arched nose, prominent chin and broad jaws are evidences of self-esteem, wilfulness and unyielding aggressiveness.

The study of "Characterology" has a definite, practical value.

Supposing that one hundred per cent. represents complete insight into a stranger's character, four per cent. would be approximately what an average individual would be capable of discerning; five per cent. would be the ability of a fairly shrewd person; six per cent. that of a clever man of the world; while ninety-five to one hundred per cent. would represent the analytical ability of a highly educated and trained expert. From this fact can be estimated the extreme value of a thorough knowledge of the subject.

There is little credit in diagnosing character as to a few evident traits, for such is within the capacity of all men; but to succeed vastly beyond this and to make a large number of statements embracing the entire personality of an individual, and that without errors or omissions, is a performance requiring knowledge and experience. A sincere study of "Characterology" will give you this knowledge.

We know of no work published in recent years which has aroused more interest than "Characterology." It deals with a live subject in a live way. It is written in a keen, epigrammatical style. It has a definite practical value. This is a work that should be in the hands of every reader of this magazine and on the desk of every business executive. We shall be glad to send it to you for examination on request.

**SEND NO MONEY**

**"Characterology" is published by RAND McNALLY & COMPANY. It will be sent to you on approval. You have the right to return it if it does not meet with your expectations.**

I-1.3-21

RAND McNALLY & COMPANY, 534 S. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen:—Please send me a copy of Mr. McCormick's epoch-making work on CHARACTEROLOGY. It is understood that I shall either remit $5 or return the book within five days after its receipt.

NAME OCCUPATION ADDRESS

# TWENTY ACRES AND PLENTY

Good times are coming and business will soon be humming. The pendulum swings back to the productive side. We are at the dawn of another era of prosperity. Normal conditions will come back when more of us *get back to the land.* Our furrows of care will disappear when we begin to turn more furrows in the soil.

The remedy for the evils existing in our over-crowded cities today is the movement BACK TO THE SOIL. The City Toiler —the workingman—the clerk—the office man—all must look to the SOIL for the opportunity to break clear from the eight o'clock bell, the tyranny of the boss, and the diminishing chance. The man who looks ahead will prepare himself for that time by getting a home. My advice to you, therefore, is to get a home while you are able to do so, and begin now.

In this day of unrest, the safe investor puts his money in LAND. It can not burn up or blow away—it is panic-proof. Good agricultural land is the foundation of all lasting prosperity.

Get an income-producing home and you will have a steady income. You can do it by taking advantage of our liberal terms. We will clear and cultivate your land for you on our fair and equitable *ten-per-cent-above-cost* plan.

A monster land movement is just getting under way in our part of Florida. Until recently the mistaken idea that Florida is hot in summer has kept many desirable settlers away. But they are coming now — thousands strong. Settlers, farmers, stockmen, fruit growers, truck gardeners, home-seekers from every State in the Union —and Canada. They want Florida land while it can yet be had at reasonable prices. Those who wait too long will find this land quoted at $200 to $500 per acre in the next few years.

California passed through just such a stage. Today, wild lands available for citrus culture are sold at $500 to $700 per acre, and little left at that figure.

Last year gardeners in Orange and nearby counties in Florida cleared over $1,000 per acre on truck crops. Orange and grapefruit groves sold last fall as high as $1,000 to $3,000 per acre. Individual grove owners cleared as high as $1,000 to $1,500 an acre on the sale of fruit last year.

All you need is a moderate amount of money and a fair knowledge of farming. A dollar an acre a month will pay for your land. Send for our Big Free Book—"TWENTY ACRES AND PLENTY." It tells about our easy monthly payments, sick and out-of-work clauses and free protective features. **Address SYLVESTER E. WILSON, Dept. H39, Orlando, Florida.**

*(NOTE: Mr. Wilson is Treasurer and principal owner of the Produce Reporter Company, Chicago, publishers of the "Blue Book," which is to the Fruit and Produce Trade what Dun's and Bradstreet are in other commercial fields.)*

New dwarf hardy low border
**Box-Barberry**
*Originated and Introduced by*
**The Elm City Nursery Company**
**Woodmont Nurseries, Inc.**
**Box 199. New Haven, Conn.**
Spring or fall planting advised. Send for Box-Barberry Folder and Nursery Catalog

**Don't Wear a Truss**



MR. C. E. BROOKS

**Brooks' Appliance, the** modern scientific invention, the wonderful new discovery that relieves rupture, will be sent on trial. No obnoxious springs or pads.

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Has automatic Air Cushions. Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb. No salves. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial to prove it. Protected by U. S. patents. Catalog and measure blanks mailed free. Send name and address today.
**Brooks Appliance Co., 490-H State St., Marshall, Mich.**


# A Number of Things

## By Edwin E. Slosson

It is to Oscar Wilde that Kansas owes her state flower for until 1882, when the Irish esthete appeared wearing the sunflower, it had not occurred to the Kansans that their wayside weed was artistic. It was also Wilde who started the fashion for paradoxical epigrams. After he had shown that by reversing any revered saying you could make it look funny, a host of writers took up the style. Shaw and Chesterton have beaten him at his own game of topsy-turvy axioms.

The collection of Wilde's fugitive reviews published by Putnams in their handy Ravenna edition of his works under the title of "A Critic in Pall Mall," is peppered freely with his pungent witticisms and I cannot resist the temptation of stealing some of them for the benefit of my readers:

The British cook is a foolish woman who should be turned for her iniquities into a pillar of salt which she never knows how to use.

Indeed, the two most remarkable bits of scenery in the states are undoubtedly Delmonico's and the Yosemite Valley; and the former place has done more to promote a good feeling between England and America than anything else has in this century.

Marriage is the one subject on which all women agree and all men disagree.

This age of ours, an age that reads so much that it has no time to admire, and writes so much that it has no time to think.

It is a bad thing for an age to be always looking in art for its own reflection.

One should not be too severe on English novels; they are the only relaxation of the intellectually unemployed.

There are two ways of misunderstanding a poem. One is to misunderstand it and the other to praise it for qualities it does not possess.

No one survives being over-estimated.

The only form of fiction in which real characters do not seem out of place is history. In novels they are detestable.

A simile committing suicide is always a depressing spectacle.

There is always a certain amount of danger in any attempt to cultivate impossible virtues.

Ordinary theology has long since converted its gold into lead, and words and phrases that once touched the heart of the world have become wearisome and meaningless thru repetition. If theology desires to move us, she must rewrite her formulas.

It takes a great artist to be thoroly modern. Nature is always a little behind the age.

It is a curious fact that the worst work is always done with the best intentions, and that people are never so trivial as when they take themselves very seriously.

I must confess that most modern mysticism seems to me to be simply a method of imparting useless knowledge in a form that no one can understand.

There seems to be some curious connection between piety and poor rhymes.

It is always a pleasure to come across an American poet who is not national, and who tries to give expression to the literature that he loves rather than to the land in which he lives. The Muses care so little for geography!

On the whole "Primavera" is a pleasant little book, and we are glad to welcome it. It is charmingly "got up," and undergraduates might read it with advantage during lecture hours.

***

Greek professors who complain of dwindling classes may turn their attention toward the new educational methods employed in Russia. Here is how a class in the classics is personally conducted by the Bolshevist Commissioner of Education in the "Workers' and Peasants' University" of Moscow as reported in the September 11 issue of *Soviet Russia:*

Lunacharsky lectured for three-quarters of an hour on Greek culture. His lecture was exhaustive, concise, objective, distinct. It was supplemented by stereopticon views, and followed by the recitation of Sapphic verses by an actress of the Moscow Theater. Then a ballet performed Grecian dances, which finished the program. "In two such hours a student acquires more than if he sat bent over his books for days," Olbracht then said to me.

Now if the Isadora Duncan dancers were added to the faculty of a university the classical course would soon be drawing students from all other departments, tho perhaps not so much the "workers" as the leisure class of undergraduates.

***

Our divorce laws, which do not allow an unhappy couple to part happily, are the cause of the fabrication of many fictitious crimes. This comes out very naively in the case of the Hoffmanns of New York, who having lived apart for ten years for professional reasons, have arranged to make the separation permanent. Mrs. Hoffmann says in an interview:

There had never been any quarreling or dissension in our home. Everything was decided agreeably.

I am suing now for separation on the ground of cruel and inhuman treatment.

In due time the court will be convinced that Mr. Hoffmann is cruel and inhuman since he doubtless will not offer any objection to being so characterized. But his friends, curiously enough, will think none the less of him for having formally been convicted of being a brute.

***

If ministers are going to advertize they should study the psychology of advertizing. A California clergyman has been doing a little experimenting on his own account in this field. He took a referendum of his congregation by means of back-action postcards on which were printed the titles of the sermons he proposed to give during the year. The members were requested to check those they preferred to hear; that is, the church was to be run on the *à la carte* instead of the customary *table d'hôte* system. One sermon on the text of Prov. xvii, 22, he listed in two places under the titles, "The Religion of Optimism" and "The Best Medicine

—a Merry Heart." The second got twice the votes of the first.

He also listed a series of sermons on "Old and New Testament Saints" and another on "Old and New Testament Sinners." The sinners ran ahead of the saints on the entire ticket. It seems that the people of that community were most anxious to hear about "Judas Iscariot; a Study in Spiritual Gravitation," and they were least interested in "St. Matthew the Publican." From which we can make the diagnosis that the congregation hold Browning's theology:

There may be heaven; there must be hell;
Meantime, there is our earth here—well!

***

"Now we are all square," as the Cubists say.

***

Next to reading new magazines there is nothing so profitable as reading old ones. In no other way can we get such a sense of shifting standpoints. Houston Chamberlain, who wrote a book, "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," before the war to prove that Teutons were the superior race and had done everything of importance in the world, is nowadays called "the renegade Englishman" and held responsible, among others, for the great conflict. It is therefore amusing to find his book alluded to then in the following terms by one of the most popular of British novelists, Eden Philpotts, in one of the leading British reviews, *The Fortnightly*. It is Bertram, the engaging artist of "The Joy of Youth," who speaks:

Do you know Chamberlain's famous book—a world book—only spoilt by one fact—that the American, Roosevelt, likes it? It seems so absurd to like anything that Roosevelt likes. But Chamberlain is a genius, and he's on the side of the angels and on the side of the Germans; and he will help us all to fall in love with the Germans soon—as I did long ago.

***

As the boy who tended the newsstand was absorbed in reading a book, I hunted around until I found the magazine I wanted and then approached him. When I spoke to him he did not raise his eyes from the page but held out his hand for the coin and dropped it automatically into the till. I said:

"Where's the change?"

"What did you get?" he replied, still without looking up.

I told him.

"How much is it?" he asked.

I said I did not know.

"Can't you read it on the cover?" he inquired crossly.

Thus admonished I searched the cover until I found the price mark tucked away in the hair of the pretty girl picture. When I told the newsdealer he tossed the change over the counter. One of the coins rolled on the floor, but I recovered it while the boy read on.

Curious to learn the nature of the book he was reading I glanced over his shoulder at the title.

It was called "The Science and Art of Salesmanship."


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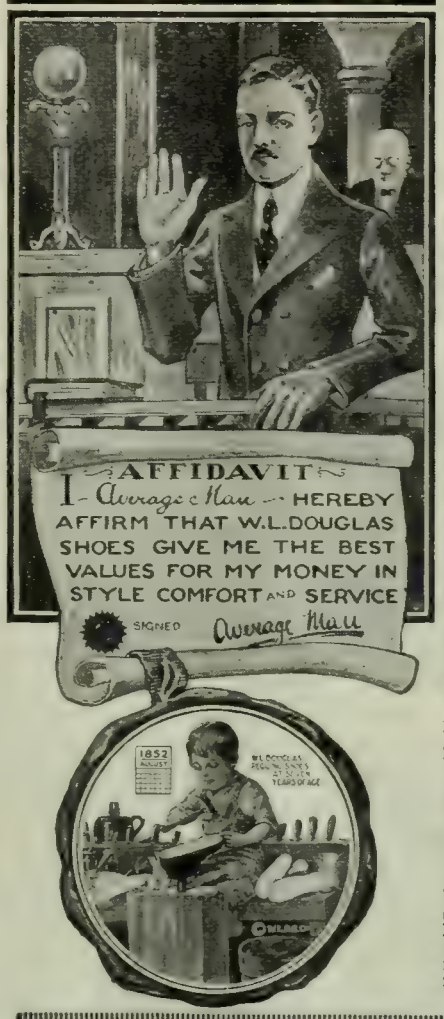
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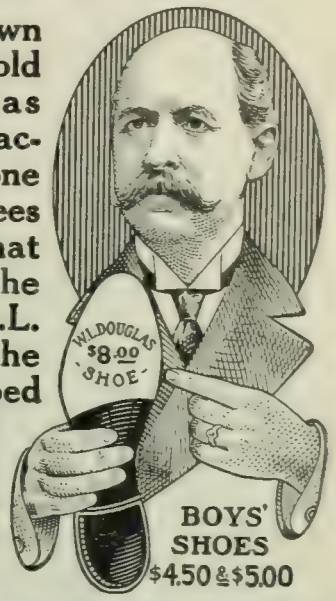
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# Are Warships Obsolete?

(*Continued from page 259*)

as heavy a torpedo as ever submarine discharged. And torpedoes are not dropped by aeroplanes vertically down upon the decks and superstructure of a vessel, but are launched at the broadside of the ship, from the water, where they strike the target below the vulnerable waterline. Submarines destroyed several battleships of the first line during the war by this torpedo assault. And the aeroplane, by reason of its speed and its mobility, can direct the same torpedo with far greater accuracy than can the submarine.

Thus the aircraft has two implements against its unwieldy antagonists, while the battleship with its hundreds of guns and thousands of men, has but the one—shrapnel. Let us examine the battleship's defensive against an attack by aircraft.

Suppose one tenth of the one thousand aeroplanes, bought with the price of a dreadnaught, select the late dusk of evening for the attack. The progress of the battleship, moving at its top speed of forty miles per hour, is noted and followed from afar by the air fleet. Camouflaged body and wings render the aircraft inconspicuous, even in daylight. As darkness falls upon the ocean the aeroplanes drop down and skim the surface of the waters, into which they blend into comparative invisibility. From every point on the compass, the torpedo planes concentrate upon their huge target.

Searchlights cannot be used on the ship, else its position is still more distinct. Night glasses and listening apparatus are used, and every gun on board is ready for action. Indeed a constant barrage is maintained on all sides, there being no visible enemy to aim at. And the airplanes, with their speed of one hundred miles an hour, circle about at unknown altitudes and positions. The waiting sailors can keep up the barrage all night, or they may tire of it. The aircraft has but three or four hours fuel, and then they must withdraw. From far aloft, occasional deadly gas bombs drop upon the deck of the ship. Gas masks must be constantly worn. The monotony is relieved periodically by explosive bombs which scatter the defenders and throw them into confusion.

Upon a signal by wireless, or at a preconcerted agreement as to the time, two torpedo planes descend close to the water from either side of the ship, and advance swiftly toward her broadside. As the dusky mass looms up in the darkness, one hundred, or two hundred yards distant, they drop their 2400 pound torpedoes into the water.

The two torpedoes submerge, headed directly for their target, eight hundred feet long. They are propelled thru the water, thirty feet under the surface, by their motors, operated by compressed air. They explode upon impact! Few battleships have survived one such impact.

What happens to the aeroplane pilots in the first attack is of comparative little importance, from a military standpoint, considering the value of the prize they seek to destroy. Twenty-five times this attack can be repeated if necessary. Once destroyed, several thousand souls go down with the battleship. Should a storm of shrapnel be encountered and the aeroplanes become wrecked in mid-air, the pilot still has a chance for safety not vouchsafed to the sailor. For the person of a pilot is small, compared with the bulk of his machine. Even if he is wounded and falls, he is supported in the water by a life-belt, and his signal light may bring a comrade to his aid.

Successful, or unsuccessful, the aeroplanes withdraw to their mother ship, or to their station on land. If all are lost, but one-tenth of the value of a dreadnaught, and but one-sixtieth of the number of personnel, are debited to aviation as compared to the loss to the navy.

Against the threat of the submarine, aircraft are still more profitable. For the aeroplane pilot can see down into the depths from his position aloft as no ship on the surface can see. He covers four miles to the destroyer's one, and the depth bombs he drops by the submarine's side are as deadly as those dropped from the destroyer. For economy of operation, for absence of risk, and for efficiency in destruction, no other means of fighting the submarine can rival the aircraft.

Should we then scrap our navy? Certainly not. Aeroplanes cannot yet transport munitions and troops to rival the ships of the sea. Even as a base of supplies for the aircraft of the sea, naval vessels must be maintained. But before we cripple our air service by withholding of funds which are expended on battleships possibly doomed to destruction, it is the part of wisdom to give aviation a warship and "come and watch it."

Adequate land defense, or battleship defense, against aircraft, has not yet been devised. The only defense against aircraft is—aircraft.

*New York*

## Manhattanites

(*Continued from page 262*)

communities of this country is one of the influences driving American youth to the cities because both innocent and vicious amusements are condemned with no sense of discrimination.

"Americans are money mad," says the Manhattanite. They are not. They never have been. They are the most generous, idealistic, almost foolishly sympathetic people on earth. Manhattan is money mad. It always has been. It has been Europeanized by the hordes of people coming here to make money quickly and in large quantities.

"Home life is disappearing," says the Manhattanite. It is, in Manhattan, but nowhere else.

"Women don't want to have children

any more," raves the Manhattanite. True enough here, but in the greater part of this country it seems to me they have too many. Here they don't want any, it seems, but nowhere else that I ever heard of is that true.

"The women smoke and drink," groans the Manhattanite. Yes, in certain cafés and hotels. But in Texas a woman would no more smoke in public than she would go naked. Nothing is funnier than to hear the Manhattanite talk about the American public and American women, and American problems. He knows less about the United States than a well informed Chinaman.

*New York*

## Odd Moments

A Florida alligator has been presented to President-elect Harding.

***

Bricks of compressed straw have been used in France to build a house.

***

It has been proposed to make use of poison gas to kill the boll weevil in cotton fields.

***

Since the war the United States has become the world's chief source of the zinc supply.

***

The Department of Agriculture suggests skunk breeding as a means of stabilizing the "depressed fur market."

***

President Wilson has refused $150,000 from a syndicate for his first article after he leaves the White House.

***

The Interchurch World Movement has just prepared a valuable study of church life in a Massachusetts city.

***

The Japanese Government has definitely decided to abandon entirely the opium monopoly system in occupied Chinese territory.

***

The French propose to build a high-flying airplane which could reach Buenos Aires, Argentina, from Paris, in twenty-four hours.

***

Fishermen near the mouth of the Tonegawa, one of Japan's largest rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean, made a catch of fifty-four whales recently.

***

Twins were born in a West Virginia home where the father was a Democrat and the mother a Republican. So the twins were named Warren and Woodrow.

***

A Haitian bandit threatened the Americans that if they executed him for his crimes he would return to life in the form of a mosquito and sting them to death.

***

During 1919 Germany published 26,200 books, holding the world's record for publication during the year. The United States published 8600, Great Britain 8600 and France 5361.

***

An Illinois girl was seized with a mysterious "talking sickness" and surprized the doctors, even those well acquainted with the fair sex, by talking continuously for 212 hours.

***

The divorces granted to Japanese husbands are eight times as many as those granted to wives; but in the United States the divorces granted to wives are double those granted to husbands.





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# Here Are Books—and Books

## With Some Special Suggestions for Religious Book Week

### Religion for the New Day

One expects to find, these days, that among the new books on religion a very large number are expressions of an effort not as of old to divorce religion from the world, but to bind it to the world as closely as possible—particularly, of course, to the war-made world, with its special set of social and political problems. Directly inspired by the war—and, in an occasional bitterness of emotion, much engrossed in the war—is *"Lest We Forget,"* by Hugh Black, author of the famous "Friendship" books. In eleven essays, various lessons of the war are given a clear, strong, eloquent discussion. "The Cleavage of the World," "Patriotism, True and False," "Peace and Pacifism"—these are some of the chapter titles. John Kelman, in *Some Aspects of International Christianity,* carries the discussion a little farther and deeper, giving Christianity its place at the conference table where actual after-war problems and remedies are being discussed—The League of Nations, British and American relations, individual versus national morality, and so forth. The book is lucid, persuasive and deeply serious. In point of view and general purpose, Charles F. Dole, in *A Religion for a New Day,* is a more thoro-going modern. His plea is not simply that religion grapple with the day's problems, but that we have in place of the old religion which cannot grapple with them, which has therefore finally failed, a new religion in tune with the times. His main contention is clear and courageous, and the book is interesting; but in treatment it lacks the note of challenge that one instinctively looks for from the daring un-orthodox—it is curiously mild and tentative.

*A Religion for a New Day,* by Charles F. Dole. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. *Some Aspects of International Christianity,* by John Kelman. The Abingdon Press. *"Lest We Forget,"* by Hugh Black. Fleming H. Revell Co.

### For Quiet Hours

It takes a little readjustment—these days when we are apt to think of religion not as a philosophic abstraction or a personal spiritual possession, but as a social force in action—to read with full sympathy books that speculate about religion in and for itself. But now and then a new book comes along that makes the readjustment worth while. Curiously interesting from the psychological as well as from the religious standpoint is a selection, under the title *The Power of Prayer,* from the sixteen hundred and sixty-seven essays on prayer submitted to the Walker Trust Essay Competition in 1916. They are translated from eighteen languages beside English, and represent every shade and variety of religious belief; it is a safe assumption that the book leaves nothing to be said on the subject of prayer. In the case of a book like *The Personality of God,* by James H. Snowden, still more of a shift is necessary for a proper approach. As the title suggests, the book deals with the time-honored question of the nature of God as a person, coming rather easily to the time-honored conclusion that only through a serene belief in such a personality can the world find the courage and faith that it needs to face the difficulties that beset it. Whether one is temperamentally in sympathy with such a view or not, the book commands respect for its seriousness and sincerity. *The Life Indeed* is a third book concerned exclusively with spiritual things. But it is not merely religious; it is in the broadest and most inclusive sense a spiritual book, because it is the full expression of the personality of a spiritual man, the author, John Franklin Genung, lately a revered professor in Amherst College. It is the summing up of a fine nature, religious, philosophical, poetic, humane.

*The Power of Prayer,* edited by the Right Rev. W. P. Patterson. Macmillan. *The Personality of God,* by James H. Snowden. Macmillan. *The Life Indeed,* by John Franklin Genung. Marshall Jones.




**"Buy a Book a Week!" is the general slogan of a new organization that aims to bring publishers and readers into coöperation for a freer and fuller circulation of good books. For practical convenience and efficiency, the plan divides the year into monthly or weekly divisions in which a particular type of book is emphasized. This week, for instance—March 13 to 20—is Religious Book Week, and on that account we are giving space in our book columns to special notice of new books on religious subjects. April will be a "Back to Nature" month, and May and June gift-book months. The organization uses for publicity purposes an attractive variety of posters like the one above, all made by girls of the Art Class of Washington Irving High School, New York. The posters, with other publicity material, may be obtained from the Year-Round Bookselling Plan, 334 Fifth Avenue, New York**

### New Light on Old Teachings

Dean Graves of the School of Education in the University of Pennsylvania thinks—with good reason—that the simple message of Jesus has been obscured by extraneous accretions of comment and interpretations in the course of centuries so he has put in plain language what Jesus taught about God, the family, the future life, this life, the church, the state and himself. The author uses the modern historical and critical method in a constructive and reverent spirit. The book had its origin in talks to study groups composed of university students of all forms of belief and disbelief and having proved successful here will be useful to other non-sectarian groups as well as for individual study.

*What Did Jesus Teach?* by Frank Pierrepont Graves. Macmillan.

### The Life of Christ

The life of Christ as recorded in the Bible has just as a story such drama and color, to say nothing of power to inspire, that down thru history writers have been led irresistibly to try a hand at developing, amplifying and arranging the Bible material into more organized story form. Two new books present the story at great length and in elaborate detail, *The Life of Christ,* by G. Robinson Lees, and *A People's Life of Christ,* by J. Paterson-Smyth. The former shows perhaps more scholarship in the preparation; the author has obviously studied the literature on the subject, and he lived for years in Palestine collecting material. The book is readable in style. Dr. Paterson-Smyth's book, tho probably not less sound in scholarship, is less compact with information and more pure narrative, of an obviously popular but likable sort.

The two authors have approached in about the same way the inevitable dilemma—the question of what is to be done with such theological snags as the miracles, for instance. In a detailed and complete life of Christ, to treat a great many of the details as possibly fiction means to make the story more or less a fairy tale. But there is only the choice between this and setting out to prove them true, which is the course that both authors have elected to follow, with only slight hesitations. However the books stand as theological and

historical documents, they are two competent treatments of a fine story.

*The Life of Christ*, by G. Robinson Lees. Dodd, Mead & Co. *A People's Life of Christ*, by J. Paterson-Smyth. Fleming H. Revell Company.

## The Man of Mystery

The authorized *Life of Lord Kitchener*, by Sir George Arthur, is a commendable piece of work, as simple, straightforward and adequate as the life which it describes. The first volume is devoted mainly to the campaigns in Egypt and the Sudan; the second to the military organization of India; the third to the period of the Great War. A just proportion of the material is preserved thruout and little time wasted in eulogy or apologetics or in the sort of by-play and personal gossip which fills most biographies. It is the sketch of a career rather than of a man, and the reader when he closes the book is compelled to wonder as much as when he first took it up whether Kitchener was really a human being or just a clean, cool, efficient mechanism for grinding out victories. The "Kitchener mystery" remains unpierced. But it is at least made clear that Kitchener had some of the instincts of the statesman as well as of the soldier; he foresaw in October, 1914, five years of war (vol 3, p. 271) when everyone else was confidently anticipating an early ending to the conflict; he negotiated a peace with General Botha which would have ended the Boer war many months earlier by a complete British victory had not Lord Milner insisted on extreme terms (vol. 2, pp. 25-26), and he asked as his sole reward for conquering the Sudan that England establish schools for the natives.

*Life of Lord Kitchener*, by Sir George Arthur. 3 vols. Macmillan.

## Tributaries

It is quite safe to set out to review *Domesday Book* and *Mitch Miller* together. Both by Edgar Lee Masters, you may be sure that if they take you away from Spoon River it will be only to explore its tributaries. *Domesday Book*, like "Spoon River," is verse—four hundred pages of blank verse, in which is set forth the life of Elenor Murray, its touch on other lives, those lives, the lives they touch, and so forth. In this range of human types and relations you have, speaking almost literally, a picture of the race; it is a stirring idea. But one's first healthy reaction, not to the idea, but to the pages themselves, is that here is a piece of metrical prosy dulness such as Wordsworth in the homeliest moments of "The Excursion" never approached. Here over again is all that was essentially prose in "Spoon River"—its attitude of probing scientific curiosity, its procession of clinical cases in psychology; this for four hundred pages unrelieved by even an external music of meter or phrase. And if you stop looking for poetry, then you feel that another beauty that might be there, that was there in "Spoon River"—the intellectual beauty of sharp, clean, terse


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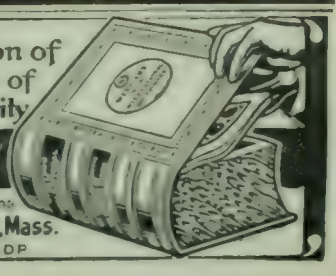
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analysis,—has been diffused and dulled in the process of padding, twisting and filling out to fit the arbitrarily chosen blank verse mould. The book is much longer than it has any right to be. And finally, somehow or other, the people of the book have a stubborn vitality; under a queer gray spell, you find yourself reading on, and on.

*Mitch Miller* is remarkably good, but it is hard to imagine what kind of people are going to like it. It is written that books about children shall be boisterous, mischievous, lively, if possible—and of necessity "wholesome." *Mitch Miller* is a novel about boys, told by a boy. Mitch and his pals, beside being absolutely authentic small boys, are likable ones; so far so good. But they, the persons of the book, do not give the quality to the book. The quality in the first place is that of a small boy's story telling. Now a story told by a little boy is one of the dullest things on earth, creation as it is of ignorance, imperfect comprehensions, misplaced intensities, poverty of language, and painstaking monotonous earnestness. Mr. Masters lets his little boy tell a story in just this way, unsparingly; the chief interest of the narrative, as such, is very largely in the amazing veracity with which a grown man has imagined a boy's point of view. The rest of the interest, and of the book's quality, is in the picture of a small town that the small boy inadvertently, casually, dispassionately gives you at the points where it touches the lines of his real interests—frogs, and fights, and barn cats, and Tom Sawyer's buried treasure. A poor old woman is found dead in the snow; you are left to manufacture your own thrills, to guess desperately why and how she came there. For to the small boy who has you at his mercy she just came there naturally, and the real point is that if you blow thru her hollow arm bone you will find out where lies the hidden treasure. So hints and glimpses come to you, incongruously thru a child's eyes, of horror, dishonor, squalor, the sordidness of small town daily living—in short, Spoon River. A childlike Spoon River—that is why the book is so oddly interesting, and so little to be safely recommended as an orthodox tale of child life.

*Domesday Book*, and *Mitch Miller*, by Edgar Lee Masters. The Macmillan Company.

## Synthetic Stone

The cave man, like the hermit crab, became the tenant of such housing as he happened upon. Later builders made houses by shaping to suit them such stone as they could find. The modern man has freed himself from even this dependence upon nature and now makes his own stone and casts into any shape and size he likes. The story of this *New Stone Age* has been well told by Harrison E. Howe in the latest volume of that popular series, "The Century Books of Useful Science." He discusses first the composition and preparation of cement and concrete, and then takes up its various applications in building houses, roads, bridges, tanks and ships with practical advice about the use of such material about the home and farm. Most people do not realize the importance of this new factor in our civilization and this book will give them the enlightenment they need.

*The New Stone Age*, by Harrison E. Howe. Century Company.

## A Story with a Cutting Edge

There is a certain mercilessness about Willa Cather which is very effective. She looks straight into the souls of her men and women and sets down exactly what she sees. Frequently it is not pleasant but always it compels your attention. A keen sense of the dramatic, a vivid appreciation of the value of contrasts and an unerring instinct for what to leave out make the stories in *Youth and the Bright Medusa* absorbing, tho often far from agreeable, reading. These studies of the artistic temperament in one or another of its forms suffer, however, from the defects of their qualities. Miss Cather is too often scornful of the characters she has created. She looks at them from a distance with hard eyes, and that is a dangerous proceeding.

*Youth and the Bright Medusa*, by Willa Cather. Alfred A. Knopf.

## Essays, Stimulating and Easy-Going

Agnes Repplier likes to tell of a cautious chairman who presented her to a lecture audience as "one of the leading women essayists of Philadelphia." Most of us would not hesitate to remove all the qualifying terms, even woman. There are few minds in this country today as keen and clear as Mis Repplier's; she has an unerring instinct in the choice of words; she has a wide background of literary and historical knowledge which she uses for effective illustration but never for effect; and she has that infinite capacity for taking pains of which we see so little in this generation of rapid, informal writers. Consequently all that needs to be said of *Points of Friction* is that it is the latest collection of Miss Repplier's essays on questions of the day, money, prohibition, woman, psychic authors and so on, with best of all in its irony and originality, "The Cheerful Clan."

It is not quite fair to talk of Winifred Kirkland's *The View Vertical* in the same breath with *Points of Friction* tho her publishers invite the comparison. Don't you know some thoroly estimable people, people who are not just good but intelligent also, even somewhat clever, full of excellent ideals which you approve or perhaps share yourself, and who nevertheless bore you after a very few moments of conversation because they lack that intangible thing called personality? Well, that is Winifred Kirkland—and besides she uses unforgivable words like "tonicy" and "never-worriers."

Essays of a very different type are those in Frances Lester Warner's *Endicott and I*. They are charming little sketches of a family and a home, and

ecords of families and homes are hings to be cherished in these days of partments and independent children. Miss Warner has a delightful sense of umor and a pleasing sense of English. Her chapter titles give an excellent dea of the book. "Endicott and I Conduct an Orchestra," "We Go Sketching," "We Economize," "We Go Fishing," "The Amateur Chessman," Driftwood Fire," and so on.

*Points of Fiction*, by Agnes Repplier. Houghton, Mifflin Co. *The View Vertical*, by Winifred Kirkland. Houghton, Mifflin Co. *Endicott and I*, by Frances Lester Warner. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

## A Choice of Fiction

THE HIDDEN TREASURE OF RASMOLA, by Abraam Mitrie Rihbany (Houghton Mifflin). A hort story of modern Syrian life, replete with elicate comedy drawn from the folkways of he Syrian peasantry.

HEARTS OF THREE, by Jack London (Macmiln). The last novel that Jack London wrote: he story of the search of two descendants of ir Henry Morgan, the famous buccaneer, for uried treasure. Contains much action and any adventures.

AN OLD CHESTER SECRET, by Margaret Deand (Harper's). A mild and smoothly runing tale of village life with some deepening interest around the central figures of Miss ydia, the gallant "little wet hen," and the oy Johnny, whom she mothers when his parnts forsake him.

HUNGRY HEARTS, by Anzia Yezierska (Houghon, Mifflin Co.). Stories of the East Side Jew hat have considerable force and feeling. A reurring effect of strained pathos and sentientality is the result of crude workmanship ather than insincerity; the stories manage to e impressively sincere. The author was herelf an immigrant.

TIME AND ETERNITY. A TALE OF THREE EXES, by Gilbert Cannan (Geo. H. Doran). Anher of those amazing *post bellum* English ooks. Everything that the old England was ot. Unconventional, Unpatriotic, Unmoral, osmopolitan, Bohemian, Neurotic. The three hief characters: a Russian Jew, a Huguenot oer and an erratic Englishman.

## Some Others on Religion

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN UNITY, by Varius Writers (Macmillan). Seven addresses on e subject by seven well-known ministers of fferent denominations—S. Parkes Cadman, ishop McDowell, etc.

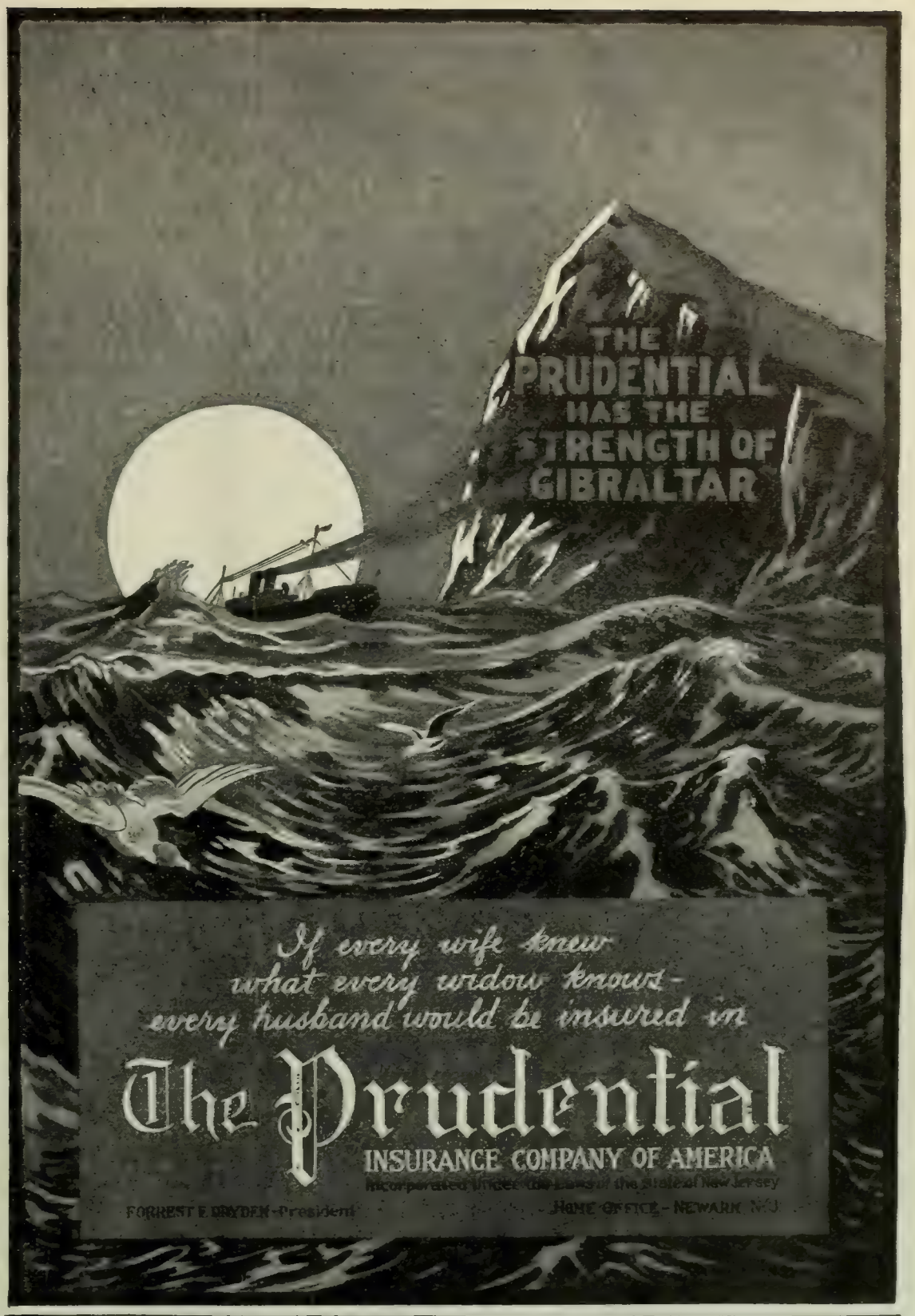
THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW, by Charles R. rdman (The Westminster Press, Philadelhia). A simple and condensed exposition of e book of Matthew that should be a useful xtbook in a minister's or teacher's library.

THE MENACE OF IMMORALITY IN CHURCH AND TATE, by Rev. John Roach Straton (Doran). he New York City pastor whose revelations ve created such a stir in municipal politics, nounces the moral evils of the day in Billy nday language.

OLD TESTAMENT HEROES OF THE FAITH, by ank T. Lee, D. D. (Stratford). Human and adable character studies of a dozen or so rsons of the Old Testament. The book is a od reminder that those were stirring times hen Gideon and Jonah and Daniel walked the rth.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL, by Rev. Peter Green ongmans, Green Co.). The Canon of Manester discusses the oldest of theological oblems and arrives at the conclusion that physical evil is the direct or indirect result moral evil, which is always possible to man a free moral agent. Altho the thesis is conntional the argument is remarkably subtle nd shows the finest metaphysical craftsmanip.

THE NEAR EAST: CROSSROADS OF THE WORLD, by illiam H. Hall (Interchurch Press). This work tlines in clear and concise fashion the political, ligious and economic situation of the various tions of the Near East with special emphasis the influence of American missions, and more cently American relief work, in determining e trend of life among these peoples and with urgent plea to America, as the one nation ost fitted for the task, to assume in some way sponsibility for the future of these peoples.


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PREFERRED CAPITAL STOCK.
DIVIDEND NO. 88.

A dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1¾%) on the Preferred Stock of this Company has this day been declared, payable Friday, April 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business, Wednesday, March 16, 1921.

Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

S. S. DeLANO, Treasurer.
H. C. WICK, Secretary.

**AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY CO.**
New York, March 1, 1921.
COMMON CAPITAL STOCK.
DIVIDEND NO. 74.

A quarterly dividend of three per cent. (3%) on the Common Stock of this Company has this day been declared, payable Friday, April 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business, Wednesday, March 16, 1921.

Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

S. S. DeLANO, Treasurer.
H. C. WICK, Secretary.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

A quarterly dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Friday, April 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Friday, March 18, 1921.

On account of the Annual Meeting, the transfer books will be closed from Saturday, March 19, to Tuesday, March 29, 1921, both days included.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

**AMERICAN CAN CO.**

A quarterly dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. has been declared on the Preferred Stock of this Company, payable April 1st, 1921, to Stockholders of record at the close of business March 16th, 1921. Transfer Books will remain open. Checks mailed.

R. H. ISMON.
Secretary and Treasurer.

**The Electric Storage Battery Company**

Allegheny Avenue & 19th Street.
Philadelphia, March 2, 1921.

The Directors have declared a dividend of three dollars ($3.00) per share from the net earnings of the Company on both Common and Preferred Stocks, payable April 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on March 14, 1921. Checks will be mailed.

WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

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# How to Study This Number

## English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

### I. Editing a Magazine.

1. What is the purpose of an editorial article?
2. What is meant by calling the editorial department "the soul of the paper"?
3. Does your school paper emphasize the writing of editorial articles? Write a list of ten good titles for editorial articles to be published in your school paper. Use the titles in this paper as a guide to the writing of titles.
4. Write a one hundred and fifty word editorial article for your school paper.
5. What is meant by "variety and adequacy"? How can you apply these terms to the writing of paragraphs in your school compositions?
6. "I have never known a teacher of Latin or Greek who was unable to write good English." Why does the knowledge of Latin or Greek aid in the writing of good English? What parts of your work in English do most to show you how to write well?
7. What opportunities are open to unknown writers? Do you offer contributions to your school paper?
8. Mr. Holt names certain kinds of articles that editors do not accept. On what principle do editors reject such articles? How can you apply the principle to the writing of school compositions?
9. Consult the "Century Dictionary of Names," or any good encyclopedia, for information concerning the following authors named in the article: Bryant, Cooper, Longfellow, C. F. Hoffman, R. H. Tuckerman, Samuel Osgood.

### II. Here Are Books—and Books.

1. Explain the following literary terms found in the various articles: (1) Eloquent discussion; (2) Lucid, persuasive and deeply serious; (3) Main contention; (4) Curiously mild and tentative; (5) Developing, amplifying and arranging; (6) Obviously popular; (7) A just proportion of material; (8) Metrical prosy dulness; (9) Sharp, clean, terse analysis; (10) Essays, stimulating and easy-going.
2. Select from the books named the ten that you think would be best for your school library. Give a reason for every selection.

### III. A Number of Things.

1. What is a "paradoxical epigram"?
2. Explain the following: "A simile committing suicide is always a depressing spectacle."
3. Explain the epigrams that relate to literature.

### IV. Time's Prisoner.

1. Study the poem so carefully that you will master its thought. Read it aloud in a way that will make your hearers understand it also.
2. Give an oral explanation of the poem.

### V. Manhattanites.

1. How does the style of the article differ from the style of the news articles? Would the style of the article be appropriate for school compositions?
2. Name the points of serious criticism that the article presents,
3. Write a somewhat similar article concerning "Seniors" or "College Students."

### VI. Are Warships Obsolete?

1. Make a brief that will show the points presented in favor of the aeroplane.
2. Write an original short story based upon suggestions in the article concerning events that may take place in the future. Make the interest of your story center on a principal character or "hero." Bring the story to an interesting climax.

### VII. Who's Who in the Cabinet.

1. Give a short talk in which you summarize what is said concerning the work to be performed by different members of the Cabinet. In what respects are the members of the Cabinet well qualified for their work?

### VIII. Hughes and the League.

1. Give a clear exposition of every one of the seven amendments suggested by Mr. Hughes.

### IX. The Pope and the Y. M. C. A.

1. Find in the article illustrations of the following: (1) An adjective clause; (2) An adverbial clause; (3) An appositive; (4) The object of a preposition; (5) A noun clause.

### X. The Story of the Week.

1. What, in your opinion, is the most important item of news? Tell the news simply and clearly. Tell why it is important.
2. Give a talk in which you summarize all the news that concerns Europe.
3. Give a talk in which you summarize all the news that concerns the United States.

## History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

### I. The Cabinet—Who's Who in the Cabinet. Hughes and the League. Picking the Cabinet. Hoover Accepts. Roosevelt the Third.

1. On what grounds does Mr. Williams assert that it is impossible for a President simply to "look over his party and pick the best men in it" when making up a Cabinet? What "political" considerations have to be taken into account?
2. The post of Attorney-General "was never so important" as now, in Mr. Williams's opinion. What are the powers and duties of the Attorney-General and why is the post of such great and growing importance?
3. What seems to be the attitude of Secretary Hughes toward the League of Nations?
4. What is a "Cabinet"? Do you find anything about it in the American Constitution? What ten Department chiefs are members of the Cabinet? How many of President Wilson's outgoing Cabinet can you name?
5. What are the principal duties of the Secretary of Commerce? What changes in the Department of Commerce does Mr. Hoover urge?
6. Suppose that you were President of the United States what *sort* of man would you pick for each Cabinet post? Do not give names of particular persons, but put to yourself such questions as these: (a) Should the Secretaries of the Navy and of War be military men or civilians? (b) Is it essential that the Secretary of State should have diplomatic experience? (c) From what section of the country should I pick the Secretary of the Interior? (d) Should the Secretary of Labor be a member of some trades union?

### II. The Pacific Question—Colby Protests.

1. What colonies did Germany possess in the Pacific before the Great War? How have they been divided up?
2. Explain the commercial and strategic interest of the United States in the island of Yap.
3. Which are the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" referred to in Secretary Colby's note?

### III. Naval Policy—Are Warships Obsolete?

1. "The chief flying officer of the United States recently likened the proud dreadnaughts of our great fleet to a lot of medieval knights in armor." What is the significance of this historical parallel? What changes in weapons or tactics made the knight and his armor obsolete? Do you think the parallel justified?

### IV. Sectionalism—Manhattanites.

1. How does the "Manhattanite" get his local point of view, so amusingly described by Mr. Crowell? Show the effect of the following factors on New York life: (a) the great concentration of population, wealth and business enterprize in a small area; (b) the influx of alien immigration; (c) the close commercial ties with Europe.
2. If you are personally acquainted with some other big city either in Europe or America compare and contrast it, as impartially as possible, with New York.

### V. Federal Legislation — Congress Passes Tariff. Profiteering Not Illegal.

1. What are the features and purposes of the tariff bill? Why do you suppose it was called an "emergency" tariff? What is the meaning of "protection," "free trade," "tariff for revenue," "reciprocity"? What arguments are there for and against protective tariffs.
2. On what grounds did the Supreme Court attack the constitutionality of the anti-profiteering law? Tell what you can about the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional.

### VI. The Monroe Doctrine—The Costa Rica War.

1. Locate on a map the places mentioned in the article. Note especially the location of the Panama Canal. Why does the Panama Canal give the United States special interest in Central American politics?
2. In what countries in and around the Caribbean have we intervened? How does the Monroe Doctrine justify us in doing so?

### VII. European Politics—Riots in Italy. The Prussian Election.

1. What are the causes of the recent disorders in Italy? Are similar forces at work in Germany?
2. What are the German political parties and what does each stand for?

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## Pebbles

"Aren't you losing flesh lately?"
"Yes, I've bought a safety razor."—*Puppet.*

"May I call you by your first name?"
"By your last name if you wish."—*Yale Record.*

Jack (gallantly)—Marie, dear, anything you say goes.
Marie (quickly)—Jack.—*Pennsylvania Punch Bowl.*

Teacher—Where was the Declaration of Independence signed?
Bright Pupil—At the bottom, mum.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

Journalist—I have an idea for a newspaper article that will strike a new note.
Editor—Good. Most newspaper articles merely note a new strike.—*London Weekly Telegram.*

"You'll be late for supper, sonny," said a kind old man in passing a small boy who was carrying a package. "No, I won't," was the reply. "I've got the meat."—*Exchange.*

Tommy Tenderfoot—Oh, Scoutmaster, I was up to the park today and saw a garter snake most a yard and a half long.
Scoutmaster—Pshaw, boy, garter snakes do not reach that length.
Tommy Tenderfoot—Well, I thought it was a garter snake, 'cause it was wrapped 'round the limb of a tree.—*Boys' Life.*

Wife—When are you going to mend that fence, James?
Husband—Well, next week when Jim comes home from school.
Wife—But will Jim know how to mend a fence?
Husband—He might. He wrote last week and said he'd been taking fencing lessons at school for a month.—*London Mail.*

A little fellow aged five arrived home from school while the family was all at the lunch table. With a disgusted look on his face he said: "Say, ma, some of the kids in our class didn't know how to spell 'sarcastic'."
"Well, dear," replied his mother, "how do you spell it?"
"Me?" he asked. "Oh, I was one of them."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

They were big-game hunters and they were trotting out their usual stock of "reminiscences."
When each had told his best lie the only member of the party who had never been to Africa was asked to tell a story.
"Well, I'm afraid I've nothing very exciting to tell you," he piped in a small, still voice. "I once had a small affair with a lion, but he was only a lion escaped from a menagerie. He bounded on me as he got clear of his enclosure—and, well, of course, I wasn't armed!"
"What on earth did you do?" chorused the others.
"Well," retorted the little man, "I just seized his lower jaw with my right hand and his upper jaw with my left and held his mouth open—till he starved!"—*North China Standard.*

## Remarkable Remarks

VICE-PRESIDENT COOLIDGE—Smile.

LADY DECIES—Mauve potatoes is a new Lenten dish.

KING GEORGE—The situation in Ireland still causes me distress.

FRANCES MACDONALD—All things are more or less adulterated.

LADY RANDOLPH CHURCHILL—There is no such thing as a moral dress.

BERNARD SHAW—I wonder if it will ever dawn on people that I am occasionally entirely in earnest.

WINIFRED BLACK—I know a man who makes everybody in his household go to bed at ten o'clock.

GEO. W. KEELER—Any dealer who sells a soft drink, Coca Cola excepted, for more than five cents is a profiteer.

ANNE RITTENHOUSE—Anyone who has ever eaten curley peters thinks them the best drop cake that can be made.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—Let the Soviet savages know what labor of the civilized world thinks of their bestial system.

G. K. CHESTERTON—I know jolly well that I would not turn out at night to hear myself lecture even if it was a free entertainment.

OLIVER WENDELL SMITH—The overalls of the ditcher are far more honorable than the expensive woolen suits of the divorce court lawyer.

ARCHBISHOP OF BRESLAU—Open immorality has been greatly increased by the war and the national misfortune and if it is not checked the whole German people must go under in it.

DR. R. T. MCKENZIE—If we compare the typical student of the women's colleges with the deep chested vital type like the Venus of Milo, we are apt to become pessimistic over the future of the race.

## Opening Nights

*Cradle Song*, from the Spanish of Gregorio Martinez Sierra. An exquisitely staged and produced sunshine play that may be highly recommended. (Times Square Theater.)

*Nice People*—a comedy by Rachel Crothers, which shows the modern smart set's decadence in manners and morals, and then maneuvers a happy ending by turning the fast young heroine into a farmeret. Francine Larrimore plays the role of a spoiled daughter of wealth to perfection. (Klaw Theater.)

*Mr. Pim Passes By*—and the kindly, absent-minded old duffer nearly wrecks a happy home by forgetting the right name in his gossip. The author, A. A. Milne, has given the play all the whimsical humor of his essays for "Punch," and the cast, headed by Laura Hope Crewes, maintain the impression, so often achieved by the Theater Guild, of being altogether at home in their parts and enjoying them. (Garrick Theater.)



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The Independent
March 19, 1921

# Labor Loses the Right to Strike

## A Supreme Court Decision That Will Encourage Labor Unions to Become Capitalistic Corporations

By Richard Boeckel

Author of "Labor Turns the Tables"

THE Supreme Court is preparing the way for a profound, a revolutionary change in the methods of conducting the struggle between capital and labor in the United States. It is closing the door on the present phase of that struggle, with its strikes and lockouts, boycotts and blacklists. This phase will soon become a part of the barbarous past.

The major strategy of organized labor during the last decade has not been directed solely to the winning of strikes in isolated industries. Its fundamental purpose, under the generalship of the parliamentarians, has been to gain public sanction for certain "basic rights" of labor—principally the right of the unions to undisputed use of their normal weapons against employers—and thereafter to secure permanent guarantees of those rights in the laws of the United States.

This plan, by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Duplex case, has been shown to be worthless. It achieved its greatest triumph in 1914 when labor's "Bill of Rights" was written as a part of the Clayton act, after twenty years of public education. The supposed guarantees of that act have now been wiped out and so far as legal recognition of its "rights" is concerned labor is back where it started from in the nineties.

**Every thoughtful citizen of the United States will find this article worth careful reading. "The Supreme court is throwing the labor movement into the hands of the revolutionists," says Mr. Boeckel, "but they will turn out to be a new kind of revolutionists. They will not be revolutionists of the Russian variety, intent upon making every capitalist a worker, but of the American variety, determined to make every worker a capitalist"**

Not only is undisputed use of its normal weapons no longer assured to labor, but the way is left open by the Duplex decision for the Federal courts to withdraw these weapons one after another. Repudiation of the so-called parliamentarian leaders, whose program has proved so complete a failure, will be the inevitable result.

The Supreme Court, in pursuing its present course, is therefore preparing the way for the ascent to power of new leaders in the labor movement. Two sets of leaders stand ready to call. Both are direct actionists. One group would contest the power of the Federal courts to deny the "rights" of the workers, and would challenge them to enforce their decisions, thus involving labor in a struggle with two opponents, capital and the Government. The other group, whose methods are already being followed by one of the most important branches of organized labor, would transfer the struggle with capital to a new field—the financial field—and use capital's own weapons against capital.

The facts with which labor must deal in making the choice between these two groups are these:

By the Duplex decision the supposed immunity granted the unions by Congress from prosecution under the anti-trust law as combinations in restraint of trade has been withdrawn.

The Supreme Court must hold in the forthcoming decision in the United Mine Workers case, if it means to be consistent, that the unions, when they engage in restraints of trade, have no immunity from the pecuniary penalties of the anti-trust law. They have enjoyed such an immunity in the past, through their refusal to incorporate.

When both of these immunities have been cancelled, the unions will find themselves under one law with the trusts—the Sherman anti-trust act. It is important for them to know whether that act will be interpreted alike for labor, which is not a commodity, and for capital, which is.

In its first section the Sherman act says:

> *Every* contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations *is hereby declared to be illegal.*

The penalties provided for violation of the act include fines and imprisonment, triple damages for injured parties and court orders for dissolution of offending combinations. They are penalties calculated to make the leaders of labor think twice before inviting them by issuing orders for strikes, boycotts or other activities that may be construed as restraints of trade.

If these penalties are to be generally applied against combinations of the workers in the future as they were in the past, before the Clayton law was enacted, and as they probably will be by the Supreme Court in the United Mine Workers case, then the days for strikes in basic industries are numbered.

But how have the penalties of the Sherman act been applied against great combinations of employers—the trusts?

The answer to that question holds the key to labor's future course.

For combinations of capital the Supreme Court has written into the Sherman act in a long series of decisions the word "reasonable." Their operations must result in *unreasonable* restraints of commerce before the Supreme Court will impose the penalties provided by the act upon the trusts.

This interpretation is altogether out of harmony with *the purpose of Congress* in passing the anti-trust law. Congress reaffirmed this purpose when in 1909 it refused the request of interests likely to be affected by the Sherman act that the word "reasonable" be written into that act. The Senate Judiciary Committee in its unanimous report against this proposed amendment said:

> The injection of the rule of reasonableness or unreasonableness would lead to the greatest variableness and uncertainty in the enforcement of the law. The defense of reasonable restraint would be made in every case. . . . What one court might deem reasonable another court might deem unreasonable.
>
> To amend the anti-trust act as suggested would be to entirely emasculate it, and for all practical purposes render it nugatory. . . . To destroy or undermine it at the present juncture, when combinations are on the increase and appear to be as oblivious as ever to the rights of the public, would be a calamity.

This report was written by Senator Nelson, who was a member of the Senate when the anti-trust act was passed, and who may be presumed to have had the exact purpose of that act in mind as he wrote. Congress intended to prohibit *every* restraint by combinations of capital. Nothing in the report indicates any intention to prohibit restraints by the unions.

It must be the Supreme Court's conception of the public interest that has led to its refusal to enforce the Sherman act as it was written, against combinations of capital. Has another conception of the public interest led to a refusal by the Supreme Court to carry out the purpose of the Clayton act, which it has insisted upon interpreting, contrary to its policy in the application of the Sherman act against capital, in the most *literal* accord with what it called the intent of Congress?

What was the "intent of Con- [*Continued on page 299*

# This Changing World

## A New Series of Articles

## By Edwin E. Slosson

## III—Man and His Mill-Race

IN the first article I explained how the expansion of population and personal power that characterizes modern civilization is due to the utilization by man of external energy such as that derived from coal and oil. In the second article I showed that future progress is dependent upon the more economical utilization of such natural energy or the discovery of new sources. For altho we can change any form of energy into any other we can never increase the total amount, and since in every change some fraction of the energy involved becomes irrecoverably degraded and dissipated, therefore the proportion of usable energy in the universe is constantly decreasing.

The last sentence above involves what the physics textbooks call the conception of "entropy" and this is commonly supposed to be an exceedingly difficult idea to grasp, quite beyond the reach of the non-mathematical mind. This supposition is probably based upon the fact that some students in physics fail to get hold of the idea of entropy even after a long term at hard labor on the part of the teacher.

Yet like other fundamental principles of natural philosophy the conception of entropy is latent in everybody's mind and it is easy enough to get a general idea of its meaning if we use a concrete illustration.*

If you have ever seen an old-fashioned New England mill you will know that the water-wheel has been set up in the race between the upper mill pond and the lower. So long as there is a difference in level between the upper and the lower pond the wheel will supply power to grind the grain. The water from the lower pond is drained off down the creek and the miller trusts in providence to keep the upper pond filled by rains from heaven. But suppose that providence for its own inscrutable purposes shuts off the water supply by drought and at the same time blocks up the outlet below by a landslide. For a while all goes on as tho nothing had happened. The wheel still turns as merrily as ever, but day by day the miller sees the water in the upper pond falling lower and the water in the lower pond rising higher and he knows that as soon as they come to a common level no more work can be got from the wheel and his living will be lost.

Necessity is the mother of invention and a seemingly bright idea comes to him. He rigs up a rotary pump and attaches it to his wheel so as to lift the water back to the upper pond where it can be used over again. This works all right, but he finds that the upper level still falls. He suspects that this may be due to the fact that his home-made pump is too wasteful of water. So he sends to town for the most efficient water-raiser that is to be had and installs it. This works better, but he feels cheated, for he bought it to pump water *up* and it really lets more water *down* than it raises all the time. It is no better than a leak in the dam. The harder he works his water wheel the nearer he brings his ruin.

What can the poor miller do to prevent it? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. So long as he remains in the valley, in his little universe, this "closed system," as the physicists call it, he can only see that the leaks in the dam are stopped, that the wheel is kept greased, that the water is shut off when the mill is not working. He ought also to take out his old over-shot wheel that uses only 15 per cent of the energy of the falling water and install an up-to-date turbine that would use 90 per cent of it. This would extend the life of his water-power six times. Then, too, he should get rid of the mill race above and below where water flows down without doing any work and by taking in the water at the highest possible level and running it straight down a shaft onto the turbine at the lowest possible level, he would get the full effect of the total fall. That is to say, he might economize his power in these two ways: (1) by increasing the efficiency of his machine and (2) by increasing the extent of the fall to the extreme limit. These precautions will postpone the day when the water wheel will stand still, but they cannot prevent it.

*For a mathematical discussion of entropy, see any large manual of physics. Klein's "Physical Significance of Entropy" (1910) puts the theories of Planck and Boltzmann in such a way that the non-mathematical reader can get a great deal out of it. The latter half of my article on "The Fall of Energy and the Rise of Man" (The Independent, February 12, 1921, Page 172-177) was devoted to an exposition of entropy, tho I did not dare to mention the name for fear some reader who had heard how hard it was would shy off or shut up his mind. Really entropy is such a universally useful conception that it is worth a little trouble to get a working knowledge of it.

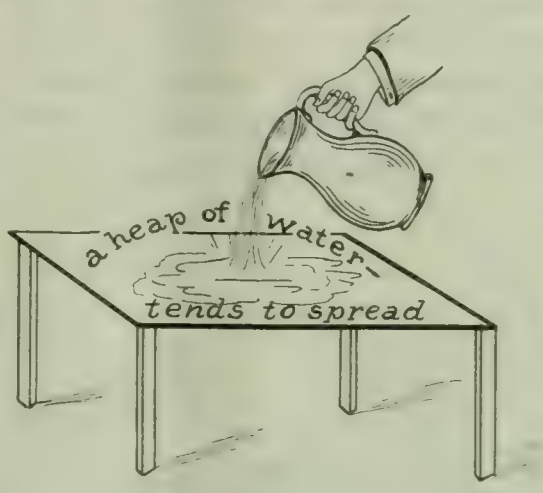
The one thing the miller can never do is the one thing he wants to do most, that is to run the wheel backward half the time—say at night—and raise enough water for next day. But this is a perpetual motion machine and an impossibility. For the miller is up against one of the inflexible principles of the universe, the law of entropy. Entropy is a measure of the unavailablity of the energy of a closed system. It represents the ratio of the unusable to the total energy. The peculiar thing about entropy is that it always grows whatever happens. Whether the miller runs his wheel fast or slow, often or rarely; whether the wheel is efficient or wasteful, the upper level is always lowered and the lower level is always raised and when the two coincide there will be no more gravitational power to be used. A professor of physics surveying the sad scene might be moved to remark that "the entropy of the system has reached its maximum." The miller might sing the old song, "You cannot run the mill with the water that's gone by." But both mean the same. The miller's business has been ruined by overmuch entropy—tho he may not call it by that name. But he has no right to complain of it for it was Nature's striving toward the greatest possible entropy that provided the power for running his mill for so many years. Nature is the great equalitarian, the universal leveler. Man gets his living by making use of such inequalities as Nature has not yet succeeded in eliminating. Wherever he can find a high level and a low level, a high temperature and a low temperature, a high pressure and a low pressure, a high velocity and a low velocity, he tries to set up some sort of a motor that will do his work for him. But Old Dame Nature smiles in her sleeve, for altho man may imagine that he is circumventing her by raising what she has lowered or sorting out the elements she has mixed, she knows that the more frantically man works for his own purpose, which seems the opposite of hers, the more he is helping along her secret aim, the increase of entropy, that shall bring about the end of the world. Just so the croupier at Monte Carlo smiles to see the players piling their gold coins on the roulette table in frantic efforts to break the bank; for he knows that the more money is staked the more he will make and that he is certain to get his percentage of profits in the long run, since his business is based upon the surest thing in the world, the laws of chance. Upon these laws depend the most exact sciences, such as chemistry, physics and astronomy, and the most exact professions, such as engineering, insurance and finance. When we take men in the mass we can calculate their movements with as much accuracy as we can molecules. Demography may become an exact science like chemistry, but psychology never can. The chemist does not know what any particular atom will do, but he can tell what any number of them will do under any given conditions. The psychologist cannot say for certain whether any particular man is going to marry in the next year, but the statistician can calculate with considerable exactitude how many men will marry next year. The greater the number of individuals the higher the degree of correctness. The chemist or the physicist is essentially a statistician and since he has uncounted billions of individual atoms to deal with he can pre-determine their actions with great accuracy. His most exact laws are estimates of probability for he can always depend upon Nature to mix things up as much as possible. Entropy is the measure of Nature's preference for the chaotic condition. "Growth of entropy is a passage from a somewhat regulated to a less regulated state. It represents in a certain sense Nature's escape from thraldom." (Klein).

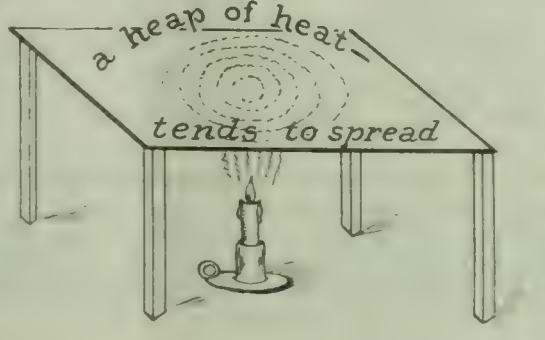
All inanimate activity tends toward increase of entropy and a system in a state of complete entropy can never get out of it by its own exertions.* The greater the entropy the less the power of independent initiative.

THE reason why I have introduced here this lengthy discussion of entropy is because it sets the bounds to man's ambition. It limits his present happiness and future progress. For we are all in the same situation as the poor miller who sees his reservoir running down and realizes that the time will come when his wheel will stop, for tho he will have just as much *water* as before he has no water-*power*. We have the assurance of the First Law of Energetics, the Law of the Conservation of Energy, that the total amount of energy in the universe will never grow less. But that is little consolation for the Second Law of Energetics, the Law of the Degradation and Dissipation of Energy, warns us that the amount of available energy in the universe is growing continually less. In every transformation of energy there is a little loss. In the most perfect machine there is a little friction and that means a little heat has been radiated out into space perhaps never to be recovered in a usable form. The elements tend to combine in their most stable compounds. Matter tends to collect in its most compact masses. Heat tends to become dispersed and evenly diffused. These tendencies taken as a whole appear to be irreversible and their summation points toward a time, incalculably remote, when all things will sink into the eternal nirvana of entropy. It seems that the universe is running down like a clock and that when the spring is altogether uncoiled and all its potential energy is released it will mean "time's up" for the human race.

I say "seems" because that is the general trend of things so far as we can see. But we need not suppose that *is* so, for it would be rash speculation to assume that the tendencies we have been able to observe from our mundane standpoint for a few hundred years will hold everywhere and to all time. The universe may be wound up from behind the scenes at proper intervals or it may have somewhere a concealed mechanism that keeps it wound.

But the ultimate end of the world is nothing that we need worry about. According to the old saying "there are two things that you ought not to worry about, the things you cannot help and the things you can." Now we cannot help the downward drift of energy, but we can help the waste of available energy. It is still a disputed question whether the sun is growing cooler or hotter, whether the earth is growing cooler or hotter and whether the human race is likely to be roasted alive or frozen to death. Man has only been thinking about things for ten thousand years and it is too early for him to bother his head about what is going to happen to the [*Continued on page 302*




*After I have explained a thing to the best of my ability some reader is sure to write in and inquire why I did not "give a definition." I never could see the reason for this hankering after definitions. If you understand what a thing is you do not need to have it defined. If you do not understand a thing you are not likely to understand a definition of it, which is saying the same thing in other and inferior words. The chief use of definitions is in controversies where you want to nail the other fellow down and tie him up so he can't squirm out while you punch him in his weak places.

But it is no trouble to supply a definition. All you have to do is to rearrange any explanatory sentence. Like this: Complete entropy is that state out of which a system can never get by its own exertions.

# "I Am the—"

## Readers of The Independent Respond to Our Invitation to Blow Their Own Trumpets

*Every now and then The Independent invites its family to tell stories around the fireside. Sometimes the evening's game is political, such as those popular sports of childhood, "Pick a President" or "Choose Your Cabinet." Sometimes it centers about the humble problems of daily life such as "How Shall We Spend Sunday?" But we found the fireside circle jammed like a New York subway at the rush hour when last Christmas, being in a jovial and Yule-tidey mood, we asked our readers to join in the game of "What Are You?" A farmer started the ball a-rolling and then Ye Editor caught it up and flung it to his readers. Since then the ball has been tossed about from one trade to another till every job listed by the census man has had an ardent champion to stand forth and declaim: "I am the—"*

*And as it was a farmer who first unloosed the avalanche upon us let us match him with a farmer's wife:*

### I Am the Farmer's Wife

I am the home maker for all mankind. Upon me depend not only all human beings, but many animals.

I arise while it is yet dark and make the coffee and fry the potatoes, without which man becometh a menace to his neighbor.

I darn hose by the lamplight; I patch overalls of naked ones; I have been known to milk the kine and feed the swine when the hired man was spending his substance and the week-end in the bright lights.

My spiritual needs cause me annoyance. While other folk inhale sleep on a peaceful Sunday morning it is my lot to skin a chicken or peel a rabbit for the forthcoming meal; to stoke a sulky range; to wash my children's sticky faces; to rescue the biled shirt from the remote bureau drawer; to race with the clock and at the last moment to evict the spotted heifer from the garden.

In summer kith and kin descend upon me to spend vacations and guests bear down upon me with trunks, canaries and poodles.

In winter the mud surrounds my habitat like the sea; sleet snips my wires—telephone and clothes—frost nips my nose and wind in the attic causes me to grow psychic.

I am the farmer's wife, and without me famine would stalk the land, for without me the farmer would stalk away from the farm.

ANNE COLLINS

Danville, Kentucky

*Which trade should follow? "Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief, tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, ragman, bagman—." So runs the children's rime. Since we dare not assert that one profession is worthier than another we will let arithmetic settle the question of precedence. Of all occupations represented in the hundreds of letters which we received about three out of every eight were from the teachers. From scores and scores of teachers' letters it is hard to select the best, but it is possible to choose the typical; here are two teachers, anonymous by preference, who vindicate their most essential and ill-remunerated profession:*

### I Am the Teacher

I am the heart of the world's work. Without me the nation would sink into ruin and decay.

Thru me lies the only way to peace and harmony for the world. We cannot legislate the nations into right relations to one another, but we can educate them into a realization that it is "each for all and all for each" that will bring what the whole world longs for.

It is thru the school that this education must come and that is the reason that my work is the most important which can be imagined. I take the spoiled darlings from one home, the neglected little ones from another, the children of the poor, those of the well-to-do, and I teach them to work together, to feel that even in their play it is team work which wins.

A nation can survive without many things which we sometimes consider necessary, but her fall is certain if she does not have citizens trained to do their part in her service. I do this training. Thru me the boys and girls become brave men and women, ready to answer their country's call.

Because of me and my work, when the time came for America to help fight the world's battle for suffering humanity, there were no draft riots. My boys had learned in the schoolroom and on the playgrounds that they must respond to the voice of authority and must do their part in the world's work. My girls had been taught that while their task might not be the same as the boys', it was as important and must be done as faithfully.

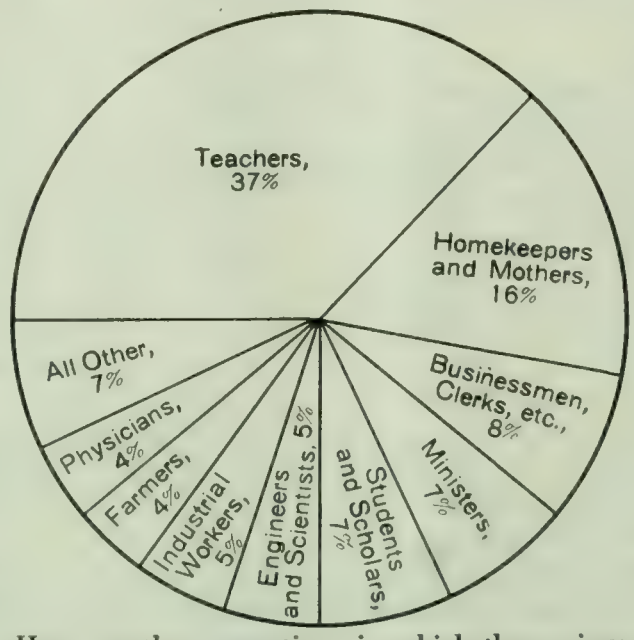
I am often wretchedly paid, but I do not go on strike, because I know that it would be the children who would suffer if I should falter in my task.

My efforts are seldom appreciated. The parents of my pupils frequently do not know me by sight. The taxpayers complain because the school is expensive and sometimes grudge me the supplies and equipment I need. The nation in general pays little attention to what I am doing.

However I am not discouraged. I feel the divinity of my task and that I am "a worker together with God."

I am the friend of all children and I will make any sacrifice for their sake.

I am the teacher.




**Here are the proportions in which the various trades and professions have responded to The Independent's desire to hear from them. Much may be inferred from the chart—or nothing. At any rate, the figures themselves are interesting**

### I Am the Teacher

At about the same time on a cold winter morning that the farmer begins his day's work, I must put on my shell-rimmed glasses and "Sarah" forth to teach the young.

By the time the editor is up and at his work I have already started the fire at the schoolhouse if I am not fortunate enough to command a janitor at twice my own salary, and have done my own dusting if I am thus favored.

Then I am ready to welcome my

little darlings and look after their manners, their morals, and their rubbers.

This done, I may proceed to teach them mathematics and modern art, grammar and good health, reading and republicanism, penmanship and prohibition. . . .

Let the editor indeed call attention to the ups and downs of his calling. But let him bear in mind that unless he remembers, and makes others remember, the downs in ours, his descendants will not only split infinitives but misspell "cat" because the last teacher has given up the struggle to keep body and soul together and teach the First Reader.

The farmer is indeed of first importance to the nation, but let him not forget that unless he and his dependents give more liberally in the form of school taxes the large class of educational eaters and wearers will be removed by starvation, and the farmer's children will not know enough arithmetic to compute their profits.

I am the teacher.

*And especially the teacher of the very little chaps:*

## I Am the Primary School Teacher

Do you ask if my profession is "almost as noble and indispensable as agriculture or journalism"? Mr. Editor, you are trying to be humorous!

My nobility? I am Her Majesty, the Queen. I sit on my throne, and graciously permit my adoring subjects to enter the presence-room and do homage. It is an august chamber, and my slightest word, or nod, or glance is law, and they render quick and glad obedience. My reasoned judgment and my unreasonable whim are alike to them. They obey. I lift my scepter, and they are all attention. With that same scepter I touch map, or board, or chart, and their eyes and minds follow. When I will, I set in operation attention, interest, imagination, memory, judgment and reason. Other sovereigns may hold sway over the bodies of their subjects, but I am sovereign also of their minds. They are not only my subjects, but also my slaves, and so eager to serve me are they that permission to render the most menial service is counted a coveted honor. I am their most noble and august queen.

How indispensable? Without me, Mr. Editor, your occupation would be gone. You would have no occasion to split infinitives, for you would have nothing to edit. And that self-complacent farmer—without me, where would he be? Lodged in some vast wilderness, a farmer no longer, but only an ignorant peasant, one of the great horde of the uncivilized, living on yams, and berries and bark.

I am all that is most valuable. I am educator. I am doctor to treat and nurse to tend. I am alienist to recognize defectives, let the authorities then do with them what they may. I am prosecuting attorney, defendant's counsel, judge and jury all in one, and often witness also. I am preacher to point the way, and I mother them all.

I am sun and shower to warm and water these shoots, and as they grow so tend that some may become Greeleys or Galli-Curcis, some Beechers or Bryans, Lincolns or Longfellows; and all will have noble purpose.

I am the cornerstone of the nation, and the foundation wall of civilization.

Still, all the time I am only the modest little primary school teacher.

MABEL CRABBE ALLEN

Rochester, New York

## You and Your Job

**When we were at school we found out that a teacher who was any good thought that his course ought to be the backbone of the whole curriculum. It is all right to be modest about how well one is doing one's job but it is fatal to be modest about the job itself. It is most inspiring to find that so many of our readers have found the work in which they can take pride. The more of this sort of "class consciousness" the better for the nation, for it is the envy that the misplaced or incompetent man feels for the other fellow's job which is the real cause of industrial unrest. If you are doing the work God made you to do you should feel that your job is not a "cog in the machinery" but the very mainspring of American life. If you do feel that way the chances are that you are right!**

*Next in number to the teachers were the home makers: the mothers, housewives, cooks and others of domestic occupation—all being branches of the oldest, the most universal, the most human of professions: the profession of Eve when she raised Cain (no pun intended), the profession of the cave mother who "kept the home fires burning" while Friend Husband was out hunting, or being hunted by, the cave bear and the saber-toothed tiger:*

## I Am the House Wife

I am the alarm clock that awakens hubby at 5.30 with an accurately timed jab in the ribs.

Because of my industry the home prospers. Its peace and charm is maintained by me. Its great comfort is the work of my good hands, producing furrows on my brow and callouses at the base of each digit.

I am the supreme producer of the world, for without my sons there could be no wars, farmers or editors.

I am the medium between agriculture and journalism and several other combinations.

I am the incentive which sends both the farmer and editor forth to toil and bring home the bacon.

I, too, burn the midnight oil, patching the kiddies' stockings or playing bridge, according to my station.

Birds are my companions also, little bluebirds, who fly forth at nine and return at four, full of knowledge and empty of provender.

If it were not for me America would still belong to the wild; for no homes are built without me.

And I serve for the love of those whom I serve, asking no other compensation.

I am the housewife.

P. S.—And I like my job.

IVA EMERSON

Kadoduk, South Dakota

*Let's play it is Sunday and listen to the preacher; tho it might be well to listen to him at other times also:*

## I Am the Preacher

I am the goat for all mankind. When all others refuse to be cussed for things done or not done, in church or state, blame it all on the preacher. And yet,

I take the spare time and spent energy of a few people, and together we keep the home fires burning and the altar flames from dying out.

I feel responsible for the education of the youth of our land. I look with pride upon the many colleges and universities that some preacher nursed to life.

I am proud, that when in times of imminent peril and danger my country needed help to maintain the morale of the people, she called on me, the preacher.

If it were not for the preacher there would be few orphan asylums, hospitals, homes for the aged and indigent. There would be no missionaries at home or abroad blazing the trail for the arts of civilization and commerce.

I feel the pulse of the world. I hear its cries of pain and sorrow. I rejoice with those that rejoice and weep with those that weep. I hear the sobs of the mother by the side of the empty cradle. I hear the last low whispers of the dying. I march with that procession unutterably sad, as it bears some loved one to its resting place. I am the preacher.

And when I get lonesome I remember that great brotherhood of noble men who were preachers. Men like Peter and Paul in the beginning, followed by such men as Luther, Wesley, Whitefield, Beecher [*Continued on page 303*

# Business in the Doldrums

## By Archer Wall Douglas

IF it is your good fortune, as it is mine, to wander here and there over the face of this great country of ours, you cannot fail to be struck with two facts: the monotonous sameness of business conditions everywhere, and the widely different causes which led to this result.

The South reflects vividly the European situation—tragic and pathetic beyond the telling—in the decreased demand for cotton which, for the time being, has put the Cotton Belt out of business. It matters not that the South is more diversified in crops than ever before and raises more food for man and beast. For cotton is still the great money crop; and, as one traveling salesman expressed it, "We have everything but money." In the midst of plenty the South is short of funds because its real wealth cannot be readily translated into liquid capital. So serious, and so paradoxical, is the situation that the great rice crop is practically unsalable at any price altho millions are starving in China for the want of it.

It is not the first time that the South has "gone broke" because of low prices due to over-abundant production of cotton. The answer will be as in the past: more economy and more production of foodstuffs and livestock. Then, by next fall, a thoro liquidation and returning prosperity of a wholesome, substantial sort.

In the field of industry the ultimate consumer plays the star part and is in absolute control of the situation, as some belated dealers and producers have yet to realize. The consumer will not buy, save at lower prices. Sooner or later, Mahomet must go to the Mountain. Elaborate arguments by interested persons to the effect that war prices should not be reduced are a mere waste of time and only delay the return of better times. On the whole, prices continue to fall and the end is not yet; nor will it be for some months to come. Not so much a steady decline without interruption, as a general downward drift with occasional upward spurts as demand temporarily overtakes supply. Already we have arrived at the point where each commodity must be judged on its own merits by the peculiar conditions affecting its production; thus copper, tin, most textiles, and some finished forms of leather have nearly touched bottom.

Because the consumer will only buy at reduced prices, industry halts or continues uncertainly, with lessened production and much unemployment. Yet it makes some headway. The average merchant is still purchasing for his immediate needs and maintains a far better assortment than might have been expected. He refuses, very wisely, to plan far ahead because of the uncertainty of the future and the continued decline in prices; for no one cares to buy on a falling market. Incidentally, the course of prices during the past few months has effectually disproved the theory that prices are mainly determined by the amount of money in circulation, for prices have been steadily falling, while the amount of money in circulation has steadily increased. On the whole readjustment continues more rapidly in industry than in agriculture. Mills are resuming, on a reduced output and usually with lower wage scales. Their present problem is to adjust prices to present conditions, to awake a sleeping or suspicious demand. For the public still has very great purchasing power, in spite of unemployment and cuts in wages.

In the grain states the enormous harvests of last year still largely remain on the farm because of a precipitate decline in prices which led the farmer to refuse to seek a market. As country banks are generally extended to their limit by loans on agricultural products which have largely depreciated in price, they are very naturally refusing further credit either to farmers or to country merchants. The country storekeeper, in his turn, cannot discharge his obligations to the wholesaler while he cannot collect from the farmer, and so in self-protection he has adopted a "strictly cash" basis for his sales. Now, ready money is scarce with the farmer, and when he is unable or unwilling to obtain cash by selling his commodities at current prices and cannot get credit from the banks, then there is scant business in the countryside.

This same deadlock and lack of demand exists in every business. Mines are running on short time or are shut down altogether. Decreasing oil production is accompanied by falling prices. There is practically no market for the great stock of wool on hand, with a new clip coming this spring. And so on to the end of the chapter.

The worst has now been told. Let us look at the other side of the shield for a moment. General sentiment concerning future prospects is cheerful, even optimistic, no matter how dark may be the present. There is no thought anywhere of more than passing difficulties. Buying is on a slowly increasing scale. The crops are beginning to move. Country banks are renewing credits. Planting in the South is already well under way. The cost of living is going down from natural economic causes, tho years of frenzied discussion and fantastic remedies have failed to lower it. There are signs of a revival of building in all parts of the country. In a word, our domestic situation is sound at heart and will recover in time if we furnish the requisite remedies: Patience, Common Sense, Constructive Thought and Effort.

The core of the matter, which is becoming daily more apparent to the country, is that there can be no sound and enduring prosperity in America until there is a more satisfactory and more human settlement of the dire distress and the world-shaking problems on the other side of the Atlantic. For no nation can live to itself alone.

# "His Easy, Unswept Hearth He Lends"

## By Franklin H. Giddings

THE failure of any attempt to restrict immigration before the expiration of the Sixty-sixth Congress was foreseen. The bill that President Wilson disposed of by the pocket veto was a product of crude and hurried attempts to "do something." Not much thinking and not much conscientious devotion to the public interest had gone into it. It was, however, an assertion of the obligation of the Federal Government to control immigration instead of letting immigration control the Federal Government.

Dr. Schurman in a recent lecture concisely summarized a mass of statistical material in the following outstanding ratios:

> We now have in the United States, of all the Jews in the world, 24 per cent; of all the Scandinavians, 17 per cent; of all the Germans, 13 per cent; of all the Slovaks, of all the Poles and of all the Finns, 8 per cent each; of all the Italians, 7 per cent; of all the Dutch and of all the Lithuanians, 5 per cent each; of all the Greeks and of all the French, 3 per cent each.

It would not be possible to put the implications of these figures more simply or more clearly than Dr. Schurman did when he declared that either we can never become a homogeneous American people or we must set limits to the tide of immigration so that a unified national life and consciousness shall remain possible for us.

For the present and the immediate future we are committed to the policy of inundation and dissolution. It is no secret that individuals and organizations are working with prodigious energy to round up the most wretched elements

of eastern European populations and get them into the United States while the flood gates are open. Industrial interests are aiding and abetting, while the advocates of restriction are not only outnumbered but are so far from agreement among themselves that they will probably be powerless until a demoralized country, waking up too late from stupidity and selfishness, enters upon the years of useless repentance.

These new elements, now arriving and about to arrive, are not only wretched, they presumably are peculiarly unfit for citizenship, inasmuch as they are the fellows that are hastening to "beat it" out of their native lands in the hour when labor and patriotism are needed there.

One thing, however, can and should be done. President Harding should and, we trust, will put an end to the scandalous conditions that have so long disgraced Ellis Island. If existing laws were honestly administered at our ports of entry the worst results of our lax immigration policy would be somewhat diminished. Criminals, defectives and dependents are by the letter of the law inadmissible. They have not been kept out. Even bearers of infectious diseases, as Dr. Copeland has recently warned us, have repeatedly been allowed to get by. Further reduction and crippling of the Ellis Island staff will not be economy and will be inexcusable.

The scientific principles upon which a policy of restriction should be based are not obscure, and the drafting of a law presents no real difficulty save one. That one, however, is likely enough insuperable. The American public evidently does not want a law that is either scientific or honest. It wants a law that purports to be something that it is not, and that any sufficiently powerful interest can evade.

But for this fact we should enact a law that would not discriminate among races or peoples as such, nor wound the pride of any. We should admit each year a percentage of the nationalized and American born representatives of each people already here. Then we should exclude individual undesirables irrespective of nationality. We should exclude not only delinquents, defectives and dependents, but also incompetents. Intelligence tests, adapted from those that were used for army purposes and that are used in public schools, should be employed for selective purposes, and would-be immigrants below the grade of "C," as that grade is now understood, should be excluded.

That these suggestions are for the present purely academic is granted and proclaimed. There is not a ghost of a chance that Congress or the electorates will pay any attention to them. So far as this question is concerned, the low grade intelligences and the low grade consciences are in full control. Sentimentalism and selfish interest will go on consorting, as they have been consorting since Adam ate out of the hand of the lady who played in the Garden with the devil.

## HHHH

THE eyes of the nation will be riveted on the four Hs of the new Administration—Harding, Hughes, Hoover and Hays. We have High Hopes for their future Health and Happiness, and we will be disappointed if they do not live up to their "initial" promise.

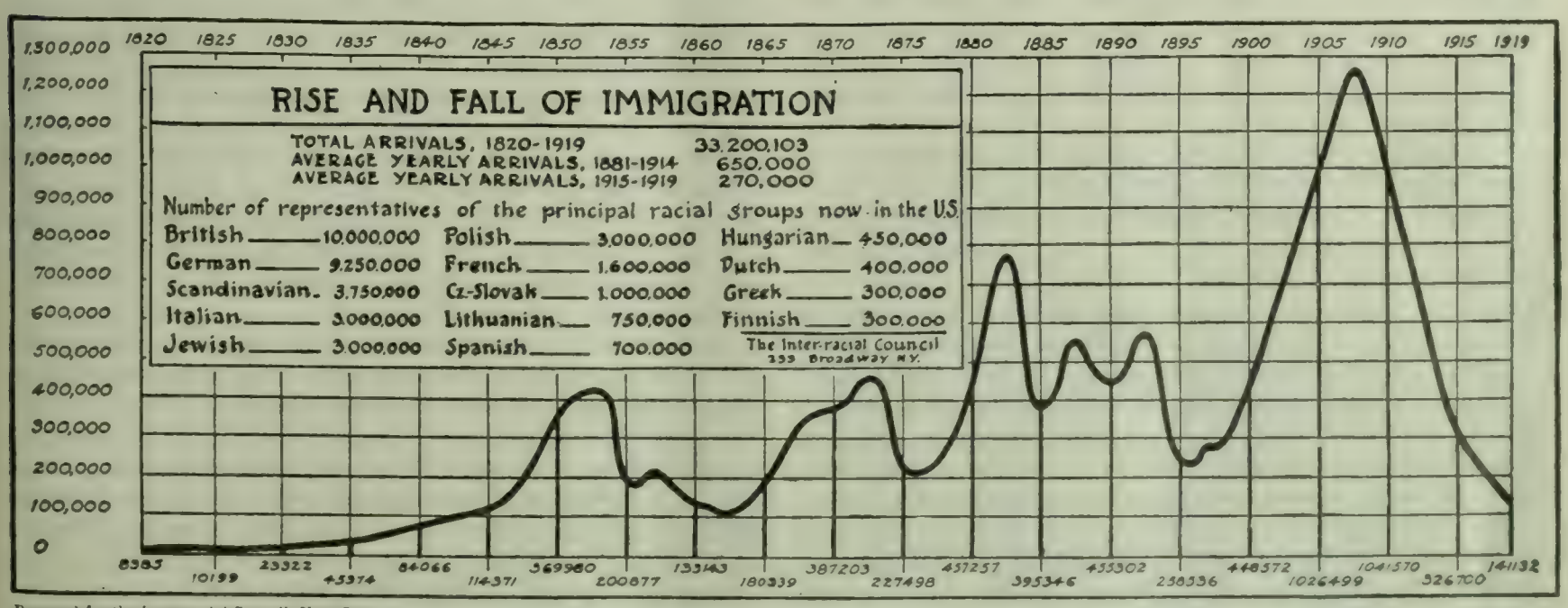
# Must Religion Steer Clear of Reform?

### By Shailer Mathews

AT a recent meeting of the National Civic Federation a paper was read, pointing out the dangers which beset the republic because of radical teachings in church and school. Contemporaneously with this there are being circulated 25,000 copies of a pamphlet endeavoring to show that the new theology tends toward socialism. The purpose in both these attempts is the same; that is, to show that religion and education are properly identified with the *status quo* or at least such types of social activity as do not disturb the *status quo* in industrial affairs.

It was to be expected that the mishandling of their good fortune by labor leaders during the war should have brought about a reaction. Economic depression, too, always breeds reaction as well as radicalism. Nor is a readjustment of conditions to be avoided or condemned. Every broad-minded citizen will appreciate the effort of innumerable employers to make it with the least possible loss to their employees and with the least possible destruction of those elements of collective bargaining which have proved effective in the midst of war.

To an observer who stands just outside the range of the weapons of the present industrial combat, one serious element in the situation appears to be the aggressive attempt at suppression of economic debate and the insistence that teachers and preachers are to keep outside the field of vital social problems. Evidently a teacher of children should not become the propagandist of any social theory and no person should be allowed to propagate opinions which




Prepared for the Inter-racial Council, New York.

The figures giving the proportional immigration from each race need no explanation. And the main line is thoroly clear and logical: increased immigration 1850-1855 in response to the Irish Famine, falling off in the two periods 1870-1875 and 1890-1895, in response to business depression in the United States—a falling off for the same reason around 1907, continuing until the war produced a still further decline in the immigration rate, followed in turn by a sharp rise in 1920

threaten the destruction of our Government. But suppression is no way to cure discontent. The man who would dismiss his preacher because of sympathy with organized labor is simply forcing idealists into the party of revolution.

One cannot organize class consciousness without furthering class conflict. This is as true of the capitalist as of the Socialist. It may be that there are some occasional clergymen who are Socialists. In a pretty wide acquaintance, however, I know of only a very few. It may be that there are teachers in state universities who are Bolshevists, but many such I think will be hard to find. What the impartial investigator will find among clergymen and teachers is a growing conviction that economic struggles must ultimately be settled on moral grounds and that one fundamental element in morality is the recognition of personal rights and personal relations. Few ministers and teachers have any definite program to suggest; but they have a spirit to inculcate and to further. They see that if we are to have brotherhood in business, one party cannot be a brother and the other merely an employee or employer.

One thing is beyond question: the Gospel must be not only praised but applied. If the Gospel means anything, it means that God has shown us the way in which history must proceed if the calamities of yesterday are not to be repeated tomorrow. If the Gospel is really to be applied to the world it must be applied to the forces that make the world and the issues that divide mankind.

If such a doctrine is to be condemned as Bolshevism and if certain aggressive reactionaries are to silence expression of these convictions by an appeal to prejudice, the outcome may well arouse apprehension. It is hard to believe that we are really threatened with any such foolish program. But even the fear of such threat serves to strengthen the hands of extremists. The greatest hope which we have lies in the development of coöperative morale. But if the very parties who must help produce such morale are to fear loss of freedom and personal self-respect, it will be all but impossible to preach coöperation. The need of sane social leaders with balanced sympathies in school and church is too great to risk their being nagged into agitators or stifled into mutes.

# Unharvested Fields of Romance

## By Preston Slosson

BY this time there is probably no country too distant in place and no age too distant in time to have been honored by an occasional historical novel. But for all that the general current of popular fiction tends to seek well-worn channels. This is probably because the novelist is in a hurry and finds it more convenient to use a ready-made pattern than to think out an original one. We cannot blame him unduly for this, for Shakespeare showed the same trait. The immortal bard never by any chance invented a plot if he could find one to steal. But the result is such monotony of effect (since it is not everyone who can, like Shakespeare, give an old theme a sea-change into something rich and strange) that critics have begun to complain. G. K. Chesterton, for instance, declares that "We might almost say that a man is not allowed to write an historical novel except about four different historical periods, about six different historical characters; and even about them he is not allowed to take any view except that taken by other romances on the same subject."

The imagination should be given a freer range. The chivalry of medieval knights, the legends of Achilles and Arthur and Roland, the dashing "cloak and sword" romances of Renaissance Italy and France; the fate of Mary of Scotland, the turmoils of the French Revolution have been adequately treated. Let us leave them alone for a time. The mines of romance are richer than the mines of coal, and even where Scott and Dumas have worked a vein much good ore still remains, no doubt, but that is not sufficient justification for leaving equally rich ores untapped in neighboring fields.

Primitive and prehistoric man has been touched by a few writers who have described the wars and loves of Ugh-Lomi or Wah-Wah and perhaps brought in a fight with a cave bear or the invention of fire. But seeing that the prehistoric period covers at least nineteen-twentieths of the life of mankind there must be many neglected themes for the novelist to handle, such as the migrations of the races, the life on the fringe of the great ice-sheet which covered all northern Europe, the conflict of the stone weapons with the new-fashioned bronze. Coming down to historic times the whole past of Asia is almost a blank in the fiction catalogs, except for Palestinian lore based on the Bible stories or the wars of the Crusaders. The rich and romantic history of India before the English came; the strange old civilizations of Java and Indo-China; the ancient wars and dynasties of China and Japan; the Mongol and Tatar empires that stretched from the Pacific and the Arctic to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean; the thousands of years of Mesopotamian culture; the life of Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor between the days of Alexander and the coming of the Turk—how many good English novels can you recall on any of these themes?

Turning to Europe, what have the novelists done with the sea kings of ancient Crete, even with the Greek legend of the Minotaur to give them a lead? Archeologists have unearthed material in Crete alone for all the local color to supply at least fifty good novels. What of ancient Gaul or Spain before the Roman conquest? What of Roman life in the provinces? (Of the court of Nero we have, indeed, heard more than enough.) The Vikings and Norsemen generally have been popular themes, perhaps because their own excellent sagas gave a model, but on the Slavic half of Europe we have little except translations from Polish and Russian writers. For the middle ages we have thousands of romances of chivalry and yet even here there are patches of neglected soil. A good novel of the peasant revolts, told from the peasant point of view and not as mere background to the wars of the knights, would be welcome. Nor has enough been done with the life of the merchants and craftsmen in the medieval towns, tho the gild was surely as picturesque an institution as the world has ever known.

The French Revolution, and indeed all French history from the time of Louis XI to the battle of Waterloo, has been done some justice, but what about the Russian revolution of our own days? If the mild little Reign of Terror of 1793 has furnished blood and ink for so many pens, why did the novelists shrink from the vast upheavals which followed the Russo-Japanese War and launched the Duma, or the still vaster civil wars and massacres of the last four years? It may be too early for the Great War to produce its fiction crop, but there are all sorts of political and economic movements during the last hundred years which the popular novelist has overlooked. We have novels about Napoleon and Lincoln; why not about Li Hung Chang and Roosevelt?

A few daring imaginations have passed outside this world or projected themselves into the future. The planet Mars and the moon have had due attention, and there have been some fantastic speculations as to the development of civilization on this earth after our generation has passed. But H. G. Wells is almost the only writer of fiction who has used the future as a canvas for realistic paintings instead of mere fancy sketches, satiric or Utopian. That the whole future of humanity should be monopolized in this way by one writer is intolerable. Especially since he adds to it something like a monopoly of the infinite suggestions of modern science, a monopoly only partly broken by Jules Verne and a few writers of the radium-detective school. In

all the discoveries of astronomy, measuring and weighing the stars, tracking comets and asteroids, discovering colored stars in distant solar systems, what new worlds there are to conquer for literature! Physics with its hints of untapped energies in the atom which may revolutionize every feature of human civilization, biology with its grand epic of organic evolution, furnish suggestions innumerable. Science has many uses, and not the least of them is supplying wings to the creative imagination. But of what avail are the wings if the author does not try them on? Anyone who knows how to write a good story and can understand a scientific paper has only himself to blame if he is ever at a loss for a plot. It is solely due to the laziness or ignorance of romancers that most novels have nothing "novel" about them but the name.

## Danger Ahead!

LLOYD George and Briand can revise the Turkish treaty all they want to respecting financial terms, mandates and the like, but if they put Christian populations back under Turkish rule they are invoking new massacres and new wars, and they will write for themselves a sinister page in history.

# Our Mandate Over Mexico

## By Theodore Marburg

A man who is widely known and universally respected for his balance and fairness said to me recently: "Nations do things which, if done by individuals, would bar them from the company of gentlemen." And his observation was true.

More emphasis on duty and less on rights—that is what characterizes the best type of individual and society today, that is what we must strive for within the state and between states if there is really to be a "new order." Unfortunately, certain of our political leaders in the United States have not as yet familiarized themselves with the fact that we cannot lay down a rule of conduct for other nations and ourselves claim exemption from it; we cannot hope to escape the consequences of another assault on the world's peace unless we agree to submit our own disputes with other nations for hearing before we attack them.

Test the President's plan for dealing with Mexico by this principle. On August 28 he said: "I will not . . . submit to any wrong against any American citizen . . . by any Government." "If it (this statement) particularly applies to Mexico the application has been directed by the robbery and murder of hundreds of our own people in that unhappy country, etc." In his speech of acceptance (July 22) he discloses his plan for settling our differences with Mexico arising from these outrages. They are to be resolved by reaching a neighborly understanding. His words are: "merely an understanding about respecting our borders, about respecting the lives and possessions of American citizens lawfully within the Mexican dominions." He terms the plan simple. I leave the reader to judge whether he has not used a most fit word. Is not Mexico, by age-long international practice and by specific treaty, already bound to this course? And will additional promises help matters? Ah, but perhaps Mr. Harding would couple the new agreement with threat of punishment! Well, have we not threatened Mexico again and again? And did we not make two unsuccessful attempts—Vera Cruz and the Villa expedition—to force her to see the light?

The leading brigand and his followers having been bought off with gifts of land and money, lawlessness has at present subsided. But suppose this condition is temporary and we are faced with the necessity of entering Mexico as a matter of duty to our own nationals and others whose Governments are prevented by the Monroe Doctrine from acting! Under which policy would it be wiser to act—the policy of "go it alone" or the policy of international coöperation? The former means entering Mexico on our own initiative. What would be the effect of such a step on the outside world? In the light of certain acts of ours in the past, would Latin America view it complacently? Would not Mexico be the object of more or less sympathy and would not our act rally the Mexicans themselves immediately to support their Government, good or bad, right or wrong?

Contrast with this the principle of action under the League of Nations. Under the League we would ourselves, none the less, be the actors. But we would enter Mexico after the case had been considered by the assembled nations. We would enter it with their approval and as their agent. Could our motive then be questioned by Latin America, itself party to the understanding because a part of the League? And would not the Mexicans themselves realize the utter futility of withstanding the united will of the world and so be far more apt to do what we ask of them? If we are proposing simply to set things right in Mexico, under which plan will we accomplish our aim with less expenditure of blood and treasure? Of course the annexationist will want none of this because the expenses of an expedition under a mandate would be shared by the nations and there would therefore be far less temptation to us to remain in the land as compensation.

There is still another difference between the two policies, a difference of far-reaching import. Granted that we are justified in entering Mexico and do so without previous submission of the matter to a tribunal and without the consent of sister nations. What is there to prevent some other Power, ignoring the fact that it was a backward country which we entered for the purpose of correcting protracted lawlessness, pointing to our example as an excuse for its sudden and unauthorized attack on a neighbor? Could she be easily convinced of her error? Whereas, if we act under a mandate, it is the opinion of the world which bids us go forward and similar action in future by another nation must await similar sanction.

The above is an attempt to discuss the case on its merits. But we must not overlook the fact that the Paris Covenant actually forbids any nation to attack a sister nation, whether within or without the League, until there has been a hearing of the dispute; and, after such hearing, it would shield from attack any nation which conformed to the judgment or award. Whether the rest of the world would attempt to enforce this rule against us is another matter. If so disposed, we could no doubt play the role of swash-buckler in this hemisphere successfully for a longer time than did Germany on the Continent. But with a view to promoting a great principle, if the United States is called upon to invade Mexico, let her—powerful as she is and able as she is to act alone—seek the approval of her sister nations before she takes the step. Mexico, and countries which may be the subject of similar polite attentions in the future, are far more apt to be dealt with justly by the united world than by any single Power.

## Teapot Tempests

THE little "war" between Panama and Costa Rica seems almost like a burlesque of the huge tragedy of the Great War, but it has a serious side all the same. From just such trivial quarrels the greatest conflicts have sprung. In July, 1914, the average American knew as little of Serbia as of Costa Rica. On this side of the water there is, fortunately, a Power big enough and benevolent enough to prevent the wars of the scrappy little Central American republics from developing into Pan-American conflicts; but the Balkan States had no Big Brother to make them behave—they had only Big Neighbors to encourage their misbehavior. If the League of Nations does nothing more than quench the little fires, it may thereby prevent them from developing into the great conflagrations.

# The Story of the Week

## The New President

AT eighteen minutes past one o'clock on the afternoon of March 4 Warren Gamaliel Harding took the oath of office as President of the United States. At his urgent request, the ceremony was marked with the utmost simplicity. There was no military parade and no elaborate White House ball to follow. The clear weather permitted him to address the crowd from the east portico of the Capitol. In the late afternoon the White House grounds were thrown open to the public.

Vice-President Coolidge was inaugurated in the Senate and his address was almost exclusively devoted to a discussion of the high duties and privileges of the Senate as an organ of government. Vice-President Marshall made a speech on his retirement, thanking the Senate for its "friendship and good will."

President Wilson rode with President-elect Harding from the White House to the Capitol, but his state of health did not permit him to attend the actual ceremony of inauguration. He strongly desired to do so, but his medical advisers placed an absolute veto on the plan and, fatigued as he was by long hours spent in considering the legislative measures passed at the very end of the Congressional session, he was compelled to yield to their judgment.

President Harding broke a precedent of long standing in appearing in person before the executive session of the new Senate to urge the confirmation of his appointees to the Cabinet. The Senate acted at once, and without dissent, on all ten names presented to them. The expected opposition to the appointment of Mr. Hoover on the part of some Senators did not materialize. Thus on the very first day of the new Administration every Department had its new chief and public business was well under way.

## President Harding Speaks

PRESIDENT Harding's inaugural address was a fervent and eloquent appeal to the spirit of coöperation and service in facing the great tasks of reconstruction which lie before the nation. It did not indicate policies very definitely and the voters will probably have to await the first message to Congress to obtain a clear idea of what the new Administration intends to accomplish. Some of the more significant passages of the address follow:

The recorded progress of our republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of non-involvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment in each instance may determine.

Our eyes never will be blind to a developing menace, our ears never deaf to the call of civilization. We recognize the new order in the world, with the closer contacts which progress has wrought. We sense the call of the human heart for fellowship, fraternity and coöperation. We crave friendship and harbor no hate. But America, our America, the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations or subject our decisions to any other than our own authority

I am sure our own people will not misunderstand nor will the world misconstrue. We have no thought to impede the paths to closer relationship. We wish to promote understanding. We want to do our part in making offensive warfare so hateful that governments and peoples who resort to it must prove the righteousness of their cause or stand as outlaws before the bar of civilization.

We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, for counsel, to seek the expressed views of world opinion, to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments. We elect to participate in suggesting plans for mediation, conciliation and arbitration, and would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress which seeks to clarify and write the laws of international relationship, and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto. In expressing aspirations, in seeking practical plans, in translating humanity's new concept of righteousness, justice, and its hatred of war into recommended action, we are ready to most heartily unite, but every commitment must be made in the exercize of our national sovereignty.

Since freedom impelled, and independence inspired, and nationality exalted, a world super-government is contrary to everything we cherish, and can have no sanction by our republic. This is not selfishness. It is sanctity. It is not aloofness, it is security. It is not suspicion of others, it is patriotic adherence to the things which made us what we are. . . .

We can reduce the abnormal expenditures and we will. We can strike at war taxation and we must. We must face the grim necessity with full knowledge that the task is to be solved, and we must proceed with a full realization that no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature. Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government and at the same time to do for it too little. . . .



*International*

"SO THIS IS WASHINGTON!"

**The leaders of the new Administration (for in these days of woman suffrage aren't wives leaders, too?) photographed at the railroad station where President and Mrs. Harding were met on their arrival in the capital by Vice-President and Mrs. Coolidge**

The business world reflects the disturbance of war's reaction. Herein flows the life blood of material existence. The economic mechanism is intricate and its parts interdependent, and it has suffered the shocks and jars incident to abnormal demands, credit inflations, and price upheavals. The normal balances have been impaired, the channels of distribution have been clogged, the relations of labor and management have been strained. We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities.

Perhaps we never shall know the old levels of wage again, because war invariably readjusts compensations and the necessaries of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability. All the penalties will not be light nor evenly distributed. . . .

Today as never before, when people are seeking trade, restoration and expansion, we must adjust our tariffs to the new order.



*International*

THE TWENTY-NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TAKING THE INAUGURAL OATH

President Harding's hand is raised as he swears "to preserve, protect and defend the constitution." Chief Justice White, who swore in the new President, is facing him, also with upraised hand, at the extreme left of this photograph. Between them is the historic Bible used at the inauguration of George Washington; President Harding took his oath of office on the passage in it which reads: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" At the extreme right of this picture is Vice-President Coolidge; midway between him and the President stands Senator Philander C. Knox

We seek participation in the world's exchanges because therein lies our way to widening influence and the triumphs of peace. We know full well we cannot sell where we do not buy, and we cannot sell successfully where we do not carry.

Opportunity is calling not alone for the restoration but for a new era in production, transportation and trade. We shall answer it best by meeting the demand of a surpassing home market, by promoting self-reliance in production, and by bidding enterprise, genius, and efficiency to carry our cargoes in American bottoms to the marts of the world. . . .

If I felt that there is to be sole responsibility in the executive for the America of tomorrow, I should shrink from the burden. But there are a hundred millions, with common concern and shared responsibility, answerable to God and country. The republic summons them to their duty and I invite coöperation.

## Congress Closes

THE Sixty-sixth Congress came to an end at the same time as President Wilson's Administration. Much of its work was left undone, owing to the great pressure of business in the "short session" and the unfortunate Congressional habit of postponing important measures to the last moment. The vitally important measures for regulating the coal industry and the packing industry failed to obtain timely action and will have to be re-introduced in the next Congress. The naval appropriation bill was held up in the Senate by the opposition of Senator Borah and other advocates of disarmament. The bill for reapportionment of Congressional representation according to the new census was lost in the shuffle. The budget bill suffered a similar fate. Thousands of nominations submitted by President Wilson were not acted on by the Senate.

Other measures passed Congress but were killed by President Wilson, either by direct veto or by the "pocket veto"—refusal to sign. The much-discussed immigration bill, limiting the number of immigrants from any country to 3 per cent of the number from that country already resident in the United States, reached President Wilson at the very end of the session and he did not sign it. The whole question of immigration, therefore, will have to be reopened and considered at length in the Sixty-seventh Congress. President Wilson also gave a pocket veto to the army appropriation bill, which reduced the strength of the army to a lower point than Secretary Baker considered desirable.

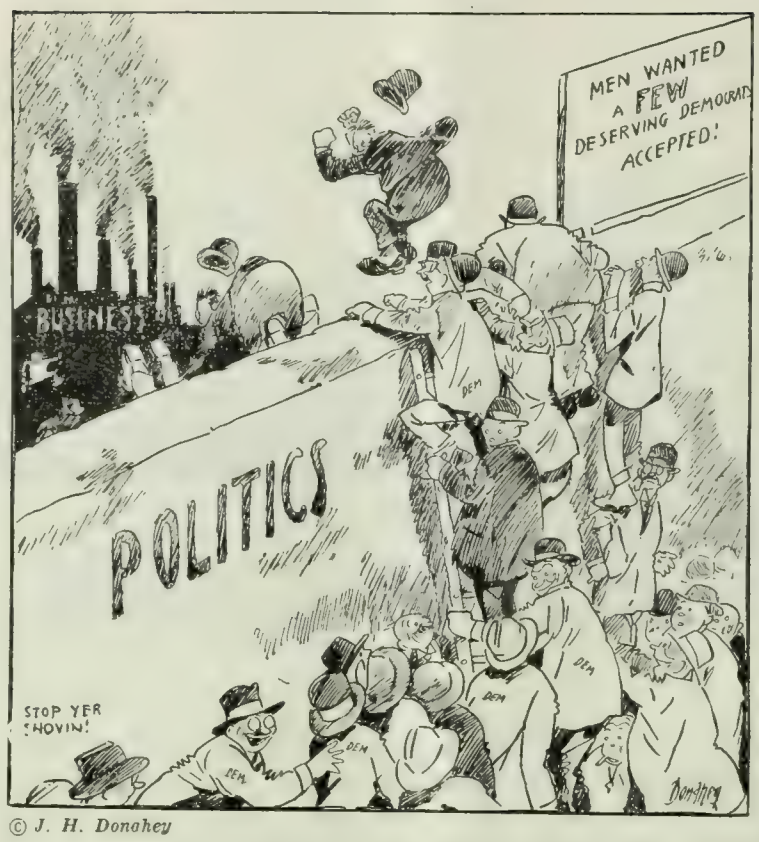
The tariff on agricultural products was directly vetoed by the President and the attempt to pass it over his veto was a failure. In a vigorous message he not only attacked the particular measure in question, but denounced the general policy of a high protective tariff at a time when Europe can pay her indebtedness to us only in commodity exports and when "It would strike a blow at the large and successful efforts which have been made by many of our great industries to place themselves on an export basis." This message, which was almost Wilson's last important word as President, is therefore a last defiant challenge by the great Democratic statesman to the cardinal doctrine of protection cherished by his political opponents.

Altho the winter short session accomplished little beyond passing routine appropriation bills, the Sixty-sixth Congress as a whole has made a great deal of history. According to Frank Mondell of Wyoming, who has been again chosen by the Republican caucus as floor leader of the House of Representatives, Congress reduced estimates of expenditure during its two years of existence by the enormous sum of $3,323,814,607.74. It returned the railroads to private ownership and enacted the Transportation Act under which they are now administered. It repealed the war time laws, and passed many laws for pensions, compensation to wounded veterans, vocational education and other acts "liquidating" the war; but all measures granting a general bonus to soldiers have failed, owing to the difficulty of finding revenues with which to finance such plans. The equal suffrage amendment and the Volstead Prohibition Act were among the most important achievements of the first after-war Congress. Various laws relating to the civil service were passed, and the pay of postal employees considerably increased. The army was placed on a peace-time footing, on the basis of voluntary military service. Other important legislation, relating to the merchant marine, the Federal banking system, leases of coal and oil land and the conservation of water power marked the work of Congress. The Senate defeated the Treaty of Peace with Germany; but the attempt of Congress to declare peace outside the Treaty by simple resolution was killed by President Wilson. A budget bill was also passed and vetoed and the attempt to reënact it in an amended form failed for lack of time in the winter session. Perhaps the greatest unsolved question, next to the conclusion of peace, passed on to the next Congress is the revenue question. There is general discontent with the existing taxes, especially the excess profits tax, but Congress has not yet made up its mind as to what should be substituted for the present forms of taxation.

Congress ended its work in an atmosphere of deep sadness, due to the death of the former Speaker of the House

of Representatives, Champ Clark of Missouri. He died on March 2, almost at the close of his Congressional term, for he failed of reëlection last November.

Representative Clark entered Congress in 1893 and served with but one brief interruption to 1921. From 1911 to 1919 he was Speaker of the House and made himself deeply beloved by both Republicans and Democrats because of his competence and fairness as Speaker and his genial and kindly personality. In 1912 he aspired to the Democratic nomination for the Presidency and obtained for many ballots a clear majority in the party convention, but he could not obtain the necessary two-thirds and was forced to give way to Governor Wilson of New Jersey. He ascribed his defeat to Mr. Bryan, whom he never forgave, tho he became reconciled to his victorious rival and supported President Wilson's administration on the majority of issues, the most notable exception being his violent opposition to the "selective draft" system of recruiting during the war.




© J. H. Donahey

**Another phase of the labor problem**

As more than once has happened, President Wilson gave an answer which surprized everybody. He announced thru Secretary Tumulty that "at the conclusion of his term of office he would resume the practice of law, forming a partnership with Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby." The new firm of Wilson & Colby will have offices in New York City and Washington, D. C., and both men will apply for admission to the District of Columbia bar. Most people have forgotten that Woodrow Wilson was ever a lawyer, and during his campaigns it was frequently urged against him that he was a "mere college professor" who had spent his life in "academic seclusion" and lacked the practical legal training which most of our other Presidents have had. It is true that it is many years since he was in active practice. But after his graduation from Princeton in 1879 he studied law at the University of Virginia and graduated there in 1881. For several months thereafter he practised law in Atlanta, Georgia, as the junior partner of the firm of Reinick & Wilson. Then he returned to academic life, took a post-graduate course at Johns Hopkins and in 1885 accepted a position as associate professor of history and political economy at Bryn Mawr. Lawyer Wilson had disappeared, not to return for nearly forty years.

## Wilson & Colby

"WHAT to do with our ex-Presidents" has long been a matter of discussion in the press. John Quincy Adams and Theodore Roosevelt remained in active politics after their terms had expired, but the rule has been for an outgoing President to retire from politics and either spend the ensuing years in leisure and the writing of memoirs or take up some quiet and dignified profession. Our only living ex-President, prior to March 4, became Professor Taft of Yale University. There was much speculation as to what the next ex-President would do. Would he return to academic life and become Professor Wilson once again, or devote his time to the preparation of a history of the Paris Peace Conference, or carry on propaganda for the League of Nations and world peace, or take the probable advice of his doctor and restore his health by a long vacation?

## Policeman Hughes

THE first act of the new Secretary of State was to put an end to the little war between the republics of Panama and Costa Rica by means of stiff diplomatic notes to both belligerent countries. The abrupt intervention of the United States provoked some anti-American demonstrations in both Panama and Costa Rica, for both peoples, however ill-prepared for war, are not lacking in military ardor. But the two Governments promptly withdrew their troops beyond the frontier fixed by the arbitral decision of Chief Justice White and announced a suspension of hostilities.



*International*

**Porter County, Indiana, loaded the first carload of the 15,000,000 bushels of corn pledged by American farmers to relieve the starving peoples of Europe and China**

Before peace could be restored a number of skirmishes took place between the forces of the two republics. At Coto the Panama forces captured three small Costa Rican vessels and a number of prisoners. Thereupon Costa Rica undertook a new invasion, along the Atlantic coast, and entered the state of Bocas Del Toro. United States warships were ordered to patrol the coast on both sides of the isthmus near the Panama-Costa Rica boundary. The Central American republics of Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras sent messages to Costa Rica expressing their sympathy with the Costa Rican cause.

The Costa Rican case is that in attempting to occupy Coto the nation was but claiming its rights under the boundary award made by Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court. The invasion of Bocas Del Toro on the opposite coast was not an attempt to grab territory, but a purely military measure, made necessary by the counter-attack of Panama on Coto; and, as soon as the United States had intervened, the troops in this region were withdrawn behind the Sixaola river, marking the boundary on the Atlantic side of the isthmus.

The case for Panama is that the award of Justice White went beyond the terms of the arbitral agreement and was therefore invalid and had never been accepted by Panama. In a time of complete peace, Costa Rica, taking advantage of the unarmed condition of Panama, had begun war by occupying Coto and had continued it by invading territory which belonged to Panama without question. The Government of Panama agreed to the armistice, but refused to recognize the boundary claimed by Costa Rica under the award of Justice White; proposing instead arbitration by the League of Nations or by a special commission of South American jurists. The League of Nations has thus far refused to intervene, recognizing the right of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine to restore peace by direct mediation. Had the United States refused or failed to do so, the conflict would unquestionably have come before the League for settlement, as both republics are Member States.

## Yap and the League

THE Council of the League of Nations has replied to the note of Secretary Colby protesting against the Japanese occupation of the island of Yap. Two main points are brought out in the reply; that the United States Government by holding itself apart from the League of Nations had "complicated" the situation, and that the island of Yap had been awarded to Japan not by the League but by the Allied and Associated Powers, acting as belligerents, and that the duty of the League was simply to determine the terms of the mandate. The note declared:

> The League of Nations Council would remind your excellency that the allocation of all the mandated territories is a function of the Supreme Council and not of the Council of the League. The League is concerned not with the allocation, but with the administration of these territories. Having been notified in the name of the Allied and associated powers that all the islands north of the equator had been allocated to Japan, the Council of the League merely fulfilled its responsibility of defining the terms of the mandate.
>
> Consequently, if a misunderstanding exists as to the allocation of the Island of Yap that misunderstanding would seem to be between the principal Allied powers rather than between the United States and the League. However, in view of the American contention the Council of the League has hastened to forward the American note to the governments of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan.

The note further made reference to the American protests against the mandates over former Turkish possessions, especially as concerning American oil rights in Mesopotamia. The Council of the League promises that "No conclusions will be reached with regard to 'A' mandates until the United States Government has had an opportunity to express its views." Class A mandates are those covering the former possessions of Turkey.

## What Germany Offered

AFTER the Allies had fixed the amount of the German indemnity at 226,000,000,000 gold marks or their equivalent, to be paid in annual installments over a period of forty-two years, plus an amount equal to 12 per cent of Germany's annual exports, they called in the German delegates to consultation. The view of the Allies was that the German delegates should discuss details of the plan and reach an agreement as to the method and form of payment. The view of the Germans was different. They regarded themselves free to offer new proposals on behalf of their Government.

Dr. Simons, chief of the German delegation to the London conference, made the following counter-proposals: (a) that the indemnity be fixed at 50,000,000,000 gold marks; (b) that Germany be credited with 20,000,000,000 gold marks for payments already made, leaving only 30,000,000,000 marks still to be paid; (c) that Germany should retain Upper Silesia; (d) that Germany be freed from all commercial restrictions; (e) that an international loan of 8,000,000,000 marks be extended to Germany to get her industries started. According to the first reports in the American press the 30,000,000,000 marks were to be the whole of Germany's payment; amounting to less than one-




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**Uncle Sam is not a member, but—**

seventh of what the Allies demanded—an offer which would have been absurd to the point of insult. But fuller despatches made it plain that this sum was considered only as the principal, and that Germany acknowledged her liability for interest on any part of the sum that remained unpaid. Even so, this offer was so unsatisfactory from the point of view of the Allies that they rejected it without consideration and demanded that the Germans prepare new proposals. In the meantime the Allied Premiers consulted with their military advisers as to the means of coercion to be employed in case the German Government remained obdurate.

## What Lloyd George Replied

PREMIER Lloyd George made the answer of the Allies to the German counter-proposals. Since the English point of view with respect to reparations is much more moderate than the French, it was probably considered best that a stern message should come from the British Premier; thus letting the Germans know that the Allies stood together in rejecting the German proposals.

"The Allied Governments," said Lloyd George, "consider that the statement made by Dr. Simons on behalf of the German Government constitutes a definite challenge of the fundamental conditions of the Treaty of Versailles and

must be dealt with accordingly." He pointed out that the indemnity proposals of the Allies represented a mitigation of the terms of the Treaty with the intent to "induce an amicable settlement with Germany." But the fundamental basis of the Treaty must not be challenged. This basis was that Germany was responsible for the war and therefore liable to payment for the devastation caused by it. In the Franco-Prussian war Germany had insisted that the entire costs of the war fall on France on the theory that France had been the aggressor. But the Allies today were more moderate than the Germans in 1871, because they recognize that "The war charges of the Allied countries are so enormous that it would be quite impossible to ask any country, any single country, to bear them." The Treaty of Versailles demands only "that Germany shall pay reparation in respect of the charges cast upon our respective countries by material damages to property and by injuries inflicted upon the lives and limbs of inhabitants."

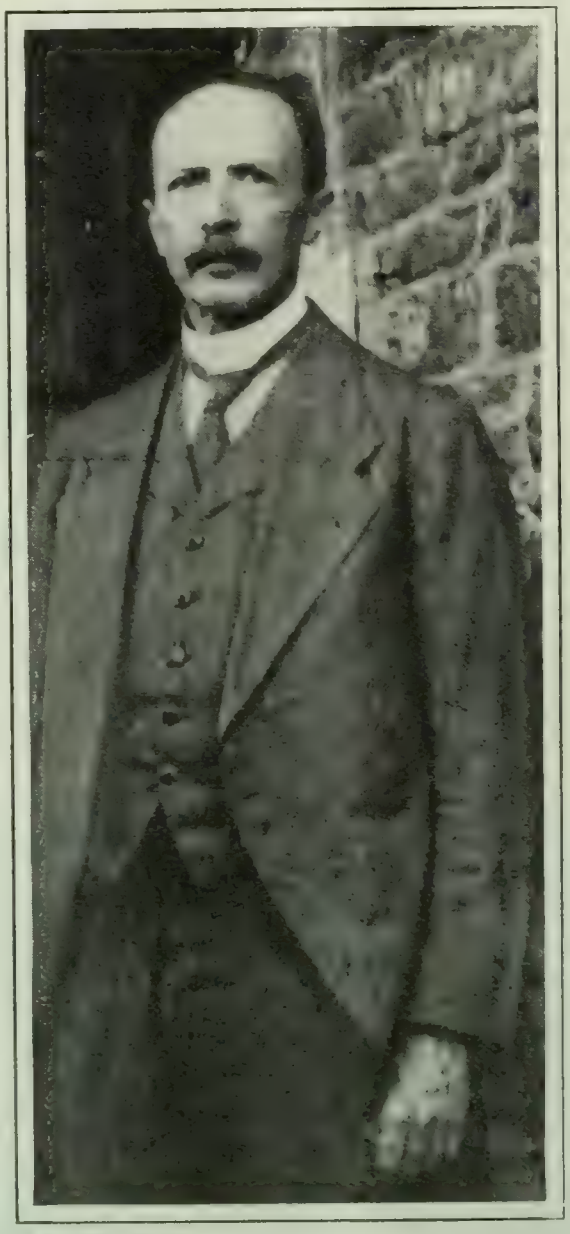
Then he summarized the destruction wrought by the invading armies in France and Belgium, to emphasize the extent to which reparation must be made. In France 20,603 factories were destroyed. 1659 communes or townships were devastated and several thousand more destroyed in part. 319,269 houses were wholly destroyed, and 313,675 wrecked in part. 8000 kilometers of railway, nearly 5000 bridges, 52,000 kilometers of roadway were destroyed.

Also, the coal production of France was reduced by 21,000,000 tons a year, or about half the annual production. In many cases factories were wrecked not in military operations or from military necessity, but with the deliberate and avowed purpose of decreasing French and Belgian commercial competition after the war. The flax industry was wholly ruined. Germany went thru the war without suffering serious invasion and her factories were ready for work when peace returned. "Therefore unless reparation is made by Germany it means that the victors will pay the price of defeat and the vanquished will reap the fruits of victory."

Other nations besides France and Belgium suffered German depredations. Great Britain, for example, had 8,000,000 tons of shipping sunk by the submarines.

But the property loss was not the only economic loss to the Allies. France lost 1,400,000 killed and had to pay pensions to 3,500,000 people. The British Empire lost nearly a million killed and must pay pensions to 1,700,000 people. Moreover, Germany has not imposed on her citizens the heavy taxation which the Allies have had to bear.

In face of all these conditions the German offer is "Not one-fourth of the sum required to repair the damage, and that only on condition that those who need it most find it out of their own pockets first, on highly privileged terms"—a reference to the German proposal of a loan. The Allies would, Lloyd George declared, willingly consider alternative methods of payment, a shorter period for the indemnity, or any other modification of the reparations terms, in addition to the many concessions already made, but the present counter-proposals were "an offense and an exasperation." He reminded the Germans that they had broken their pledge to punish German officers guilty of crimes against the laws of war, that they have evaded and postponed disarmament and had failed to make the required preliminary payments on reparations.



© *Keystone View*

GERMANY'S SPOKESMAN, DR. SIMONS

**"As to the Entente reparation demands, they are utterly impossible, and I shall say so in London. Common sense was on strike when they were concocted." This preliminary speech of State Secretary Simons's was received with enthusiastic approval in Berlin, but when he took the same stand in his counter-proposals to the representatives of the Allied governments it invoked the stern rejoinder of Premier Lloyd George summarized on this page**

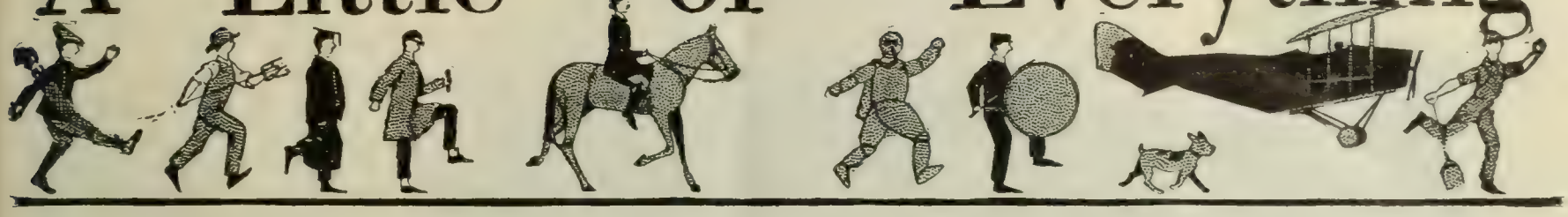
## Coercing Germany

AFTER Premier Lloyd George had rejected the German proposals Dr. Simons made yet another effort to reach an agreement. He was embarrassed by the fact that instructions from his home Government rigidly limited his power to make concessions. He had to say "My people will not have the Paris figures" and that "our figures" must be taken as a basis. But in matters of detail he offered concessions, and offered them in a courteous and conciliatory form. He renewed his former suggestion that German labor be made use of in rebuilding the devastated regions of France and proposed that a temporary agreement for annual reparations payments be reached for five years; the full sum to be ascertained at the end of that period. But these new proposals were still burdened with the old conditions: that Upper Silesia remain German, that equal trade opportunities be granted to Germany in the markets of the world, and that a large loan be advanced to Germany. Lloyd George was compelled to inform Dr. Simons, very regretfully, that the Allies could no longer delay measures of coercion. Dr. Simons announced that in that case Germany would appeal to the League of Nations against the penalties with which it was menaced.

At command of Marshal Foch, troops advanced beyond the Rhine to the occupation of the cities of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort, in the neighborhood of the great iron and coal region of the Ruhr. This was the first step in coercion, but many remained in reserve in case Germany continued to prove obdurate. Thus it has been proposed to make the Rhine a customs frontier, and to levy special duties on imports from Germany. President Ebert protested against the invasion of the Allies, but urged the German people to endure it with calmness.

The relation of the United States to the coercion of Germany is somewhat uncertain. Owing to the failure of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles we are still in a "state of war" with Germany; in fact, we are the only nation that is so. We still maintain a small army of occupation on the Rhine. But neither our technical belligerency nor our participation in the occupation of German provinces west of the Rhine at all obliges our Government to take part in an advance beyond the Rhine or in any other measures of coercion which the Allies may undertake. All that lies in the discretion of President Harding, Secretary Hughes and Congress. On the other hand, to make a separate peace just now would seem to encourage German resistance.

# A Little of Everything



## Westward the Course of Empire

The center of population of the United States, according to the census of 1920, is located in the extreme southeastern corner of Owen County, Indiana, 8.3 miles southeast of the town of Spencer; or, in more exact terms, where the parallel of latitude 39 degrees, 10 minutes and 21 seconds north intersects the meridian of longitude 86 degrees, 43 minutes and 15 seconds west. It is 9.8 miles west and one-fifth of a mile north of its location in 1910.

The center of population has been moving westward ever since the first census, tho never before by so short a stride. Indeed if it had not been for the big increase in California the westward movement of the "average American" might not have marched at all for the last decade. By the census of 1790 the center of population was a little east of Baltimore, Maryland. It passed west of the Federal capital by 1810. It kept moving westward thru West Virginia and Ohio at a pretty regular gait with each new census, going from forty to eighty miles each ten years.

In 1890 it entered Indiana, where it has been ever since. From 1890 to 1900 for the first time the westward march of the population slackened and a step of only 14.6 miles was made, but the development of irrigation in the far west from 1900 to 1910 caused a stride of thirty-nine miles, landing the center of population in Bloomington, Indiana.

If the population of the United States (apart from colonies and other dependencies) were evenly distributed over the country the center of population would be identical with the center of area, which is in northeastern Kansas. The distance between the two points is thus a measure of the degree to which the East is more densely populated than the West. As so much of the West is covered with mountain and dry plateau, it is probable that the center of population will halt long before it gets to Kansas; indeed, at the present slow rate, it will be a long time before it even reaches the Mississippi, whereabouts, no doubt, it will some day come to rest.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the general movement of the center of population is that it has kept to a straight westward track, whether it moved fast or slow, and has never swung far north or south. In other words, the balance of voting power between the East and West is always changing; the balance between the North and South always remains about the same.



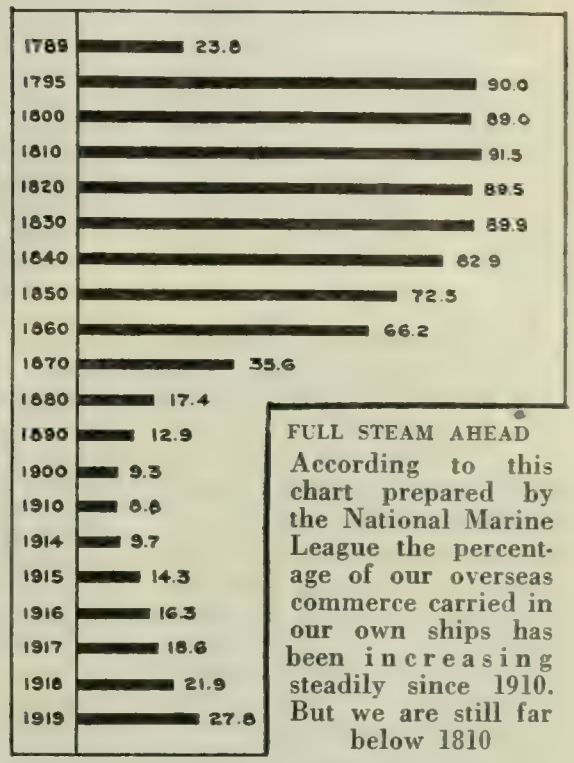

© *Underwood & Underwood*

**Apparently there is cause for pride in having the center of population of the United States suddenly located in your front yard or thereabouts. Eventually, perhaps, scientific calculation will place it accurately at a little distance from Mr. John Herrin's farm outside of Whitehall, Indiana. But for the present the spot is supposed to be somewhere on the farm land, and Mr. and Mrs. Herrin are a famous couple**

## Wait Till You Drive a Zebrule!

The opening up within the last few years of Central and Eastern Africa has shown that zebras, instead of being nearly extinct, still exist in large numbers along the Tana River and in Ukama. A possible substitute for the mule has been found in crossing of zebras with horses. The hybrid is called a zebrule. It sometimes shows the zebra stripes distinctly, but the general color is more like that of a horse.

The zebrules average fourteen hands in hight, and they are very active and intelligent, and better tempered than the mule. The Indian Government has tried them for mountain battery work at Quetta and they are also being tested in France for general purposes.




FULL STEAM AHEAD

According to this chart prepared by the National Marine League the percentage of our overseas commerce carried in our own ships has been increasing steadily since 1910. But we are still far below 1810

## Quarterings

Three thousand one hundred Americans visited Japan in the first six months of 1920.

***

The Paris Chamber of Commerce has instituted Esperanto courses in commercial schools.

***

A group of poetry lovers has planned a "national home" for wandering poets in Milwaukee.

***

Before a San Francisco court a blood test was used to prove parentage, establishing a new precedent in jurisprudence.

***

A British expedition has obtained permission from the authorities in Tibet to climb Mount Everest, the highest mountain peak in the world and never ascended as yet.

***

The French Government has started to build at Sainte Assise the largest wireless telegraph station in the world; capable of transmitting 24,000 words an hour and of receiving 60,000.

***

The Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals has issued a report denouncing the "contemptuous treatment of the Protestant ministry by some cartoonists."

***

The National Child Health Council has just been formed, the member organizations being the American Child Hygiene Association, the American Red Cross, the Child Health Organization of America, the National Child Labor Committee, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, and the National Tuberculosis Association.

***

Thirty thousand motor cars and trucks are owned by the state governments of the United States, including 4500 passenger automobiles at the disposal of officials. Ten thousand cars and trucks are owned

by municipalities; Los Angeles leading with 370.

***

The average salary of persons in Government employ is $1176 a year, not counting special bonuses.

***

The Sultan of Llang-Llang has bequeathed his domain to a citizen of Massachusetts who formerly served as a sergeant of marines in the Philippines.

***

It has been proposed to send coal from the Pennsylvania mines to New York City by underground tubes; forcing the coal by water pressure thru fourteen inch pipes. Experts say this would be cheaper than the present rail transport.

# At Every Turn

## By Prof. W. B. Bailey of Yale University

For the past five years it has been necessary for me to travel weekly during the summer months between two cities in New England separated by about sixty miles. In bad weather I often went by train, but in good weather by automobile over the state highway. On each side of the railroad track and along the highway were scattered signboards advertising and extolling the virtues of various articles. My interest in these signboards increased until I finally decided to count and classify them according to the character of the article advertised. There were somewhat over seven hundred signboards which were large enough to be read easily from a moving train and at a considerable distance. Many of them covered a whole side or end of a barn or tobacco shed, while none of them included in this list was less than six or eight feet square. No attention was paid to small signs nailed to fences or telegraph poles. The result of this classification is shown in the illustration. The size of the signboard depicted varies directly with the number of times this class of articles was advertised along the road. Thus, there were about four times as many signboards advertising automobiles, tires and automobile accessories as there were advertising household furnishings, such as furniture, stoves, lighting fixtures, etc. These seven hundred signboards classified according to the articles advertised were as follows:

| | Per Cent |
|---|---|
| Automobiles, tires and accessories | 21 |
| Clothing | 16 |
| Cigars, cigarets and tobacco | 15 |
| Food | 12 |
| Medical and proprietary articles | 9 |
| Hotels | 9 |
| Beverages | 7 |
| Household furnishings | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

Along the highway the frequency of automobile advertisements was far higher than along the railroad. The same was true with advertisements of hotels, beverages, and proprietary articles. The other items in the group were more heavily represented in the signs along the railroads. Clothing, hotels and household furnishings were almost the only cases in which the traveler was urged to patronize a particular establishment. The tourist was advised to purchase a certain tire, brand of cigarettes, or toilet powder, but in very few cases was he directed to any particular store. The principal change which has occurred in the frequency of these signs during the past two years has been the increase in the advertisements of automobiles and hotels, and a decrease in the advertisements of beverages. Two years ago almost every beverage sign advertised an intoxicant. These have now all but disappeared or been repainted to advertize some different article. In very few cases has a near-beer advertisement taken the place of the original article.

In about a dozen cases these signboards, even when in the country, were illuminated at night by a floodlight. The ingenuity of these advertisers is evident from the location of the signs as they were always most numerous at a curve in the road where they stared at one making a turn. Thus located, automobile headlights can pick these signs up at night, and they stand out distinctly.



**Go back of the photograph, and the daguerreotype, and the painted portrait, and back and back some more, to this earliest known portrait study, dating from 2300 B. C.—the likeness of Ibi-Sin, whom we know from the Bible as Ur of the Chaldees. The portrait, on a clay postage stamp or seal, is one of a collection of Babylonian clay tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. It is especially interesting first as the earliest discovered attempt at realistic portraiture, and second as an indication to archeologists of the physical type of the Sumerians, who were a non-Semitic race**

## The Wisdom of the East

Some Chinese proverbs collected by Roy Chapman Andrews, and handed on by him to a recent meeting of the Dutch Treat Club in New York City.

*If you bow at all, bow low.*

*A man thinks he knows—but a woman knows better.*

*Free sitters at the play always grumble most.*

*I have seen not one who loves virtue as he loves beauty.*

*Only imbeciles want credit for the achievements of their ancestors.*

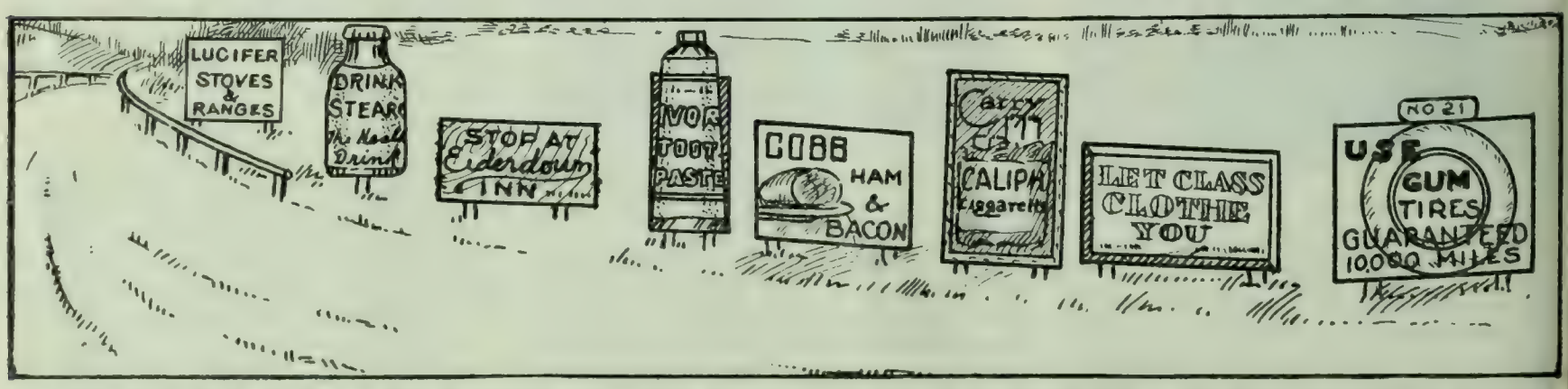
*The faults which a man condemns out of office he commits when in.*

*No image maker worships the gods. He knows what they are made of.*

*One more good man on earth is better than an extra angel in heaven.*

*It is not the wine which makes a man drunk—it is the man himself.*

*If you suspect a man, don't employ him—if you employ him, don't suspect him.*




**An advertising guide to almost any American automobile highway. The size of any single sign in the chart compared to the sizes of the others is an indication of the relative frequency with which its class of commodity was advertised on a sixty mile stretch of road between two New England cities**

## Labor Loses the Right to Strike

(*Continued from page 284*)

gress" when it passed the Clayton amendment to the Sherman act? It could have intended only one of two things: either to remedy certain evils and abuses that had grown up under the anti-trust law, or to pass off on the labor unions the gold brick the Clayton act has turned out to be.

When the anti-trust law was passed in 1890 the leaders of labor were given a certain pledge. It was the identical pledge given when the Lever law was enacted during the war: namely, that the provisions of the act would not apply to combinations of workers.

In the earlier instance, however, the unions safeguarded themselves against a violation of the pledge by the executive branch of the Government by securing a protective amendment to the Sundry Civil bill, an amendment which has been carried in that annual appropriation measure ever since. The amendment provided that no part of the funds appropriated for the Department of Justice should be used for the prosecution of workers' associations, organized not for profit, but for the betterment of the condition of their members, as combinations in restraint of trade.

However, the privilege of bringing suits under the Sherman act was not restricted to the Government. It was extended to private interests, which might also wish to bring actions in the Federal courts for damages resulting from restraints of trade. Thus the Sherman law, aimed against combinations of capital, soon became an efficient instrument in the hands of employers for legal persecution of combinations of workers.

Congress gave no attention at first to the cry of labor against "government by injunction." It was only in 1906, when the unions organized along political lines to "elect labor's friends and defeat labor's enemies" among candidates for Congress, that the campaign of the parliamentarians began to make substantial progress.

The Clayton act, containing labor's "Bill of Rights," was signed by President Wilson, October 15, 1914, with a golden pen afterward presented to Samuel Gompers.

Congress had substituted its will for the opinions of different Federal judges. It had recognized in law that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce" in which employers could have a property interest entitled to protection by the Federal courts. There was no question, the workers were told, that the normal weapons of the unions were thereby guaranteed.

The Supreme Court held in the Danbury case that the action of 186 hatters in organizing a secondary boycott against dealers in hats produced under non-union conditions at a plant against which they were striking constituted an illegal restraint of trade under the




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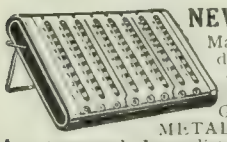
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Sherman act. It held further that the employer was entitled to the triple damages allowed by that act. The homes of the hatters, many of whom had become too old to work while the case was in litigation, were sold and their savings seized to satisfy the court's award of $248,000.

In the Duplex case the Supreme Court, notwithstanding the Clayton act, has again outlawed the "secondary boycott."

While it refuses to apply the Sherman act literally against combinations of capital, the Supreme Court does apply it and the Clayton act literally against combinations of workers. It points out that labor unions were given protection from prosecution as labor trusts only when "lawfully carrying out their legitimate objects." It finds further that the injunction section of the Clayton act forbids issuance of restraining orders only when the unions employ "peaceful" and "lawful" methods.

The act contains no definition of these terms. Who then decides what objects of labor are *lawful* and *legitimate* and what methods *peaceful* and *lawful?* The Federal courts. The Supreme Court says that in its opinion the "secondary boycott" is unlawful under the Sherman act, and in doing so, opens the way for every other Federal court to decide in accordance with its own opinions, prejudices or bias what other methods of the unions are unlawful and may therefore be enjoined. Thus it is established that not one iota of their power was taken away from the Federal courts by the Clayton act—that they may decide labor cases just as they did before that act was passed.

Organized labor might look upon this destruction of twenty years of work with greater calm did it not foresee a still greater set-back in the Supreme Court's forthcoming decision in the United Mine Workers' case. This case is very similar in its essential elements to the Duplex case, and it must go against labor if the court decides it upon similar reasoning.

Both cases involve strikes. In the one case New York machinists struck against installing Duplex presses when their union was notified that other manufacturers of newspaper presses would be compelled to reduce the standards of the machinists they employed, unless the Duplex plant at Battle Creek was unionized to place all the companies on an even footing in the competition for business. In the United Mine Workers' case a strike was called at a group of Arkansas mines, when operators in the unionized Central Competitive field informed the union that they could not increase their cost of production by providing better standards for their employees, if compelled to continue the competition with low-cost Arkansas coal, mined under non-union conditions.

The distinctive feature of the latter case, which makes it of superlative importance to organized labor, is that the Arkansas coal companies are asking that the union be compelled under the Sherman law to pay them triple the damages they sustained as a result of the strike. They claim that the purpose of the strike was to prevent the entrance of their product into interstate commerce. The Duplex company made a similar claim, but it asked merely for an injunction to prevent further damage to its business by the New York machinists.

American trade unions have sought to protect themselves from suits for attachment of their funds in the past by refusing to incorporate. They have resisted every movement for their compulsory incorporation on the ground that the real design has been to open the way for mulcting them of their union funds and thus destroying them as the guilds were destroyed.

The usual method of employers in bringing suits for damages in such cases has been, as in the Danbury hatters' case, to bring them against individual members of the union. Labor unions, as such, have been successfully sued in American courts in a few cases in the past, but the technicalities of the law make the preparation of such suits so difficult as to have given the unions a practical immunity.

Sooner or later these legal technicalities, which result in special immunities for unincorporated associations and thereby encourage activities that would not otherwise be considered, will be swept aside by the Supreme Court, and the unions, incorporated or unincorporated, will be placed on an even footing with capital.

The amount of damages asked in this case is large, aggregating $648,000, but not so large as to bring despair to a union with $21,000,000 of resources, were it not for the fact that an award of damages in this case will make it possible for employers to collect similar damages every time a restraint of interstate commerce by the unions can be proved. The unions would thus be compelled to stand not only their own losses of money paid out in strike benefits, but all the losses of employers during a strike, multiplied by three, plus all the expense to the employers of bringing the suit.

Not much has been said by the unions about this aspect of the case, but it is causing their leaders the greatest concern, for an adverse decision would make future strikes in important industries practically impossible. A group of eminent lawyers in their employ has been at work for weeks attempting to devise some method of again setting up this special immunity for their funds if it is struck down by the Supreme Court,—but no way has yet been found.

The few friends of labor remaining in Congress are trying at the same time to formulate effective amendments to the Clayton act, to make it do what it was really intended to do. This purpose, if pressed upon the floor of the two houses, will be most unfortunate. It cannot succeed, with Congress in its present temper.

It has been the counsel of Samuel

Gompers to the workers in the past not to hesitate to violate court orders or even laws enacted by Congress when they are in conflict with "human rights." It is conceivable that such advice might be given again in such a circumstance as would arise with the granting of an injunction under the Sherman act to prevent a nation-wide strike of mine workers or railroad men, for example. If it is, it will not be generally followed, for such a course would amount to revolution,—and American workers are not for revolution against the Government.

The right to strike is dear to them. It should not be denied them. Nevertheless, the time has come when to exercise that right is for the workers to align themselves in direct and open conflict with the public interest. The workers must recognize the fact that a condition has been brought about by the depletion of the world's stocks of goods in which any cessation of production on a wide scale multiplies the injury inflicted upon employers many times in the injury that results to the general public—of which they are a part.

They must accept the law, and seek to enjoy under it the same advantages the trusts have been permitted to enjoy.

How can it be done? There is only one way; that is by fighting with their accumulated capital as chief weapon *as combinations of capital;* by converting the present union labor trusts into capital trusts.

Organized labor has fought its battles in the past with the very lives of the workers, not with the lives of the men alone, but with the lives of their women and children.

Labor's opponents do not fight with their lives. They fight with their possessions. Against human life they pit a commodity to fight for them—the commodity capital.

Against opponents armed with a commodity, labor must fight its major battles of the future with a commodity. The labor of a human being is not a commodity, but all capital is accumulated labor and labor can, therefore, be transformed into a commodity. Therein lies the answer for the workers.

Facing the situation as it exists, the unions will find all the advantages of remaining unincorporated wiped out. Therefore they should incorporate. They should become corporations organized *for profit.* By this one act they would create an immeasurably better public feeling toward them. It would mean that they had cast aside the weapons, the use of which has done injury to the public, by deliberately cancelling any remaining shadow of the immunities that permitted their employment, for all the supposed exemptions enjoyed by the unions have been conditioned on their being organized *not for profit.* It would mean also that they would begin to enjoy identical treatment with their opponents before the courts.

Thereafter the unions would be in a position to enter the field of produc-


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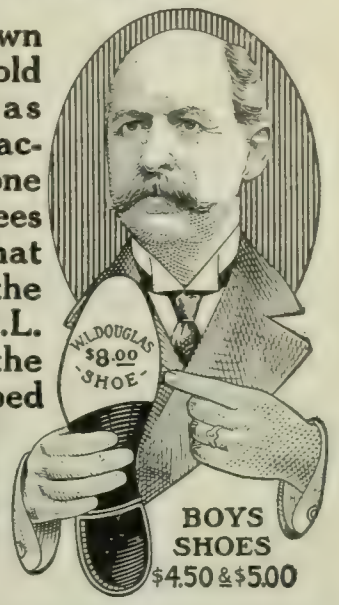
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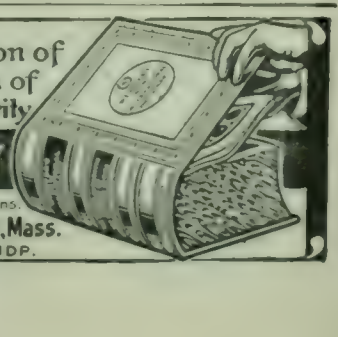
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tion on the side of ownership. They would be able to threaten any employer refusing improvements in working conditions with the taking over of his plant, thru the purchase of outstanding stock or obligations.

It will be objected that the unions have not the capital to make such a policy effective on a large scale, and their present aggregate resources of $100,000,000 in union funds would be merely a drop in the bucket. And it is true. The unions have not the capital—but the workers have.

Without the funds of the workers, deposited in banks, paid to the insurance companies and invested in corporate securities, American industry could not function. These are the principal resources of labor's opponents. American industry would collapse if it had only the capital owned by those at present in control to support it.

The effort of the workers in the future inevitably will be, not to keep their labor something that is not a commodity, but increasingly to transform it by accumulation into the commodity capital. This capital can be mobilized to fight for them, as the unions of machinists and railroad workers are now demonstrating, thru the establishment of labor banks, labor insurance companies and investment companies.

As its capital brought it into control of industry on a wider and wider scale, labor would begin to realize that there is a point beyond which wages cannot be wisely advanced. The increases it could not get in wages it would get from profits. Then it would complete the lesson, learned in part during the war, that it is not the number of dollars a man gets, but the number of things his dollar can get that counts.

The Supreme Court by forcing labor into this new field is not doing labor an injury. It is a very great service—such a service as no other agency could render. Thanks can hardly be expected by the court, however, from the present leaders of the unions.

*Washington, D. C.*

# This Changing World

(*Continued from page 285*)

world ten million or billion years hence. But whether or not the Law of the Degradation and Dissipation of Energy applies to the universe as a whole and the indefinite future, we know that it does apply to this our world and the present time and that it is only by regulating our business in accordance with that law that we can prosper.

For the example of the miller's wheel holds for all other motive powers. They all depend upon some sort of a fall in the form of energy. If not a fall of level it may be a fall in temperature, a fall in pressure or a fall in electric potential. We may imagine all the various available energies of the world pooled in one big upper mill pond. This giant reservoir would contain, besides the differences of light, temperature, pressure and potential above mentioned, such other possible forms of energy as unexploded explosives, uncombined carbon and oxygen and the movement of wind and wave.

Now all of these are only watching their chance to sink to a lower level of more uniform conditions or more stable compounds or comparative quiescence. And man, if he is sharp enough, may slip his paddle-wheel in between the higher and lower levels and so make use of the fall to run his factories or provide his bread. More than that, he has of late discovered how to regulate the rate and time and place of the fall of certain of these energies and even to establish new and higher reservoirs of his own. But his efforts to get the most out of them are necessarily limited as were the miller's, to two things: (1) the improvement of the machinery to reduce the leakage of energy in useless forms and (2) to making use of the entire extent of the fall instead of a mere fraction of it. Besides these he has a third opportunity, which is not applicable in the miller's case, of devising ways of using forms of energy not hitherto employed.

In these ways man may fight back the creeping paralysis that is overcoming the animate world. Entropy is the enemy of the human race. Civilization depends upon our success in combatting it. In this war of self-defense the plants are our allies. They alone have the power to catch the sunshine as it falls and fix it in the form of starch for our food or wood for our fuel. Every leaf in all the world is working for us in storing up potential power, in hoisting more energy to the upper pond.

Wherever you catch sight of a green uniform in forest or field you may recognize an ally in this eternal warfare against entropy. Of course later the interests of the vegetable and animal kingdom come into conflict. We ungratefully requite the inestimable services of the plants by eating them alive and cutting off their hope of posterity by devouring their seed. The weeds that overrun our farms and the bacteria that invade our blood must be ruthlessly eradicated. Still we should remember that the green leaf in the sunshine is the sole support of our life and our civilization.

Here is drawn the first great dividing line in nature, the partition of the world into two opposing portions, the organic and inorganic, the animate and inanimate. On the former side stand the plants and their parasites, the animals, a feeble minority; on the other side all the rest of the universe. As Professor Johnstone of Cambridge states in his "Philosophy of Biology":

Solar radiation falling on sea and land fritters itself away in waste irrecoverable heat, but falling on the green plant accumulates in the form of available chemi-

cal energy. The total result of life on the earth in the past has been the accumulation of enormous stores of energy in the shape of coal and other substances. By its agency degradation has been retarded.

The tendency of all inorganic happening is the transformation of potential into kinetic energy, and the equal distribution of this kinetic energy thruout all parts of the system. On the other hand, the tendency of organic happening is the transformation of kinetic energy into potential energy (1) in the stores of chemical compounds—(2) in the results of the instinctive or intelligent activities of the animal's organism.

The effect of the movement we call inorganic is toward the abolition of diversities, while that we call life is toward the maintenance of diversities.

This minority movement led by man and supported by the plants has recently been raised by certain writers to the rank of a metaphysical principle. Bergson calls it the *élan vital* or vital impetus, the onward and upward rush of animate nature in opposition to the downward drift of inert matter. Driesch calls it "entelechy," the formative force that constructs organs out of various tissues to provide the growing plant or animal with sensibility and mobility.

This question is one of the storm centers of modern thought, but we need not now enter into the controversy. Whether this upward tendency is to be called entelechy or *élan vital*, whether it is the resultant of fluid forces or shows the influences of a Guiding Hand, whether it is a push or a pull, a conscious aim or an unconscious urge, whether it is teleogical or accidental; all such questions are apart from our present purpose which is not speculative but purely practical. It is sufficient that we recognize the two opposing movements, whatever their origin or aim; one an upward and constructive trend and the other a downward and destructive trend. We are committed to the former side both by self interest and moral duty. Our most important task is the study of the economy and utilization of potential energy.

Next month we shall survey all conceivable sources of energy on the earth and consider which of them may be made useful.

## "I Am the—"

(*Continued from page 287*)

and Brooks. And today preachers like Cadman, Kelman, Jefferson and Jowett and many others who in their day and place are the interpreters of the eternal verities. And what more shall I say? I am the preacher. I am proud of it, for "I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation."

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DIVIDENDS

**WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING COMPANY.**

A quarterly dividend of 2% ($1.00 per share) on the PREFERRED Stock of this Company will be paid April 15, 1921.

A Dividend of 2% ($1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company for the quarter ending March 31, 1921, will be paid April 30, 1921.

Both Dividends are payable to Stockholders of record as of March 31, 1921.

H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.

New York, March 19, 1921.

**The Electric Storage Battery Company**

Allegheny Avenue & 19th Street,
Philadelphia, March 2, 1921.

The Directors have declared a dividend of three dollars ($3.00) per share from the net earnings of the Company on both Common and Preferred Stocks, payable April 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on March 14, 1921. Checks will be mailed.

WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

**UTAH COPPER COMPANY**

25 Broad Street, New York, March 3, 1921.

The Board of Directors of Utah Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of $1.00 per share, payable March 31, 1921, to stockholders of record at 12 o'clock noon March 12, 1921.

C. V. JENKINS, Treasurer.

**UNITED FRUIT COMPANY**

DIVIDEND NO. 87

A quarterly dividend of two per cent. (two dollars per share) on the capital stock of this Company has been declared, payable on April 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business March 19, 1921.

JOHN W. DAMON, Treasurer.

THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO.
New York, March 9, 1921.

A dividend of One Dollar and Twenty-five cents ($1.25) per share on the Capital Stock of this Company, has been declared, payable May 2, 1921, at the office of the General Treasurer, to stockholders of record at the close of business April 1, 1921.

MILTON S. BARGER, General Treasurer.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

### I. Unharvested Fields of Romance.

1. Explain exactly what is meant by "unharvested fields of romance." Make a list of the "unharvested fields" named in the article.
2. Define "historical novel." Name the historical novels that you have read. Tell what lands and what periods of history those novels concern.
3. What "ready-made" material did Shakespeare use in "Julius Caesar"? In "The Merchant of Venice"? In "Macbeth"? In "As You Like It"? In "Twelfth Night"? In "Hamlet"? In any other plays?
4. How did Shakespeare "give an old theme a sea-change into something rich and strange"?
5. What "four periods and six characters" are most common in historical novels?
6. Define the following terms that appear in the article: plot, theme, romance, local color, saga, epic.
7. What suggestions does the article make that may be carried out in the future?

### II. "I Am the—"

1. What is the answer to the question, "What makes work worth while?"
2. Write a conversation—a part of a play—in which you show the characters mentioned in the article talking together.
3. Write a short article concerning your own work. Imitate the style of the articles that have been printed.
4. Read aloud "You and Your Job."

### III. This Changing World.

1. The article is a masterpiece of exposition. The subject, "Entropy," is "exceedingly difficult." Most people would say. "I know nothing about it." By what means does Dr. Slosson explain entropy?
2. Point out several puzzling scientific statements. Show by just what means every statement has been made clear.
3. How can you apply the principles employed in the article to the writing of school compositions in exposition?
4. Give a short talk on "Man and His Mill-Race."

### IV. Labor Loses the Right to Strike.

1. Express the principal thought of the article in a single short paragraph.
2. What are the subordinate thoughts that uphold the principal thought?
3. Find examples of the following types of sentences: simple, compound, complex, loose, periodic, balanced, antithetical.
4. Give the syntax of five subordinate clauses.
5. Find two noun clauses. Give the syntax of each.
6. Find examples of the following: a verb in the progressive form, a participle, a participial noun. Give the syntax of every example.

### V. A Little of Everything.

1. Tell why every one of the subordinate titles is a good title.
2. Give a short talk in which you explain any one of the Chinese proverbs. Give a specific illustration as a means of adding clearness to your explanation.
3. Give the syntax of all the words in the fifth, sixth or seventh items under "Quarterings."
4. Write a half dozen short items for your school paper. Select subjects that will appeal to your readers as new and interesting.

### VI. The Story of the Week.

1. Summarize all that is said in this number of The Independent concerning the inauguration of President Harding, and his acts since the inauguration.
2. Read aloud from President Harding's inauguration speech the one or two paragraphs that you think are most worth while and most emphatic.
3. Select from President Harding's speech at least three figures of speech. Name and explain every figure.
4. Explain the following expressions: inherited policy, the inspired fathers, political commitments, economic obligations, abnormal expenditures, inexorable laws.
5. Write a summary of the work of the Sixty-sixth Congress. Invent some form of tabulation in order to make your summary emphatic.
6. Give a clear explanation of the dispute between Panama and Costa Rica.
7. Write an original short story founded on the recent events on the Panama-Costa Rica boundary.

## History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

### I. Trades Unionism—Labor Loses the Right to Strike.

1. What was the Sherman anti-trust act? How was it modified by the Clayton act?
2. What was the decision of the Supreme Court mentioned by Mr. Boeckel? (Hint—To supplement the information in Mr. Boeckel's article you may refer to the Story of the Week item, "Labor and the Clayton Act," in The Independent of January 15).
3. What advantage would be gained by incorporating labor unions as "corporations for profit"? Do you think that this plan would work?

### II. Immigration.— "His Easy, Unswept Hearth He Lends."

1. What sort of immigration law does Professor Giddings suggest? How does it differ from the present "policy of inundation and dissolution"? How does it differ from the bill which recently passed Congress?
2. Prepare a brief for debate on the immigration law proposed in this editorial.
3. Explain the significance of the accompanying chart. At what periods did the immigration problem bulk largest? Why?

### III. Hard Times—Business in the Doldrums.

1. What, in Mr. Douglas's opinion, is the main cause of falling prices? What industries are hurt by present conditions? What hope of relief is held out?
2. Taking the economic field with which you are best acquainted, prepare an essay on one of the following subjects: (a) Hard Times in the Cotton Belt; (b) The Plight of the Western Farmer; (c) The Crisis in Foreign Trade; (d) The "Consumers' Strike" and Retail Trade.

### IV. American Foreign Policy — Our Mandate Over Mexico. Policeman Hughes. Yap and the League. Teapot Tempests.

1. What advantages does Mr. Marburg find in intervening in Mexico with the sanction of the League? What difference would it make in the opinion of Europe and of Latin America.
2. What action has Secretary Hughes taken in the Panama-Costa Rica war? On what grounds can our intervention be justified?
3. What protest did the United States make with reference to the island of Yap? What is the answer of the League of Nations?
4. Make a list—a long one—of the various unsettled diplomatic questions which President Harding and Secretary Hughes will have to deal with during the next few months.

### V. The New Administration—The New President. President Harding Speaks.

1. What does President Harding state as to his foreign policy?
2. What domestic issues are emphasized in the inaugural address?

### VI. Reparations—What Germany Offered. What Lloyd-George Replied. Coercing Germany.

1. Compare the German offer with the demands of the Allies. What differences do you note? Do you think that the differences are great enough to justify Allied intervention in Germany?
2. Explain Lloyd George's statement: "Unless reparation is made by Germany it means that the victors will pay the price of defeat and the vanquished will reap the fruits of victory." In what respects did the Allied nations suffer more from the war than Germany? In what respects is Germany now in a worse condition than France or England?
3. Why is the indemnity estimated in gold? Does that mean that it will all have to be paid in gold, or is gold just taken as a "yardstick" of measurement? Why were gold marks preferred to paper marks as a measure of value? Paper money is worth as much as gold in the United States; is that generally true in Europe today? Taking a gold mark as roughly equal to 2 cents in American money, figure out the value of the indemnity asked and of the indemnity offered.
4. Explain the historical reference to the indemnity which Germany obtained from France after the Franco-Prussian war. Why did not the Allies demand from Germany the "full costs of the war" instead of merely demanding "reparations" for destruction of life and property?

# The Independent

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Hannah H. White
Managing Editor

Franklin H. Giddings — Preston Slosson
Shailer Mathews — John Spargo
Edwin E. Slosson — Talcott Williams

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## Telegratulations
### From John Citizen

**Secretary Charles Hughes**
**Department of State**

Being a Secretary of State in 1921 is better than being an almost President in 1916 eh Charlie stop

JOHN CITIZEN

**Secretary Andrew Mellon**
**Treasury Department**

I need not send you a valentine Andy as I have just paid you my income tax and deeds are louder than words stop

JOHN CITIZEN

**Secretary Herbert Hoover**
**Department of Commerce**

I don't know some of your colleags very well but we all know who's Hoover stop

JOHN CITIZEN

**Postmaster General Will Hays**

Please help us to forget Burleson stop

JOHN CITIZEN

**Ex-President Woodrow Wilson**
**care Wilson & Colby att'ys at law**

Congratulations on release from eight years confinement at hard labor stop Best wishes for your firm stop

JOHN CITIZEN

**Colonel Theodore Roosevelt**
**Department of the Navy**

And if I had a son sir
I'd put him on the crew
And teach him to do the fine old stunts
His daddy used to do stop

JOHN CITIZEN

## Opening Nights

*Love Birds.* Dancing, prancing, glittering, tuneful musical comedy. Just the sort of thing you'll like, if you like that sort of thing. (Apollo Theater.)

Oscar Seagle has a fine baritone voice, rich, expressive, and controlled by the finest taste. In his recital at the Town Hall, he sang old and modern French songs and a selected group of pieces in English. (New York Town Hall.)

*A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court,* on the moving picture screen, is hardly to be recognized as Mark Twain's story. But if you don't insist on objecting to that fact, the picture is very good fun, and an excellent production from the technical standpoint. (Selwyn Theater.)

*Pavlowa* is back—"The Incomparable" still, but with an uneven repertoire and a company whose chief merit is inconspicuousness. Pavlowa is supported by two or three fine men dancers, among whom an American named Stowitts stands out. She is at her best, however, in individual dances such as the famous "Swan." (Manhattan Opera House. )

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## Remarkable Remarks

MME. GALLI-CURCI—I love Chicago.

MARY GARDEN—They say I am beautiful—piff.

THE POPE—Let men follow St. Francis of Assisi.

CHANCELLOR DAY—The great thing today is to be sober.

EX-PREMIER BRIAND—France has no militaristic ambition whatever.

SENATOR PENROSE—It does not matter much who is Secretary of State.

DR. HENRY VAN DYKE—Jazz music was invented by demons for the torture of imbeciles.

ED. HOWE—We Americans are so noble and insincere, while the English are so mean and natural.

WARREN G. HARDING—Somehow I feel the Western hemisphere is our special field of influence and trade.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—I envy my father the necessity he had to make his own way in the world.

ACTRESS VIRGINIA HAMMOND—There is no secret in a widow's popularity. She does not indulge in baby talk.

SCULPTOR R. T. MACKENZIE—The American boy retains more of a certain classic beauty of line than the American girl.

GEORGE ADE—The so-called guests at a summer hotel put in most of their time changing clothes and inquiring for mail.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER—If I read history aright, nothing like what is now coming over Europe has happened since the spread of Mohammedanism.

DR. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON—The naked tribes of East Africa always take a step downward morally when compelled by missionaries to wear clothing.

HENRY FORD—It is a simple matter to take the same cereals that the cows eat and make them into a milk which is superior to the natural article and much cleaner.

DOROTHY DIX—Women aren't the only ones who want to be petted, and cooed over, and chucked under the chin, and talked baby-talk to. Men like it just as well as women do.

HELEN ROWLAND—When all the girls succeed in their apparent ambition to play Lady Godiva, the most charming woman in the world will be the first one who like Mother Eve starts the fashion of wearing clothes.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND—As yet smoking is not permitted in the church, but I do not believe the selfishness of the tobacco habitué will long be denied the opportunity to indulge his habit in the time of worship.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE—I hear in every blade of grass, in every speck of dust, in every part of my own body, in the visible and invisible worlds, in the planets, the sun and the stars, the joyous dance of the atoms in endless time.




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Number 3764

Volume 105



# Of Which She Never Tires

"YOU'RE so practical, my dear, your silver is simply wonderful, and yet you use it every day."

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The Independent
March 26, 1921

# The Presidential Handicap

## We Give a Man the Biggest Job in the Country and Refuse Him Even Ordinary Tools

### By Donald Wilhelm

EVERYWHERE in the world of business, it seems, there is a settled and decisive demand for reform, thoro reorganization—the first in a century of tremendous growth—and rebuilding of the Government's executive machinery.

The engineers of the country, whose specialty is careful measurement of efficiency and costs, are, in this demand, with the business men. Recently they have organized many of the engineers' professional societies, so that their membership, amounting to nearly 150,000, can, with united voice, speak for American engineers. Herbert Hoover is head of this united council, and one of its major purposes is to insist upon and aid in the reorganization of the engineering and related work of the Government, in a Department of Public Works that shall replace the Department of the Interior and consolidate the engineering work of approximately forty separate governmental agencies. Bills directed toward such reorganization have been introduced in Congress.

The public health folk—doctors, state and municipal health authorities, a score of great national associations—among which are the American Medical Association with its 90,000 members, the National Tuberculosis Association, and the National Health Council, with its many subordinate organizations—were and are deeply disturbed that there are so many governmental agencies—thirty-nine of them!—tinkering with the health of the body politic. Bills have been introduced to reorganize public health activities.

Those who are interested in aviation know that there have been twenty separate governmental agencies working with, or at, aviation, helping to spend the millions appropriated for the fiscal year for aviation. And there is thruout the United States a widespread and powerful tendency at work to insist upon real preparedness and satisfactory progress, both military and commercial, in the air. Toward this end bills to organize a united Air Service are also in order.

These flagrant violations against every rule of good business are established—the proof of the need of reform is in. There are thousands, even millions of Americans awaiting the opportunities for concerted action, to demand reorganization along these and many other lines. Doubtless the Republican party was elected to power to accomplish such reforms.

And there are many other duplications or overlappings of function and authority. There will, no doubt, in the nature of government always be more agencies than one engaged in one way or another with each major national activity—one of the great tasks of the President always will be so to check and control and direct and encourage these agencies that they may keep their programs properly related as far as that is possible—this despite the interference of Congress, which has many ideas about administration that you do not find in the practices of business.

The President must—he is by public opinion held responsible for so doing—successfully administer the biggest business in the world despite the interferences of Congress, despite all the thousand and one legal limitations, the red tape over-legislation of Congress. But, by the standards of business, he cannot successfully do any such thing—which is one reason why four years of each new President brings about a common readiness for a change.

And the President cannot do any such thing—a dozen big business men combined into one could not do it—because he hasn't the instruments with which to work.

WALK into the White House and the proof lies before you. Count out the reception room, the Cabinet room, the private office of the President and the private office of his secretary, and you see that the White House offices occupy no more floor space than a fairsized city apartment. Leaving out a small telegraph room and another not much larger, it is the fact that the administrative staff of the President of the United States, who is charged with the biggest administrative task in the world, does all its routine work in a room fifty by thirty feet or so. So you see at a glance, if you are an experienced business man, that the White House offices with their enormous and delicate burden of routine and correspondence, can have in themselves very little to do with the fundamental problems and practices of administration—those parts of an intricate machine that handles more quick assets than a score of our biggest corporations; that has, as Mr. Taft insisted, more activities than all the corporations in America combined, and some real connection with everything American.

Then, if you are not convinced that eight or ten of our biggest business men consolidated into one could not with the existing White House equipment possibly do all that the President of the United States is held responsible for doing, consider the number and kind of his assistants:

The President's secretary.
An executive clerk.
An appointment clerk.
A disbursing clerk.
A chief clerk.
Twenty-seven other clerks.
Two court stenographers.
Six messengers.

Now consider: The President of the United States has in his offices forty assistants. A typical, small, New England corporation has seventy-nine administrative assistants aiding its president, and there are four vice-presidents, generously paid, any one of whom can take the president's chair. This small and extremely efficient and economical corporation has altogether something less than five hundred employees.

But the President of the United States is held accountable for the administration of 400,000.

The small corporation might die out tomorrow—its one function in the world wouldn't be missed. But the functions of the President of the United States, as reflected in the activities of the Government, are literally all over the map of America and the world.

The Constitution designates the President of the United States as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, a good deal more than a man's size job. He is the chief executive officer of the United States, with its 105,000,000 inhabitants. He is the chief administrator also, for Congress, of an organization that is the largest in the world. He is sponsor for foreign affairs. He is the traditional leader of his political party. And each one of these is a man's size job.

He is held responsible for all of these and other colossal responsibilities, and is what big corporation heads call a free agent in none of them. Such corporation heads have, by comparison, a relatively easy time. There are some who arrive at their offices late, pass on a few carefully sifted out decisions and are off to the golf links, perhaps, to ponder broad policies. They play, resting assured that the duties they have delegated to others are carefully followed up, that their boards of directors are understanding souls quite unlike the Congress, that weary, hard-working, much-maligned ingathering old man of the world, and that they are not persistently followed and haunted by the big ogre eye of public opinion, which watches the President coming and going, critically and all the time.

But the President of the United States has few consolations, it seems—not even that of knowing day-by-day, or week-by-week, or month-by-month, what is going on in more than a few spots of the great machine beneath him, for he hasn't the means to know. He learns of many mistakes—from the press, from Congress or interested citizens—quite too late to avert consequences.

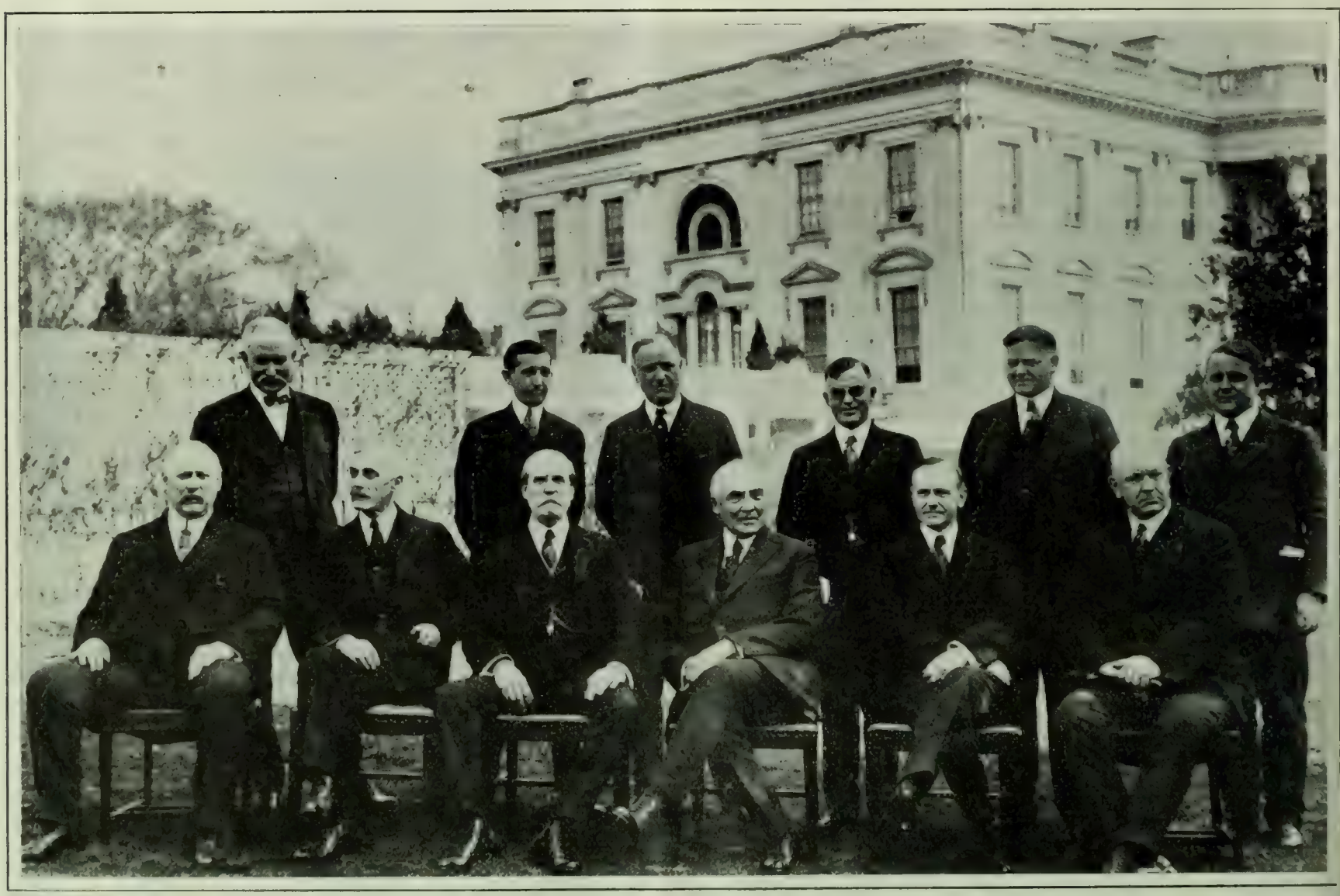
And then you run back comparatively few years and learn that since before President McKinley's administration the concept of the President's offices has not changed; they were then as now mainly reception and conference rooms.

President McKinley's secretary, George B. Cortelyou, later Secretary of the Treasurer and now the president of a large public service corporation, organized the offices.

That organization has held substantially straight thru the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson.

But now it is becoming apparent that the nation, and the next President, must broaden the traditional understanding of the White House offices.

And why? Because the Government has grown so hugely that for two main reasons no one man can possibly ascertain that the vast authority he must delegate is properly exerted. First, there are many great governmental activities of vital concern to some group within the nation, as well as to the nation at large, which are carried on by more than one department. Engineering, public health and aviation, as suggested above, are [*Continued on page 327*



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**All together for the first time—the first Cabinet meeting of President Harding's administration. From left to right sitting: John W. Weeks, Secretary of War; Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State; President Warren G. Harding; Vice-President Calvin Coolidge, and Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy. Standing, from left to right: Albert B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior; William H. Hays, Postmaster General; Harry M. Daugherty, Attorney General; Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, and James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor**

# Forged Checks Are Easy Money to the Scratch Man

## Fourth Article in the Series of "Inside Information" on How to Protect Yourself in the Present "Crime Wave"

### By An Ex-Convict

**"People let themselves be robbed! They make it so easy for us," said the ex-convict who wrote the series of which this article is the fourth. "I have served a term in prison, and I know, from the inside, the plain facts of crime. I offer here, by way of reparation, the real truth, for the first time." The first article in this series gave householders some sound advice on how to prevent burglaries, the second told you how to "Beware of Pickpockets;" and the third explained the methods by which the safe-cracker succeeds**

IF every check were made of the same grade of paper as that used for our daily newspapers, the Scratch Men would put away their acids and glass brushes and assortment of inks and pens and get into some other line of endeavor. These men can replace the "sizing" on so-called forgery-proof checks, they can remove and replace the polish on calendered paper, they can match inks of all shades and ages, and remove those same inks—but they are helpless when up against a signature on a cheap, soft grade of paper—a paper on which the ink soaks quite thru as on a thin blotting paper.

The Bankers' Association is made up of keen business men, clever financiers. They are organized for protection, largely for protection against Scratch Men. But the details must be entrusted to minor officials, recruited generally from the United States Secret Service or private detective agencies, their only "qualification" being the fact that they served as detectives for some years. Year after year swindlers pursue the same tactics. We know how many get caught, but there is no telling how many succeed. The trouble is that the minor officials on the job spend their time following up and punishing, instead of learning how to prevent. In the first place consider the grade of paper that is used. It is of the finest quality and texture—and exceedingly expensive. And it is a standing invitation to the clever "Scratch Man" to get busy and make money.

Open your check book and study the high grade of bond paper that the checks are made of. The simplest amateur can, with a blunt knife, scratch out ink marks without puncturing the paper. Try to scratch out an ink mark made on the edge of a newspaper and see what happens; you will only be reminded of the old joke, "To remove a blueberry stain from table linen, cut it out with a pair of shears."

If you have ever written on the margin of a newspaper with pen and ink you know how the ink percolates clean through the flimsy paper; besides, it "runs"—that is, after writing, the characters look blotchy and untidy. It is nothing like the effect obtained with the higher grade paper, that has a surface nicely adapted to the use of ink.

When a scratch man deftly applies acid to erase any writing from a check, the acid will defy detection—unless photographed or placed under a powerful magnifying glass. But suppose you have a check book made of newspaper stock, and you issue a check for fifty dollars, which falls into the hands of a master forger.

He places the check on a glass topped table, and fastening it securely, takes a piece of spun glass, scarcely thicker than a hair, trims the end nicely, dips it in acid, and then very carefully and slowly begins to trace on the check the writing he wishes to obliterate. Allowing the acid sufficient time to be absorbed, he repeats the process, and quickly blots it. Then comes his surprise. The acid has eaten thru the fibre; the paper is entirely destroyed, so that it will not bear the touch of a pen point. Small holes appear, then gradually grow larger. In despair, he destroys the check, and the Bankers' Association is saved another worry and someone else a loss.

If, instead of the acid, the scratch man uses a glass eraser, a brush made of finely spun glass, and a piece of "art" rubber, the result is the same. The flimsy, delicate structure of the paper will not bear the strain. Besides, when the ink has soaked thru, it is physically, as well as chemically impossible to erase any characters either by glass or acids, or to bleach it, without destroying the paper.

There are many chemicals which will destroy all traces of writing, but in its place, there will remain a huge stain —either reddish or yellowish—which, in itself, would render impossible the cashing of the check. With the checks the banks issue, the results are vastly different. You may use acids, erasers—almost anything, in fact; the naked eye cannot detect the alteration—only the sharp eye of the camera or magnifying glass will show the tampering. It is the easiest thing imaginable to alter a check so that the paying teller of a bank will cash it without hesitation!

But no safety measure amounts to much unless the banks coöperate with their depositors. It is a well known fact, for instance, that an absolute stranger can step into a bank and find approximately the amount of your balance. Perhaps there are a large number of people who do not know of the old trick that generally accomplishes this result.

Without knowing the exact amount of your balance, I may attempt to forge your name to a check for $200. I do not know if you have this amount in the bank. I simply take the chance. I push the check through the grated window, and if you have that amount on deposit, the teller will push the money back to me. If you have less than the amount specified, he returns the check saying, "Not sufficient funds," or "The check is overdrawn."

Then I innocently remark, "That is strange. Didn't Mr. Smith deposit a check for $50 this morning? He told me he had."

"Oh, that isn't enough," the teller will probably say. "That fifty will not help you much."

A few questions will elicit the fact that an added check for $100 will bring Smith's check [*Continued on page 325*

# The Uses of Diversity

## Fourth Article in the Series on "Editing a Magazine"

## By Hamilton Holt

THE payment for contributions is a matter about which there is much complaint on the part of the authors. Most magazines have a minimum rate below which they do not go. This is from a cent a word up. The recognized authors generally receive special rates, while the celebrities we either get for nothing, or else have to pay something like a dollar a word. The old-fashioned rule of paying on publication is fast disappearing. Most periodicals now pay on acceptance. There is every reason why authors should be paid on acceptance, especially if you hold the articles very long. It was formerly the custom of The Independent to pay on publication. It may be interesting in this connection to confess that when the Mexican revolution broke out I printed an article on the flora of Mexico that had lain dust covered in our pigeonholes for more than twenty-five years. On account of its timeliness it was reprinted in many daily papers thruout the land, and I received a cordial letter from the author, who happened to be alive, thanking me for the somewhat belated check.

Should an author call on the editor in order to sell his wares? This is a question concerning which I ought to keep silent, for nothing so bores an editor as having authors take up his valuable time for such a purpose. In a recent book designed to help the aspiring author I read the other day that "an editor's stock in trade is his judgment and he prefers to exercize it not in the presence of the writer. So in most instances a personal call can serve no good business purpose." But I must admit that if a writer calls on me and has a pleasing appearance and is brief and business-like in the interview, I am bound to read the article he leaves with a little more interest than if I had never made his acquaintance. I hate to say so—but by all means call upon the editor if you want to sell him anything. But as most editors are now hedged about by watchfully waiting secretaries it is generally as hard to approach one as it is Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller or Woodrow Wilson. I have found that four-fifths of the people who demand a personal interview with me come to ask me to do something for them, never to suggest something that they can do for me or for The Independent. But I remember how furious I get whenever I go to another man's office and some underling eyes me askance and asks me to state my business before he takes in my card. So I have given orders in our office to let everyone in except those few well-known bores and dead beats who infest every office and pester every editor. Besides, I find that by judicious questioning I can generally get something from each visitor that adds to my stock of miscellaneous information—all of which sooner or later comes in handy in conducting a journal that we like to think has ideas and ideals.

In the selection of the contributed articles the editor attempts to make up what might be called a menu. There must be soup and then the heavy courses of meat, then salad, and finally the dessert. The leading article does not always have to be about politics, sociology, or "an association" of nations. Bernard Shaw may write a flimsy-whimsy and yet it may be the most striking article in the issue. Every magazine has also a place for what the English weeklies call "middle articles," essays on almost anything from tree toads to biblical exegesis. But fiction after all is the one thing that appeals most to the reader and fiction is, therefore, in greatest demand in most magazine offices and naturally commands the highest prices. In a monthly magazine, the average good short story is about 5000 words in length. In the weekly it is usually less. The trouble with soliciting fiction is that few authors can write a story to order. Fiction writing is a question almost entirely of inspiration. Even the best story writers do poor work if they are pressed. A Washington correspondent can get his material fresh every day. He simply tells what he sees. But a fiction writer must in addition create the things he is to write about. Few fictionists can produce more than half a dozen really good stories a year. We all remember the answer of the old preacher when asked how many sermons a young minister ought to preach. "If he is a poor preacher," he replied, "he can preach one a day. If he is an average preacher he can preach two a week. If he is a very good preacher he can preach one a week."

Mr. Edward J. O'Brien in his book entitled, "The Best Short Stories of 1915," gave the result of his examination of 2200 stories printed in forty-six American periodicals during 1915. He found that 683 stories possessed distinction and ninety-one stories were of more or less permanent literary value. He also found that the average length of stories varied from 7245 words in *Hearst's Magazine* to 1935 words in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, while the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Century Magazine* came about midway between these extremes.

I have said that more stories were written than any other class of literary matter. The exception to this rule is poetry. Poetry is sent to our office literally by the yard. I understand that other magazine editors are similarly embarrassed. This would seem to prove that the poets still pipe on for the very love of piping and not to satisfy any insatiable craving on the part of the public.

In the old-time American magazine poetry sometimes constituted one-fourth or one-sixth of an issue. Every magazine had its "Pegasus," its "Cabinet of Apollo," its "Seat of the Muses," its "Parnassiad." Nor was all the poetry conceived on such a lofty plane as "An Elegant Ode on the Mechanism of Man." There were lines "To a Lady on Striking a Fly with Her Fan" or "To a Fly on Being Let Into a Lady's Chamber." Bryant used to get $2 apiece for his poems. Park Benjamin wrote to Longfellow in 1840, "Your ballad, 'The Wreck of the Hesperus,' is good. Enclosed are $25, the sum you mentioned for it, paid by the proprietors of *The New World*, in which glorious paper it will resplendently coruscate on Saturday next." When my grandfather, Henry C. Bowen, was editor of The Independent fifty years ago, he was accustomed to enclose a check for $100 [*Continued on page 326*

### "Wonder What an Editor Thinks About"

**In this series of articles the Editor of the Independent invites the readers to come into his sanctum, to see for themselves the "inside stuff" that makes up modern journalism, and to share some of the secrets that he has learned in the past two decades while editing The Independent and keeping a watchful eye on the progress of his "esteemed contemporaries." Mr. Holt's first three articles were published in the issues of February 5, February 26, and March 12**

# The Lady from Oklahoma

## A Story of the Honorable Alice M. Robertson, the Representative of Women in the United States Congress

### By Grant Foreman

ANOTHER woman has been elected to Congress—this time from Oklahoma. While we send to that body mediocre men whose incompetence excites no surprize, we shall scan severely the acts of a woman member for proof of her fallibility.

If a busy life of practical constructive service for others, which is a tradition and heritage of a noble family, is a criterion by which to prophesy for her course in Congress, there is reason for her election. Miss Robertson goes to Congress at a mature age, ripened with fifty years of useful life in which she has been a pioneer, teacher, executive, philanthropist, business woman, an exemplar of good citizenship and sincere piety.

Her mother's parents were New Englanders, who directly after their marriage in 1825 went as missionaries to the Cherokee nation in the State of Georgia. The efforts of her grandfather, Samuel A. Worcester, D. D., to enlighten and aid the Indians were rebuked by an act of the Georgia legislature making it a felony to remain among the Indians without the consent of the state authorities. Because he dared to continue in his course of ministering to the Indians in 1831 he was sentenced to the Georgia penitentiary for four years; scorning an offer of a pardon if he would abandon his efforts for the Indians, he served nearly a year and a half of his term and was not released until after the United States Supreme Court had set aside his conviction in the famous case of Worcester against the State of Georgia decided by Chief Justice Marshall.

In 1835 Dr. Worcester brought his family to the new home of the Cherokee Indians in Indian Territory, where he continued his work; he set up a printing press at Park Hill, where he published a paper for the Indians and printed religious books in their tongue. Here his daughter married Rev. William S. Robertson, also a missionary. Mrs. Robertson was a graduate of Wooster University; she translated the New Testament and other books into the Creek language. In 1854 while the Robertsons were teaching at a little mission school called Tullahassee Mission, about eight miles from where Muskogee now is and just on the north side of the Arkansas River, Alice was born. She was a little girl of seven years when the invaders of the Civil War compelled her family to fly as the Indians were driven out of the country.



**During the Great War, Miss Robertson constituted in her single person a whole valiant chapter of the Red Cross, reaching personally literally thousands of soldiers. And all this makes only one stage in a full and varied life**



**It's enough if the ordinary man member of Congress can "pass in a crowd." But Miss Robertson, the only woman member, walks alone and unprotected from the nation's critical eyes. It is safe to say that she can triumphantly endure the scrutiny**

As Miss Alice developed into capable young womanhood she dedicated herself to the life of usefulness which had become a tradition of her family.

Inspired by the example and precept of her parents, but largely thru her own efforts and by appropriating the best that came within her reach, she became a woman of erudition and culture. At seventeen years she entered college at Elmira, New York, which she attended for three years, leaving with the degree of A. M. She worked as a clerk in the Indian Department in Washington and then taught in Tullahassee Mission.

At one time and another Miss Alice and her mother and sister took into their home, fed and clothed many Indian orphan children. Sixteen of these girls she reared to useful womanhood, bought their trousseaux and bade them Godspeed when they were married. One helpless little Indian girl Miss Robertson adopted and brought up until her marriage to a prominent white man.

Miss Alice's energies have not been limited to her philanthropic impulses; she has proved herself possessed of a high order of business capacity and executive ability. In the early eighties she raised funds among her eastern friends to build Nuyaka Mission in the Creek Nation and supervised its erection. In 1885 she was called to Muskogee by the Mission Board to take charge of a boarding school for Indian girls of the Five Tribes. She was successful here in raising funds for the erection of necessary buildings and for providing scholarships for promising girls without money. The school later became Henry Kendall College (now Tulsa University), in which she was given a professorship with classes in English, history and civics.

In 1900 Miss Robertson became United States school supervisor for Creek schools. She looked after the appointment of teachers, visited schools, [*Continued on page 326*

# The Lawyer and the League

## By Preston Slosson

ROBERT Lansing's *The Peace Negotiations,* published this week by Houghton, Mifflin Company, is indeed a revelation, but it is more of a revelation than its author ever intended. It reveals much hitherto unpublished history, to be sure. But it also reveals the limitations of the author with almost startling distinctness. As one takes up the book one wonders why President Wilson dismissed Secretary Lansing from the Department of State with such abruptness in February, 1920. As one lays the book down one wonders why on earth President Wilson did not dismiss Secretary Lansing in November, 1918. For it would have been difficult for the President to have found in either party a man of Mr. Lansing's ability whose whole point of view was so divergent from his own.

It is not that Secretary Lansing was wanting in diplomatic experience, in patriotic devotion, in intellectual keenness, in good will and sincerity. All of these qualities he possessed in eminent degree. Within certain limits, he was perhaps a shrewder man than President Wilson. Thus he realized as early as September, 1918, that the "fourteen points" were somewhat too vague and ambiguous on territorial questions and urged the immediate preparation of an American program for re-mapping Europe. President Wilson's turn for generalizations and dangerously broad remarks always irked him. Lansing's best intellectual quality was the love of concreteness and clarity. In the diary which he thoughtfully kept at Paris—and as thoughtfully kept to himself while he was in office—he expresses his indignation at the President's reiteration of the formula "self-determination." "The phrase is simply loaded with dynamite," he said. "What a calamity that the phrase was ever uttered!" (pp. 97-98). He points out that it would encourage rebellions in Ireland, Egypt, India and among the Mohammedans of Syria, Morocco and Tripoli, and that it would have justified the course of the South during the Civil War. Yet, scorning as he did the abstract formulation of democratic and liberal principles, he fought for particular cases of self-determination valiantly enough and even wished to hold out where Wilson thought it expedient to yield. Thus, with unquestionably sincere indignation, he attacked the Shantung settlement and declared that "In my opinion it would be better to let Japan stay out of the League than to abandon China" (p. 256).

No one can read his book without a personal liking for Robert Lansing. Altho almost never in agreement with President Wilson on controversial issues of diplomacy he kept his own counsel and retained his position in order not to delay the signing of the Treaty by provoking a split in the American Commission (p. 189). For the same reason, that the world was in imminent need of an early peace, he urged the speedy ratification of the Treaty by the Senate altho he disapproved of the whole League of Nations Covenant and many other features of the Treaty. He suffered in silence the misrepresentations of that half-baked, erratic and inaccurate marplot, Mr. Bullitt, because President Wilson did not give him permission to tell the whole truth of the matter (p. 271). Mr. Lansing has the sort of loyalty more often found in military men than in civilians; a feeling that one must be "true to his salt" and serve his chief and his country, no matter if that service compels him to give seeming assent to policies which revolt his very soul. To judge from his book, Mr. Lansing must have been ready to burst with indignation time and again; but even we who served under him in Paris knew only that he was discontented in a general way with President Wilson's policies; we did not realize how deep was his antagonism to the whole project of the League of Nations.

This antagonism was not, as with most of the President's critics, a sudden up-flare of emotion during the spring of 1919. In May, 1916, he denounced the program of the League to Enforce Peace in a letter to President Wilson (pp. 38-40). His arguments are exactly those of which Senator Lodge and his colleagues made use three years later, only they are much more clearly and logically worded. The League would "limit our independence of action" and "be a serious menace to the Monroe Doctrine and a greater menace to the Pan-American Doctrine" and "popular opinion as well as the Senate would reject a treaty framed along such lines."

When he found that President Wilson was determined to have a League, he concentrated his attack on the much-belabored Article X. He suggested that instead of the "affirmative guaranty" therein contained there be a "negative guaranty" by which the Powers would simply pledge themselves to respect each other's integrity and independence without being pledged to come to the aid of an invaded member state of the League (pp. 53-54). He opposed the creation of an International Council with real powers, tho he favored an International Council of the type of the old-fashioned European "conferences" where every "sovereign State"—be it Luxemburg or the British Empire—met to talk and vote resolutions on a plane of absolute theoretic equality (pp. 56-58). All real powers, however, should be given to an International Court, based on The Hague Tribunal. In December, 1918, he urged Colonel House "to persuade the President to make the nucleus of his proposed League of Nations an international court . . . and that if in addition the general principles of international law were codified and the right of inquiry confided to the court, everything practical would have been done to prevent wars in the future" (p. 73).

AT this point we discover that Robert Lansing is, after all, only a lawyer playing at being a statesman. Just set up a court house, appoint judges, and codify existing law and you have done "everything practical" to preserve peace! As if wars originated from legal quibbles always and from conflicting interests never! No "police" are necessary to keep the world peace, no councils of statesmen to adjust divergent claims or settle non-justiciable quarrels, no international legislature to keep international law up to date, no administrative bodies to govern internationalized territories or waterways. President Wilson, a practical man and a realist, saw that the problems which most endangered the peace of the world were not of a legal character but had to be settled by diplomatic agreement, either in the traditional fashion by bargaining between individual nations or in the League of Nations fashion by a conference of all the nations. Lansing, who really is what Roosevelt called President Wilson—a "Byzantine logothete"—cannot see this. With almost incredible simplicity he says:

> While abstract justice cannot under present conditions be depended upon as a firm basis on which to constitute an international concord for the preservation of peace and good relations between nations, legal justice offers a common ground where the nations can meet to settle their controversies. . . . The moment that we go beyond the clearly defined field of legal justice we enter the field of diplomacy where national interests and ambitions are today the controlling factors of national action. Concession and compromize are the chief agents of diplomatic settlement instead of the impartial application of legal justice which is essential to a judicial settlement. . . . On the other hand, justice applied thru the agency of an impartial tribunal clothed with an international jurisdiction eliminates the diplomatic methods of compromize and concession and recognizes that before the law all nations are equal and equally entitled to the exercize of their rights as sovereign and independent states.

In a word, international democracy exists in the sphere of legal justice and, up to the present time, in no other relation between nations (pp. 71-72).

IT would be both cruel and unnecessary to add any comment to this gem of legal pedantry. Let us rather turn to another field wherein Mr. Lansing can find scope for his peculiar type of mind. We do not have to seek far. President Wilson evolved the system of "mandatories" under the League of Nations. This was a new experiment, a great experiment, and like all such open to much rational objection. Secretary Lansing, it seems needless to say, objected. He might have urged, with the "liberals," that the mandate was simply camouflage for annexation. He might have urged, with the "practical men," that it hampered colonial development to have the League of Nations interfere with colonial administration. Instead he sent a memorandum filled with questions of the following order:

Where does the sovereignty over these territories reside?

Do those who have seized the sovereignty transfer it or does Germany transfer it to the League of Nations? If so, how?

Does the League assume possession of the sovereignty on its renunciation by Germany? If so, how?

Does the League merely direct the disposition of the sovereignty without taking possession of it?

In the Treaty of Peace Germany will be called upon to renounce sovereignty over her colonial possessions. To whom will the sovereignty pass?

If the reply is "The League of Nations," the question is: Does the League possess the attributes of an independent state so that it can function as an owner of territory? If so, what is it? A world state? (pp. 151-152).

Remember, please, that these legal points are brought forward not as a lawyer's arguments for the more technically correct drafting of the Treaty clauses on mandates, but as a statesman's objection to the whole mandatory plan. You shall not proceed with any plan for introducing the idea of international responsibility in colonial administration until you have first defined "sovereignty"—that is Lansing's idea.

But, indeed, "sovereignty" was a regular King Charles's head with Secretary Lansing. He objected to any special recognition of the Great Powers in the Treaty as "undemocratic" on the ground that all "sovereign States" were equal. In his view the "democratic" course was to give Costa Rica's 411,000 people an equal weight in the League with the 440,000,000 people of the British Empire; Liechtenstein with its sixty-five square miles and 10,000 inhabitants should enjoy "equality which is imposed by the very nature of sovereignty" with the United States. This principle of equal sovereignty *is* recognized in the League of Nations Assembly, but Mr. Lansing objected because the superior power and population of five Great Powers was recognized in the Council of the League. In terms of our own constitution, he would have a Senate for the benefit of the little States but no House of Representatives for the interests of the big ones.

A final instance of how far asunder was the mind of President Wilson from that of his Secretary of State is evidenced by Lansing's plan, expounded and defended at length in Chapter IX, for making a quick peace with Germany and leaving the League of Nations Covenant entirely out of the Treaty of Versailles; substituting a general declaration of principles and leaving the working out of details to some future time. It never occurred to Mr. Lansing, as it did to President Wilson, that the League was not a mere ornamental weather-cock on top of the completed structure of Peace but was its very cornerstone, and that had the Treaty been made without the League Senators back in Washington might have been pleased but the whole of Europe would have been thrown into the midst of a Socialist revolution; believing that the Treaty of Versailles was but a new edition of the Treaty of Vienna, and that the "diplomatists" had again "tricked the people" by giving them the empty promises of a League instead of the reality. That winter of 1918-1919 was a critical hour in history. The people desired an early peace, but they desired still more a peace that would hold forth some prospect of an end to war.

Mr. Lansing devotes an entire chapter to an incident that took place on January 10, 1919. He had urged some objections to the League of Nations and President Wilson replied with some temper "that he did not intend to have lawyers drafting the Treaty of Peace." This remark seems to have puzzled Mr. Lansing. It will not puzzle his readers.

## A Word With Sinn Fein

YOU wish for the "freedom" of Ireland. Does your definition of freedom include freedom of speech? If so, you had best abandon your present tactics of howling down speakers like Major Putnam or Sir Philip Gibbs, who venture to give utterance to their opinions in public. Those who do not respect liberty in America are not likely to respect it in Ireland. All good Americans and most good Englishmen desire that Ireland shall have freedom, but it must not be the Bolshevist brand of liberty, the freedom to persecute others.

# Why the Comrades Need Capitalism

## By John Spargo

"I write to you as an old Socialist comrade to ask you what, in your judgment, is the most important thing for Socialists to do in this very critical period? Somehow mere agitation seems so futile in the present disturbed state of the world."—From a private letter to the present writer.

ASSUMING that the basic theories of modern Socialism are accepted as sound, it is quite clear that the most important thing Socialists can do at this time, either collectively or individually, to further the cause of Socialism and hasten its ultimate triumph, is to help preserve the capitalist system from collapse. This is not intended as a paradox. It is a very plain and direct application of one of the most elementary principles of the Socialism of the Marxian school. If there be any truth or merit in Marx's theories, the conclusion herein set down is irresistible.

It is not to be assumed that in the judgment of the present writer there is any likelihood of anything approaching a collapse of the capitalist system. Far from destroying that system, the World War has endowed it with a new lease of life. The will-o'-the-wisp of Bolshevism notwithstanding, the vast amount of wreckage and destruction of these terrible years of war and revolution has left a condition which only capitalism can meet. The civilized world is less ready for Socialism than at any time in a hundred years past. It will take many years before the productive and distributive agencies of the world are developed to a degree of efficiency equal to that which obtained in 1914. Economic and financial disasters of great magnitude and gravity are possible, but they will not mean the collapse of the capitalist system in the sense that capitalist methods will be abandoned in favor of Socialist or other methods. On the contrary, so far as history affords any basis for judgment at all, the careful student is forced to the conclusion that only capitalist methods can be relied upon to meet the situation. To cite only a single illustration: Even the Bolshevist leaders themselves realize that they must depend upon foreign capital for the restoration of Russia. Millions of people will have to be persuaded to furnish an aggregate of billions of dollars of new capital to Russia. It is inconceivable that any such vast sum can or will be provided, except by millions of individuals in response to the expectation of profit. This means, of course, an enormous extension of capitalism. War, revolution and Bolshevism have destroyed Russian capital to such an extent that anything like a Socialist régime in the near future is out of the question. The same thing can be said of other European countries.

It is of the essence of Marx's teaching that Socialism must come of historical necessity, as the logical development of capitalism, just as the fruit comes after bud and blossom. In other words, when there is no room for further development along capitalist lines, the entire system of production, distribution and exchange, at the point of its highest efficiency, becomes ready for socialization. The principal nations of the world, those nations in which capitalism has attained its greatest development, are farther from that condition today than they have been within the memory of living man.

Socialism, if it is to succeed at all, must inherit the full advantages and achievements of capitalism. In other words, it must take over capitalism as a going concern, and not as a wrecked mass. The collapse of capitalism implies the reduction of the existing system to chaos and impotence. No Socialist in his senses can desire anything of the kind. From the Socialist point of view, the socialization of capitalism as a working system is desirable and possible; but the socialization of the ruins of that system is quite another matter. The man desirous of obtaining an automobile would be no better satisfied with a pile of formless junk and scrap than the intelligent Socialist would be to acquire the ruins of the capitalist system, instead of the system in its most perfect and efficient form and state.

Moreover, it is quite evident that neither in this country nor in any other at present do the organized forces of Socialism include a sufficient number of trained specialists competent to undertake the enormously difficult and complicated task of carrying on the fundamental and essential economic activities while transforming the system to accord with Socialist ideals. If every capitalist, and every capitalistically-minded person, in America should agree to surrender all rights and claims to every part of the economic machinery of America, and transfer these without reservation to the Socialists and the socialistically minded of the country, nothing but disaster could be reasonably expected to follow. Even normal conditions, such as obtained immediately prior to the war, would require vastly greater equipment than the Socialists of this country can boast, even if we suppose them to be reinforced by the entire body of organized labor. In the present abnormal conditions the difficulties are, of course, increased many thousand fold.

The present writer believes that Socialism will come as the logical development of the capitalist system. It will come piecemeal, by evolution and not by revolution. Anything like the collapse of the capitalist system, therefore, can only retard the realization of the Socialist ideal. The Socialist state cannot be built upon the ruins of capitalist civilization. To change the metaphor, it is inconceivable that an efficiently working Socialist system can be constructed from the *débris* of capitalism. For the Socialist who really comprehends Socialism, to whom it is not merely an emotional excitation, the preservation of the existing system from collapse is the most vitally important interest of the present time.

## The Appetite for Work

MOST of us think it a strange and almost perverse taste; the appetite which some people have for more work to do. The more they do the better they do it and the more they like it. Take the sad case of Mr. Hoover. In entering the cabinet he laid down two conditions, one of which was "I must keep on with some of my present jobs," the other "You must enlarge the activities of the Department I am to run." In his statement he also referred in casual, off-hand fashion to the fact that he had "undertaken the trusteeship of eight or ten public institutions of importance" and that "several have enlarged their activities at my inspiration." Or Mr. Edison, who scorns the sluggard who keeps to a working day of less than seventeen hours. Or the novel factories, like Mr. Wells, who bring out new books faster than we can review them. Sometimes we wonder if the world's work would ever be done if it were not for these work-gluttons who roam the world with hungry brains looking for duties to snatch up and devour as soon as anyone else lays them down.

## Hughes the Peacemaker

THE prompt and vigorous action of Secretary Hughes in restoring peace between Panama and Costa Rica is a good omen for the new Administration. We hope that bigger problems will be met in the same efficient way.

## Tongs and Fingers

DID you ever watch a man trying to pick up some small or elusive object from the floor with a pair of tongs? It is a task that affords more amusement to the spectator than satisfaction to the performer. Such is the present situation of the United States with reference to the problems of diplomacy. As we are shut out of the League of Nations by our own choice we have to handle such questions as the German indemnity, the cables of Yap and commercial rights in Mesopotamia by the "tongs" of formal, diplomatic protests, whereas if we had our representatives inside the League we could handle these questions with the "fingers" of personal negotiation. Those who think that President Wilson could have conducted the Paris Peace Conference as well by cable from Washington as by personal conversation with Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and those who think that President Harding can gain as much by talking *at* the League Powers as by talking *with* them, should spend some pleasant evening picking up marbles with the fire tongs or eating soup with a spoon tied onto the end of an umbrella.

# The Public Peril of Election Expenses

### By Talcott Williams

THE enormous sum of $10,338,509 was spent by parties and candidates in the last Presidential election. Unless regulated, such an outlay is a public danger sure to be fatal to free institutions.

Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin has deserved well of the Republic in dragging out these facts. Many investigating committees, State and Federal, have before investigated election expense. No previous chairman has had the courage, the skill and the persistence to carry his search up to the candidates and into both State and National committees as Senator Lenroot has.

The sum spent has shocked the country. Legislation will follow. The new laws will be effective if they require publicity for accounts, givers and vouchers. Penalties do little. Publicity checks givers. Givers and expenditures ought to be advertised on required schedules in the newspapers. Nothing would do more to chill givers or steady the hands and heads of disbursing agents. Publicity is the supreme remedy for political crimes, and expenditures of this size are a crime against the Republic.

Elections necessarily cost. In 1914, in New York state, when the total vote (on Governor) was 1,311,274 (against 26,469,268 for the country on President in 1920) the State candidates and committees spent in all $2,254,679; and this does not include expenses at primaries and for other needs before the campaign opened. The campaign in New York state alone in 1914 saw an expenditure by parties and candidates nearly one-quarter as large as that in 1920 over the United States on the Presidency and on the election of a Congress, with a total vote just twenty-fold larger in the nation than was cast in New York state. The ex-

penditure for votes in this State at an ordinary election in 1914 was $1.72 per voter and in the country, choosing a President in 1920, only 38 cents per voter. The total cost of the New York election, adding election day expenditures, was $4,079,171. The national election of 1920, if all its costs were brought together, probably led to an expenditure, Federal, state and individual, of somewhere around $20,000,000.

The public peril lies not in the total outlay itself, but in the great personal and party expenditures which give an opening for direct corruption on one side, and, on the other make politics a money game. Less than one-tenth of the Republican party appeared at the Presidential primaries in fifteen states in 1920, 2,477,859 votes being cast, but the expenditure of the five leading Republican candidates for the nomination alone, before the national convention met, was $2,657,303, or over a dollar a vote.

These gigantic expenditures have been increasing for years. Mr. A. J. McClure, Republican State Chairman in Pennsylvania in 1860, when Lincoln was elected, told me the state committee spent $12,000. Mr. James G. Blaine told me that in Maine in 1860 he had $2,500 and $500 of it went to one speaker, Carl Schurz. In 1876, when I knew much about the Democratic expenditures, I doubt if the national committees spent between them over $500,000, or possibly $600,000. In 1888, the Republican National Committee spent over $1,000,000. It was well known that $400,000 was raised in Pennsylvania. In 1896, this state and the region about Philadelphia raised for the Republican campaign $2,500,000—paid by about 5000 persons, including two savings banks which paid $25,000 each. This last would today raise a national scandal.

In 1896 the Republican National Committee above had about $7,500,000 to spend by general and accepted report. This is one-half more than the Republican National and State committees had in 1920, or $5,319,739 as Senator Lenroot's report shows.

Mr. Bryan's campaign in 1896 was carried on with amazingly little money. All told, in all directions, national and state committees and pre-convention expenditures, it is probable that somewhere about $9,000,000 was spent by both parties, state and national, in 1896. The Republican party in Pennsylvania had $500,000 to spend by its state committees and when Matthew Stanley Quay died the state Republican budget was $1,000,000 in election years. So P. A. B. Widener said he found when he was asked to succeed him.

In 1896, the country had 70,000,000 population against 105,000,000 in 1920 and the total vote in 1896 was 13,872,859 or half that cast last November. The wealth of the country has quadrupled since 1896. The total expenditure that year was about $9,000,000 and it is now as much as $10,338,509.

The outlay was disgracefully large then and it is dangerously large now. It must be reduced and this can be done by making the names of all givers conspicuously public at the expense of the party national committees. Rich men hate dreadfully to have their good deeds for party ends published. As Cicero says in substance, there are many acts of state which are honored in their results, but most disgraceful if seen in their operation.

Make them public and there will be fewer such acts. The American outlay has never reached that in England. With much less than half our total vote, English expenditures for a Parliamentary election were $15,000,000 before the Corrupt Practices Act was passed in 1883, and dropped to $3,900,000 after it was in full operation.

This act was directed against the purchase of voters. This has been greatly diminished here by State Corrupt Practice Acts, beginning in 1889. Professor J. J. McCook in 1892 showed that Connecticut had from 20,000 to 26,000 venal voters, or from one-fifth to one-sixth of the whole. This is no longer the case. All over the country, while the direct purchase of voters still, alas, exists, this evil is far less than it once was, less open, less brazen and far more often punished.

In 1896 a large part of the sum spent was directly used this way. In 1920 clear corruption came to light in the effort to influence delegates.

The expense of organizing a party, getting speakers, holding campaign meetings and above all, distributing party propaganda, has very greatly increased. It grows bigger with every Presidential election. Big as the vote was in 1920, at least 12,000,000 voters never came near the ballot box, enough to have changed the result, sweeping as the Republican majority seemed to be, if the Democratic party could have got their votes out on its side.

Corruption of voters is practiced yet. This calls for criminal prosecution, extending to the candidate who profits by it, however the actual expenditure may have been by "friends." If the Federal Supreme Court sends Senator Newberry to serve his sentence the direct corruption of voters will receive a stiff blow.

Party propaganda should be limited to a sum per voter, as it already has been in England, and publicity, pitiless publicity, should accompany all gifts and all expenditures, large or small.

Government by votes must not only be honest, but it must seem to be honest; large partizan and personal outlays awake public suspicion and to free institutions suspicion is sure, in the end, to be fatal.

## Splitting the States

THREE unrelated items in the newspapers pointing in the same direction are always a good starting point for reflection.

In Idaho it has been proposed to split off the northern counties and form a new state. In Michigan a bill was introduced into the legislature to create a new state out of the northern peninsula and name it Superior. In New York the unpopularity of Governor Miller's rapid transit program for the metropolis caused several people to hint that Greater New York (with perhaps some neighboring suburbs) be constituted a separate state. In none of the three cases does the secession movement seem to have behind it a very strong current of popular sentiment; it may be only the hobby of a handful of individuals. But it is at least an interesting coincidence. It raises the question: Do the historic boundaries of the states correspond as exactly as possible to the wishes and interests of the people?

Of course, there is such a thing as state pride, and where it exists it should not be interfered with by the plans of closet philosophers who would like a more logical map. But does the average denizen of New York City care very much about Albany or feel a patriotic affection for Buffalo? Does he not feel more akin to his business associates from Paterson or Hackensack? West Virginia certainly exercised "self-determination" when she split off from Virginia, and no one would now dream of reuniting Maine with Massachusetts. Perhaps San Francisco and Los Angeles would feel less rivalry if each were the metropolis of a separate state.

Perhaps Texas, which is bigger than France, might wish to divide the rice country from the ranch country. Perhaps Chicago and Cairo, not always at one in politics, might split Illinois between them. Perhaps the mountain barrier divides a Philadelphia-soul from a Pittsburgh-soul within the gigantic body of Pennsylvania. We do not venture to assert that any of our present states is suffering from what the psychologists term "dissociation of the personality." But we should not be surprised to learn some day of a movement for re-mapping America as thorogoing, tho not so bloody, as the recent re-mapping of Europe.

# The Story of the Week

## First Tax; Then Tariff

ALTHO the Emergency Tariff on agricultural products was the most cherished piece of party legislation in the recent Congress and found a good deal of support among Democrats, it is not at all certain that it will be revived in the coming session. Republican leaders seem inclined to postpone it in favor of a general tariff revision. As the preparation of a general tariff measure is a very slow process, owing to the wide variety of local interests and industries which must be satisfied and the fact that tradition has made the tariff the favorite battle ground of American party politics, this implies that other measures will be given precedence in time if not in importance.

Representative Mondell of Wyoming, Republican leader of the House, has stated that in his opinion the practical course would be to take up the question of tax revision first and postpone the tariff for later consideration. He said that it might be desirable simply to revive the old rates of the Payne-Aldrich tariff with a few modifications and pass it thru Congress within six or eight weeks; but that he had "grave doubts whether this can be done" as a great variety of amendments would be offered in the Senate and that so much time would probably be consumed in discussing them that the emergency tariff "would thus lose the benefit of quick action, which is the only real virtue of a temporary measure."

He suggested that a revision of internal revenue taxes be placed to the front of the legislative program so that while the Senate is considering the proposals of the House with regard to taxation the House will be able to turn its attention to the tariff, and both measures would be finally acted on before the first of August. "If any emergency measure is possible in advance of the permanent tariff, it seems to me it must be confined to a simple anti-dumping provision and possibly an amendment to the present tariff basing rates on American rather than on foreign values."




*Thomas in Detroit News*

THE LIFE LINE IS BUSY!

**Life Saver Congress whittles away at tariff legislation and tax reform while the sinking ship of business sends out a hurry call for help**

It seems quite conservative to suppose that Congress will continue to meet until August, for its tasks will be many and varied. Peace must be made with Germany and Austria. The tariff must be restored to a protective basis, while taking due account of the fact that the United States has developed a great export trade which would be sacrificed if imports were too rigorously excluded, for Europe cannot afford to buy from us if she is unable to sell to us. The excess profits tax must be abolished and some revenue-yielding substitute discovered. An immigration policy must be worked out. The whole scale of naval appropriations must be reconsidered. The coal industry, the packing industry and perhaps the railroads will require new measures of Federal regulation. The Congressional reapportionment bill must be passed. The oft-promised Federal budget must be at last enacted into law, and the relation of the executive Departments thoroly revised in the interest of efficiency. The bonus question will be revived for fresh consideration. The Senate met for several days in executive session to confirm President Harding's appointments and to consider some minor treaties, but much business of this order will come up from time to time thruout the months when Congress will be busy with the legislative program. What will be the Republican policy on most of the questions of the hour is still not known and must await President Harding's messages to Congress.

## Harding Appeals for China

PRESIDENT Harding has asked the American public to add to its already munificent contribution for the relief of the famine-stricken districts of China. He declared:

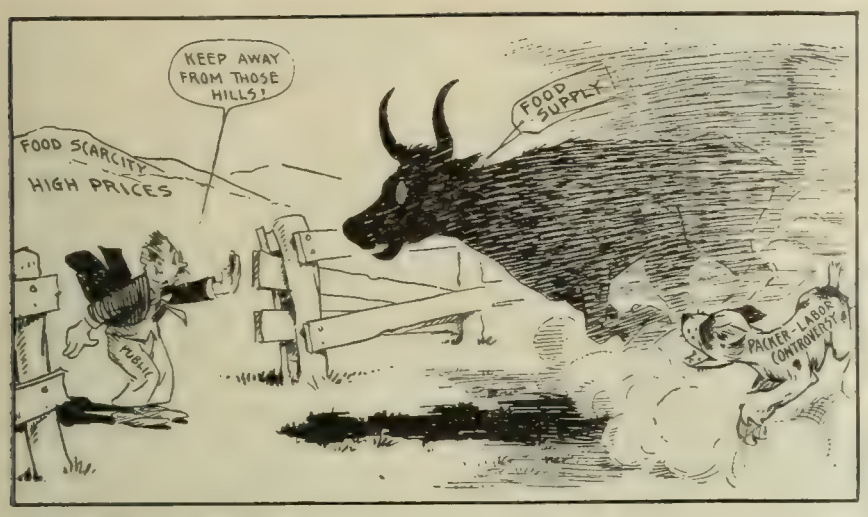
> I am informed that the American committee, and the church and other organizations coöperating with it, have already remitted several millions of dollars to the American and International Relief Committee in China, and that already a great relief work has been accomplished. Nevertheless, my information is that the means thus far placed at the command of these organizations are entirely inadequate to the task they confront.
>
> Since the beginning of this relief movement a much more accurate understanding of the grave situation has become possible. The Department of State has from time to time made public information received thru its representatives in China as to the conditions prevailing there. The picture of China's distress is so tragic that I am moved, therefore, to renew the appeals heretofore made and to express the hope that the American people will continue to contribute to this humanitarian cause as generously as they possibly can.
>
> The cry for succor comes to us from a people far distant, but linked to us by manifold ties of friendly association, confidence and good will. The American nation has never failed to demonstrate its friendship for the people of China and that friendship has always been reciprocated in a manner which I feel justifies the hope that in this hour of China's distress our people will do everything in their power for its amelioration.

## Labor and the Packers

SECRETARY of Labor Davis has intervened in the dispute between the great meat packing companies and the labor unions in order to prevent a strike in the packing plants. He sent messages to both parties in the controversy expressing the hope that "there will be no interruption of the continuity of employment in the great packing industry" and declaring that the Departments of Labor, Commerce and Agriculture were interested in finding a "just solution" and would welcome a conference to that end.

Both sides, the packers and the unions, accepted the proposal of the Secretary and mediation will be tried, tho the threatened strike has not yet been definitely averted.

The workmen contend that the present scale of hours and wages was fixed by a wartime agreement which was to continue for one year after the restoration of peace. They hold that the United States is still legally in a state of war, and that the packers in declaring for a downward




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**Someone call off the dog!**

revision of wages and a lengthening of the working day have violated their agreements. Dennis Lane, Secretary of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, declares that the present crisis "has been brought about by the deliberate and arbitrary violation and repudiation by the five big packers of the agreement now in existence between the Department of Labor, our and other labor organizations and the packers." Mass meetings in the Chicago stockyards urged an immediate strike if the ten-hour day were re-established, or the pre-war scale of wages restored.

The packers say that the war was at an end more than a year ago and that the wartime agreements are therefore no longer binding on them. The fall in meat prices, owing to the "consumers' strike," has forced the packers to reduce expenses or go out of business. "Wage reductions therefore," so runs the packers' statement, "are not a matter of choice—they are essential not only from the employers' standpoint but from the standpoint of live stock producers, who are having to bear with us the losses involved." As to the lengthening of the working day, the packers deny that they intend to restore the ten hour day or lengthen the total working time during the week. They say only that the stockyards deal with perishable goods and that "any industry that has not established its working conditions and hours of labor to handle perishable products in season economically and promptly is fundamentally wrong." On some days the working day will be less than eight hours, but when exceptionally large shipments of livestock must be dealt with the working day must be lengthened accordingly, and these necessary fluctuations of industry should not be penalized by the requirement of disproportionate pay for "overtime."

## The Colombia Treaty

THE Republican Administration has already come across one question on which complete party harmony is not expected. This is the ratification of the treaty indemnifying Colombia for the loss resulting from the secession of Panama and the consequent construction of the Panama Canal outside of Colombian soil. President Wilson advocated the ratification of the treaty and the payment of $25,000,000 to the injured South American republic, but at that time the Republican party was almost a unit in opposition, as the Republicans regarded the proposal as reflecting discredit on President Roosevelt, in whose administration the Panama revolution took place. But now that President Harding has himself urged ratification in a special message to the Senate, the Republican Senators find themselves in an awkward dilemma. Senator Lodge, previously opposed to the Colombia treaty, decided to support President Harding, but some of the other Senators show signs of revolting against party discipline and organizing an opposition sufficient to block the treaty.

The Colombia treaty revives the memory of a very interesting incident in President Roosevelt's first administration, which has been discussed pro and con from the standpoint of international ethics for many years. The Republic of Panama was once a part of the Republic of Colombia, a very discontented and mutinous part, however, with the beginnings of a national consciousness of its own. When the United States Government decided to build the Panama Canal rather than make use of the alternative Nicaragua route negotiations were entered into with Colombia as the nation owning the "right of way." The politicians of Colombia were a little too greedy and attempted to extort large sums from the United States by obstructing the agreement with the United States. The people of Panama, eager for the construction of the Canal, rose in revolt against Colombia and declared their independence in November, 1903. Then President Roosevelt intervened. He recognized the independence of Panama without delay and prevented Colombia from reconquering the lost province. A treaty was then made with Panama, granting the United States authority over the Canal Zone and in return making a payment of $10,000,000 and a small annual subsidy to the little republic. Colombia obtained nothing, and ever since then has regarded the United States as the real author of the Panama rebellion and the thief of Colombia's canal route. Some of President Roosevelt's political opponents in the United States took the same view of the affair, and others, while defending the ethics of his intervention, considered that Colombia had none the less suffered material damage by it and should be reimbursed, if only to promote good feeling between the United States and South America. Secretary Colby shortly before the close of the Wilson Administration declared that "From the single standpoint of our commercial progress in South America the delayed ratification of the treaty is not only an unmixed calamity but an immeasurable one. . . . Wherever Spanish is spoken our delay in this matter has cost us friends, confidence and commercial opportunity." Apparently President Harding is of the same opinion.

## Is Beer Medicine?

JUST before he retired from office, Attorney-General Palmer handed down a decision which is causing a good deal of discontent in prohibition circles and Attorney-General Daugherty has been requested to reverse it in order



*© Harris & Ewing*

PRESIDENT HARDING'S UNOFFICIAL AIDE

**"Laddie Boy" was given to President Harding by Mr. Quetsche, of Toledo, and he entered the White House on March 4 along with the new administration. But being an exuberant young Airedale pup he wasn't satisfied with his formal inauguration of a drive with the President, and he immediately had a private celebration of his own which consisted of chasing the Democratic White House cat up a tree**

to close up the threatened "crack" in the even surface of the Volstead Act. Certain questions of administration had arisen in connection with the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department and Secretary Houston requested a legal opinion from the Attorney-General. The substance of Mr. Palmer's reply was that (a) the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may issue permits for the manufacture of liquors for medicinal purposes; (b) that under the term "liquor" is included not only the strongly alcoholic drinks sometimes given as stimulants, but "alcohol, brandy, whisky, rum, gin, beer, ale, porter and wine, and in addition thereto any spirituous, vinous, malt or fermented liquor"; (c) that the quantity to be prescribed by the physician for medicinal purposes cannot be limited by administrative order, tho Congress has imposed one legal limitation that not more than a pint of spirituous liquor be prescribed to one person within ten days; (d) that permits can be given for retail sales of intoxicants as medicine only to "a druggist who is himself a licensed pharmacist or who employs such a pharmacist," but that administrative officials had no authority to discriminate against any person with these qualifications who applies for a permit. "On the whole I am of opinion that there is no authority to limit the number of permits, either locally or for the country as a whole, because the Commissioner and Secretary may be of opinion that a larger number are not necessary."




*Stimson in Dayton Daily News*

**"Oh, Prohibition, where is thy sting?"**

The upshot of the decision appears to be that "reputable druggists" who are pharmacists or employ pharmacists may prescribe beer and wine in practically unlimited quantities as medicine. Opinions as to the practical effect of the act are various. A great deal depends on whether beer and wine are to be rated as "drugs" or not by pharmacists. Dr. Wiley asserts that "Whisky, brandy and wine have not medicinal value. Have they a place, therefore, in any pharmacopeia? Beer is not mentioned among the articles in the pharmacopeia, ninth decennial revision. . . . Rated on the scale of usage beer has not now and never has had any standing as a recognized remedial agent." If this view prevails, the decision will not have much effect on the actual enforcement of prohibition. On the other hand if beer and other palatable intoxicants become "standard remedies" frequently prescribed by "reputable druggists" the possibilities of evading the Volstead Act are obvious.

## Steel Trust to Reform

THE United States Steel Corporation has in some respects, such as "welfare work," been a model employer, but it has a very bad record with reference to hours of labor. The Interchurch report on the steel strike and the conditions which caused it brought to the public attention the prevalence of the seven day week and the twelve hour day in the steel industry. The "basic" eight hour day, that is the length of a "working day" taken as a basis for reckoning wages, has prevailed for some time in the steel industry, as in nearly all other branches of wholesale factory production in the United States, but the actual time spent at labor in the steel plants was frequently twelve hours. When shifts were changed many workers were compelled to stand a double shift. The long working day was maintained very largely by the increased demand for steel resulting from the Great War. The corporation tried to get the utmost amount of labor out of every man because there was almost no limit to the market for steel, and the bait of high wages induced many workers to accept the overtime labor.

But Chairman Gary of the Steel Corporation announces that there will be a change in the policy of the company regarding hours of work. The seven-day week and the twenty-four hour turn when shifts are changed have, he says, been entirely eliminated from the system.

A special committee composed of presidents of subsidiary companies has been considering also the abolition of the twelve-hour day. If the eight-hour day is established in the Steel Corporation plants, independent producers will probably follow suit, as the Steel Corporation "sets the pace" for the iron and steel industry.

## Spanish Premier Shot

ON March 8 Premier Eduardo Dato was assassinated by some unknown political enemy. Premier Dato was returning from the Chamber of Deputies in a motor car when a man appeared riding alongside on a motorcycle. The cyclist fired at the Spanish Premier, killed him and his chauffeur, and then escaped. The crime is attributed to the radical syndicalists who were deeply offended by the severity with which the Spanish Government represt strikes and riots while Dato was in power. Manuel Salazar has succeeded Dato in his post of honor and danger.

Altho the largest neutral country in Europe and free from all the sufferings of the war, Spain has not enjoyed internal peace and quiet during the last few years. Spain has a liberal constitution and parliamentary government but ages of autocratic oppression and the burden of poverty and illiteracy among the people have made it difficult for the Spanish people to make effective use of their free



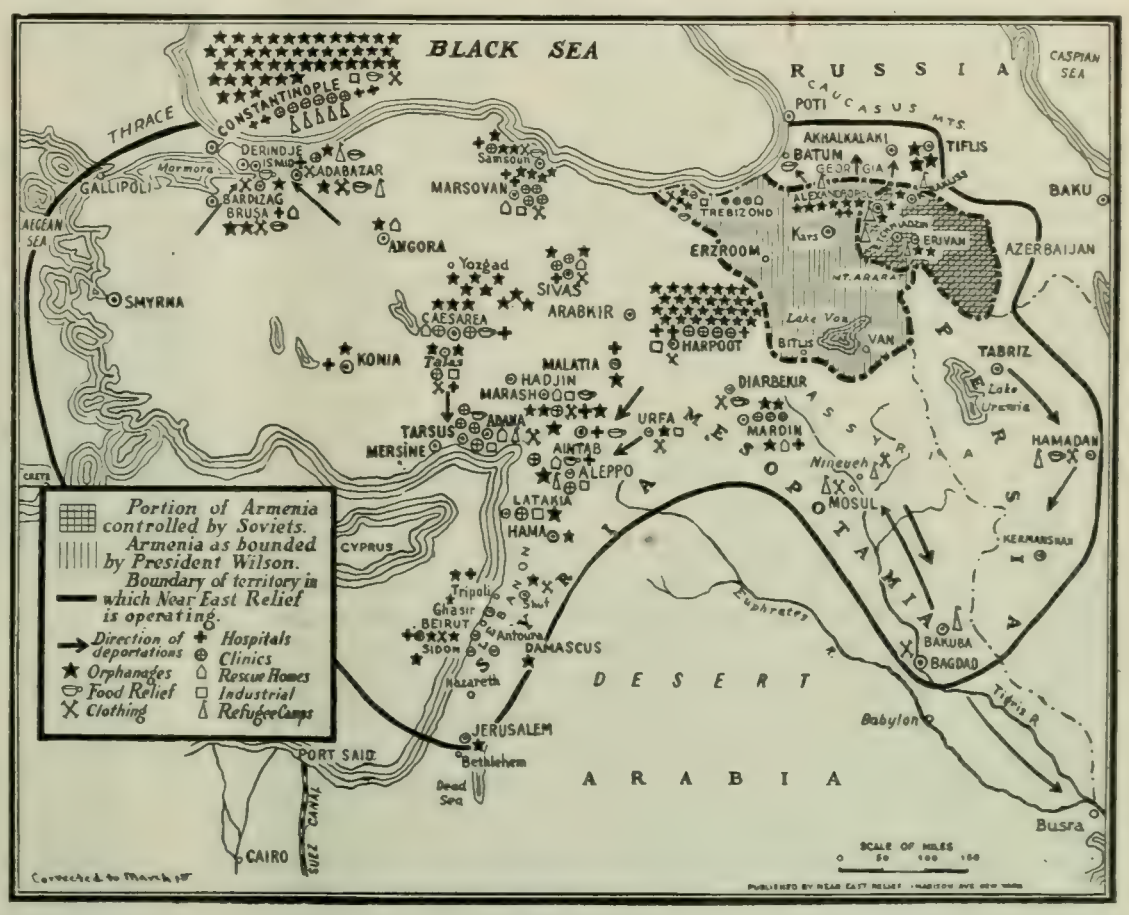
© *International*

**WHERE OFFICE-HOLDING IS AN "EXTRA-HAZARDOUS OCCUPATION**

**Premier Dato of Spain (left) was assassinated on March 8 by a political enemy, presumably of the radical syndicalist party to which Premier Dato's conservative policy was in stern opposition. This photograph shows the Premier in consultation with King Alfonso of Spain, whose life has also been frequently threatened, in spite of the fact that the King is known to give his personal support to liberal principles**

institutions. In Spain, as in France, parties are divided into fragmentary personal groups and, as a result, ministries succeed each other at very short intervals. Sometimes no Government enjoys a dependable majority and a serious parliamentary deadlock results. The country is mainly agricultural and conservative, but in Catalonia there is a new urban proletariat which is perhaps the most aggressive and revolutionary in all western Europe. King Alfonso, in spite of his personal devotion to liberal principles, has repeatedly been attacked by would-be assassins and the holding of any high public office in the country has been commonly accounted an "extra-hazardous occupation." On its side the Government has been almost equally merciless in dealing with the "reds." The execution of Professor Ferrer in 1909 for alleged encouragement of an anarchist uprising attracted particular attention to the internal disturbances of Spain at the time, but similar outbreaks and instances of ruthless repression have been frequent since.

Premier Dato was a lawyer by profession and a strong conservative by conviction. In the elections of December, 1920, his Ministry was sustained, tho it rested on a rather narrow and unstable majority. Politically the bulk of the Spanish people—or at any rate the Spanish politicians—are divided into Conservatives and Liberals, but both of these parties are again divided into personal factions; the Conservatives being grouped as followers of Dato, Maura and Cierva, the Liberals as followers of Romanones, Alba and Garcia Prieto. Outside these two big "respectable" parties are several more or less revolutionary groups. There are the Catalan "regionalists" who demand local home rule for Catalonia, and may be compared with the Irish Nationalists in the British House of Commons. There are the Carlists who wish to restore the old dynasty "by divine right," now represented by Don Jaime of Bourbon the "pretender"; they may be compared with the English Jacobites of the eighteenth century. There are the Republicans who cannot forget that a generation ago Spain was for a brief period a republic. There are the Socialists. Out of such antagonistic elements it is not easy to construct a workable administration.




ARMENIA?

**This map shows the present extent of the operations of Near East Relief, which has gone regardless of race or creed wherever destitute Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Assyrians, or other peoples were oppressed and in need. The area of its work—from Constantinople to Bagdad, and from Port Said to Baku, shows how scattered are these destitute, in many cases starving refugees. The map shows, too, the striking contrast between the amount of territory covered by Near East Relief and that (marked by crossed lines) which is under the Soviet control. As yet not one foot of Turkish territory is controlled from this Russian Armenia**

# Letting the Turk Down Gently

NEGOTIATIONS for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres are still in progress. All of the principal alterations are designed to conciliate the Turks, and Greece is the principal loser by the revision. Turkey, which century after century has been losing ground because of the inefficiency of her Government and the discontent of her Christian subjects, has always been able to win back from the Christian Powers by diplomacy something of what she had lost by war. When Greece first revolted from Turkish rule the Empire of the Sultans was saved by the dread which the reactionary courts of Europe had of encouraging too far the principle of national independence. In the days of the Crimean War, and again in 1878, Turkey was saved by British jealousy of Russia's expanding power in the Black Sea region. The later massacres in Armenia and Macedonia under Abdul Hamid caused the Turks to forfeit British support, but they found a new champion in Germany, which was not so much inclined to be sentimental over "atrocities" in a distant country and feared the growth of Slavic power in the Balkans. The first Balkan War looked like the beginning of the end for Turkey, but a timely quarrel between the Greeks and Bulgarians saved the day A sixth opportunity to put an end to the "unspeakable Turk" occurred when Turkey unwisely leagued herself with the losing fortunes of Germany in the Great War. Everyone supposed that if the Allies won the whole domain of the Sultan would be divided among the victorious nations.

But the perpetual luck of the Turk again came into play. Russia collapsed into such a complete anarchic disintegration as to nullify all the plans which had been formed of rewarding her for her part in the war by the gift of Constantinople and Armenia. The United States refused to take the mandate over Armenia. Greece repudiated her pro-Ally Prime Minister and recalled to power a King who was believed in France and England to be an ardent pro-German. The expenses of the war bore so heavily on the French, English and Italian taxpayers that the Allied Governments dared not venture the cost of military expeditions to coerce the Turks into accepting the peace which they had planned. Moreover the British and French have many millions of Mohammedan subjects in their colonies and feared to awake the spirit of religious fanaticism by proceeding too drastically against the only important Mohammedan nation which still enjoys full independence. A complex of all these causes: the defection of Russia, the defection of Greece, the defection of the United States, the war-weariness of Britain, the French resentment at Grecian policy, combined to bring about a compromize peace instead of the final death blow to the Turkish Empire which the world expected.

Turkey, of course, will lose her former sovereignty over Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia and must submit to international control of the Straits. Armenia will be recognized as "independent," tho with what frontiers and what effective guarantees of independence is not yet evident. Greek claims in Thrace will be revised and Turkey

will obtain practical sovereignty in Constantinople; in short, "Turkey-in-Europe" will still remain in the geographies.

The Greek zone around Smyrna will be much reduced and will be subject to a nominal Turkish overlordship; "autonomy" taking the place of independence. By a separate agreement with the Nationalist faction the French have evacuated Cilicia. The frontiers of the French mandate in Syria have been modified by a Franco-British agreement in such a way that the British can construct a railroad line connecting Palestine and Mesopotamia without passing thru French territory. This railroad is said to be part of a plan for an all-British route from India to the Mediterranean; a majestic conception which rivals in scope the famous pre-war German plan of "Berlin to Bagdad."

Altho Armenia has not yet been rescued, she has been in part avenged. Talaat Pasha, former Grand Vizier of Turkey and one of the "Young Turk" leaders during the war, was shot down in the streets of Berlin on March 15 by a young Armenian student. Talaat Pasha fled from Turkey to escape responsibility for his share in the Armenian massacres when the collapse of the Turkish Empire made him liable to the vengeance of the victorious Allies. Under an assumed name he lived quietly in Switzerland and Germany and thus escaped the legal punishment which his crimes had earned.

# The Japanese Census

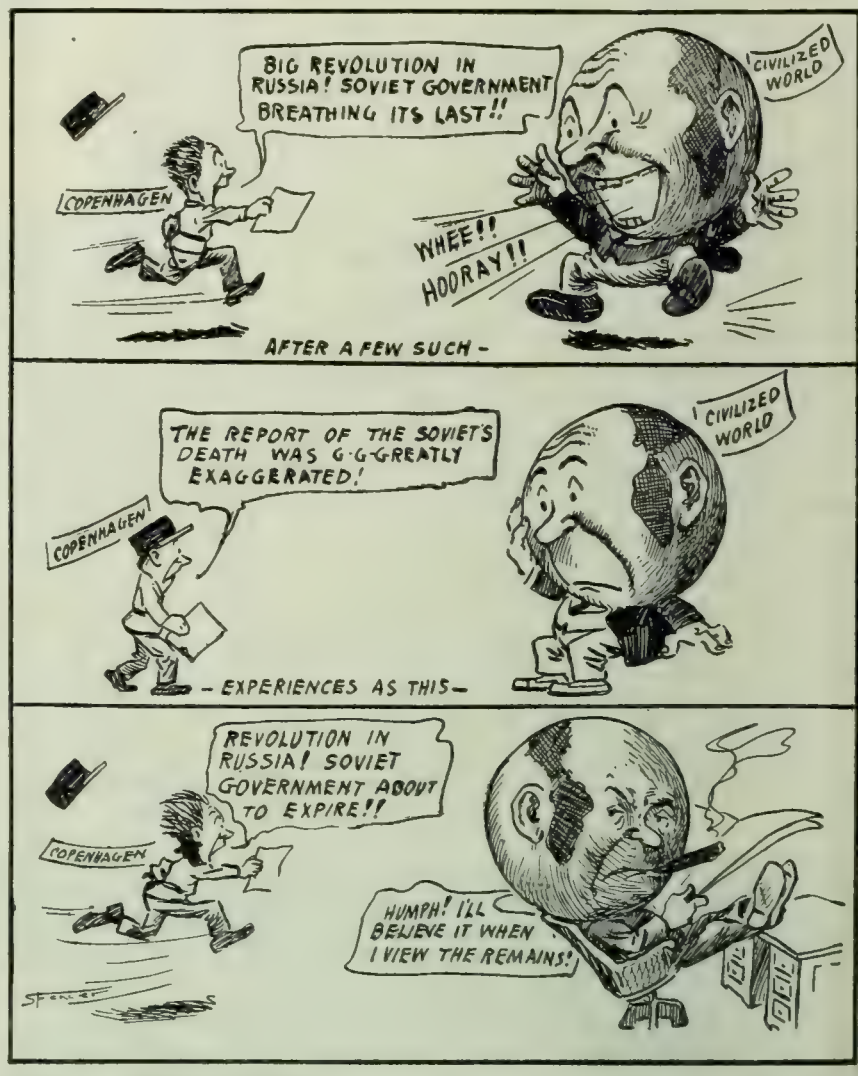
IN March the Japanese Government announced the results of its first complete official census. Hitherto the population has been estimated from police reports and other partial surveys. But the census when taken conformed very closely to anticipations, and contained few surprizes. Japan proper was found to have a population of 55,961,140; Korea or Chosen, 17,284,207; Formosa, 3,654,000; Japanese Sakhalin or Saghalien, 105,765. This gives a total population of 77,005,112 for the whole Empire, without taking account of the small Pacific islands gained under mandate as a result of the war with Germany or the zones of commercial influence in Manchuria and Shantung. Tokio, the capital and largest city, had a population of 2,173,162, which is less than that of Chicago. Osaka came second with 1,252,972, ranking on the American scale between Philadelphia and Detroit. Kobe, the third city, ranked between Baltimore and Pittsburgh; Kioto, the fourth, being about the same size; Nagoya, the fifth, a little less populous than Washington, D. C.; Yokohama, the city best known to foreigners, coming as low as sixth on the list and being a little larger city than is Newark, New Jersey.

The chief significance of the Japanese census is the evidence it gives of that overcrowding which turns the thoughts of the nation, if not to emigration, at least to expansion and the development of the foreign market. Japan, proper, with nearly 56,000,000 people, is smaller than California with less than three and a half million. The whole Japanese Empire is about the size of Texas. To put things another way, the rocky islands of Japan are almost as densely populated as the state of Massachusetts, and the whole Japanese Empire is more densely populated than the state of Connecticut. If Japan were a mainly industrial nation, importing its foodstuffs from elsewhere, there would be nothing alarming about these figures; England is much more thickly settled than Japan and so is Belgium. But the mass of the Japanese population is still agricultural, and against the advantages of the climate must be placed the mountainous character of the country. It is not surprizing, therefore, that with all the great achievements of Japanese civilization the masses of the people still have a lower standard of living than prevails in this country or in western Europe.

# The Petrograd Revolt

EVER since the Bolsheviki entrenched their power in the old Russian capital of Moscow, Petrograd has been one of their weak points. It is true that the city was revolutionary and Bolshevist even before Moscow succumbed to the red deluge. But this very tendency to revolution, an asset when the Bolsheviki were seeking power, became a liability when that power had to be protected from other revolutionary groups. Petrograd, moreover, is on the fringe of the Russian empire and liable both to foreign influences and to foreign military action, whereas Moscow is the very heart of old Muscovy. More than once the taking of Petrograd by an anti-Bolshevist army has been reported, tho always these rumors have turned out to be exaggerated. Counter-revolutionary outbreaks in Petrograd have been numerous and their repression excessively bloody, even for the Bolsheviki.

In the latter part of February renewed disturbances broke out in Petrograd. Workingmen went on strike for an increased bread ration, for Petrograd has notoriously been on the verge of starvation for many months. The strikers




*Spencer in Omaha World-Herald*

**It will require some fairly substantial evidence to start him celebrating**

were repressed by the rifles of the Red Army, but these street massacres only embittered the strikers and their sympathizers. They seized several suburbs and put to death as many Bolshevist officials as they could catch. The sailors of Kronstadt, who were the first to rise on behalf of Bolshevism under the Kerensky régime, now declared against the Soviet Government and in favor of the new revolution instigated by Kerensky and his associates. A Bolshevist report from Moscow on March 5 admitted the loss of Kronstadt but asserted that the garrison of Petrograd itself was still loyal.

Sympathetic outbreaks took place in Moscow and in many parts of southern Russia. But in Moscow stern measures were taken which restored temporary quiet. General Budenny with a large force of Bolshevist cavalry is said to have been summoned to Moscow to keep the capital loyal.

Peasant insurrections are epidemic thruout Soviet Russia and the Ukraine, but hitherto these have been easily suppressed. The significance of the Petrograd revolt, even if it should prove to be premature and be drowned out in blood, is that it points to a growing discontent on the part of organized industrial labor, the very class in whose name the Bolsheviki rule Russia. The American Federation of Labor has adopted resolutions denouncing the "slaughter of labor unionists" by the Soviet authorities, and similar protests have come from radical labor leaders in Norway, France and other countries.




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**The bear that walks like a question mark**

# The Reparations Deadlock

"YOUR move," said Germany.

"Very well," said the Allies, "we move into Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort. Now it's your move."

"I won't play," said Germany. "Study the board for yourself while I smoke my pipe."

That is practically the present situation with regard to the German indemnity. The Allied occupation of the Ruhr cities has been peacefully carried out. The Germans have interposed no resistance, tho there are rumors of impending strikes in the coal mines as a protest against the occupation. The German Government is opposing passive resistance to the Allies, and the latter are trying to think up more effective means of coercion to compel the payment of reparations by Germany. So long as "our armies will advance" remained only a threat it had some influence in forcing Germany to make diplomatic concessions to the Allies, but a threat which has already been executed is no longer available as a menace. The armory of coercion of the Allies is not, however, by any means exhausted.

Foreign Minister Simons has achieved a diplomatic triumph in Germany, however little it may avail him in dealing with the Allies. He had to face opposition on two sides. Moderates accused him of angering the Allies by a clumsy presentation of the German case and of failing to make the utmost possible concessions to avert the military occupation of German soil. Aggressive and high spirited Nationalists accused him of offering more than Germany could, would or should pay. The theory of the reactionary and militarist parties in Germany is that the imposition of penalties on Germany before May 1 was a violation of the Treaty of Versailles so serious as to nullify the whole Treaty; so that Germany is no longer legally or morally bound to observe any of the conditions imposed on her after the war. There is a double flaw in this theory. In the first place, the Allied penalties are not in violation of the Treaty since they are imposed (nominally at least) not in punishment for Germany's refusal to agree to the indemnity fixed by the Allies, but in punishment for the numerous violations of the Treaty of which Germany has already been guilty. Germany has not surrendered or punished the "war criminals," she has not effectively disarmed the irregular military forces in Bavaria and elsewhere, she has not made good on all the categories of reparations which should have been paid many months ago. In the second place, even if the Treaty of Versailles were really invalidated by the action of the Allies, Germany would still be in no position to take advantage of the fact. The military weakness of Germany is at present so great that a renewal of the war could have only one possible end. Herr Simons understands this very well, if the Kaiserites do not, and he has therefore stedfastly set his face against any active resistance to the measures of coercion taken by the Allies.

After a full discussion in the Reichstag the policy of the German Government was upheld by 268 votes to 49. Herr Simons declared his policy to be "fulfillment of the Treaty so far as that is possible, but no further." He said that unless his decision to refuse acceptance of the Allied terms was approved by the Reichstag he would be forced to resign. He would not refuse to reopen negotiations or entertain new proposals as to the payment of reparations, but he must remind the Allies that by imposing penalties the situation had been altered "both psychologically and actually" and that agreement had been made much more difficult. As a measure of protest, the German Government recalled its Ambassadors from London, Paris and Rome.

The British House of Commons approved on March 14 the second reading of a bill authorizing the Government to impose a 50 per cent levy on the purchase price of German goods sold in Great Britain. This extra tariff on imports from Germany is one of the economic penalties imposed on Germany to force an agreement as to the indemnity. In order to make this penalty effective, separate action must be taken by each Allied country. Premier Lloyd George had to defend his policy against Mr. Clynes, one of the leaders of the Labor party, who said that a peaceful settlement even if not wholly satisfactory would be better for British interests than a renewal of military measures which disturbed the peace of Europe and postponed the return of economic stability. Lloyd George declared that the London agreement as to what reparations should be demanded was "a perfectly fair settlement" and that "You will never get an agreement with Germany if she knows that under no condition will you enforce it." He denied that the penal tariff on German imports would hurt British trade, asserting that Great Britain obtained nothing from Germany indispensable to British industry except aniline dyes, that the stock of dyes on hand would last for months and that further supplies could be collected as reparations from the occupied regions of Germany.

A great deal will depend, of course, on the result of plebiscite in Upper Silesia. If this great coal-bearing region votes to remain German, as did the regions of Allenstein and Marienwerder and the southern plebiscite zone in Schleswig, Germany will be encouraged to make a fairly good offer of indemnity; but if it votes Polish the Germans will profess their inability to pay even a portion of what is demanded of them. It will be remembered that the German counter-proposals of reparation at London, inadequate as they were, depended upon the continuance of German rule in Upper Silesia and that this condition was one reason why the Allies refused to consider the German offer.

# "I Am the—"

## Readers of The Independent Respond to Our Invitation to Blow Their Own Trumpets

*We gave the preacher the last word a week ago. So now listen to a word from the preacher's "boss":*

### I Am the Bishop

I am the churches' trouble clerk.

When superabounding enthusiasm or deficient management leads fond brethren into financial quagmires I am called upon to rescue the enterprise, without over-emphasis on the foolishness that imperilled it.

When the pastor mistakes his piety for infallibility and becomes an autocrat among democrats and the sheep become wolves devouring one another I exercize mild persuasion till their gentleness is restored and the good dominie recovers either his sense of humor or his sense of fallibility.

When a ruling elder adopts the rule-or-ruin type of piety I repeat the ancient admonition to arrogant royalty, "Remember thou too art mortal" and lead the congregation in the exercise of self-determination until the ecclesiastical Napoleon is safely relegated to his St. Helena.

I counsel young ministers in ways of service. I point them to opportunities for achievement. I save them from ignoble place hunting and lead them into the glory of place making.

I deal with church problems and politics and property and money and all unspiritual things. But I render a spiritual ministry. The clear, clean brilliance of the electric light comes because some one stokes the black and sullying coal. The comfort and restfulness of a well ordered home comes only by solving the problem of washday strain and ugliness.

I am the churches' trouble clerk but I like my job. I am a welcome visitor in three hundred parsonages where dwells the world's real aristocracy of heart and life. I secure occasional increases in the stipend of faithful men and so lift burdens from wifely shoulders and open doors of enlarged opportunity to wide-eyed children of the manse.

I am welcome in homes of wealth for the opportunities I have to offer of channels through which gold may be transmuted into imperishable life fitted for the Kingdom of God.

I help the churches to stem the tide of paganism and to keep humanity from fiddling their little tunes of self-interest while the world is burning up.

I am the bishop—of a non-episcopal communion!

*You would be surprised at the number of eloquent and even poetical letters we received from the engineers, who are usually thought of as men of iron, weeping only tears of lubricating oil, and idealizing the almighty dollar. One letter quoted Engineer Hoover as proof to the contrary, and here is another who can see the ideal side of the newest of the liberal professions:*

**Last week we made a brave start at publishing a typical selection of Independent readers' vindications of their various and sundry jobs. We go on with them in this issue; and from time to time in subsequent issues others will appear**

### I Am the Engineer

I lead the great forces of nature into the service of man; I subdue Gravity and make her my slave; I call the nations from afar and bid them God speed; I "send the lightnings that they may go and say unto me—here we are;" I hitch them to my car; I take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts.

The valley is my playground, the great mountain my delight; I "bore it through as with a thorn." I fill up the valleys and make straight paths: rivers stay not my course. The mighty ocean my handmaiden, takes my burden of love and helpfulness to other lands; I bind the nations with bands of steel. The desert places and the desolate land, I make to blossom as the rose. The icy land and the ends of earth give up the "treasures of the snow" at my behest. I move the world in exchange and distribution. I delve into the earth and open her treasury, bringing comfort and happiness into every home. Streams of oil follow me in waste places.

The poor and the rich rejoice together in my labors, and nations that were afar off become my neighbors and friends; I carry good things to those who lack; I prepare the world so two may live and rejoice, where one only lived before.

I am the engineer.

M. W. Venable

Charleston, West Virginia

*Judging by the merits of the letters sent, we would almost be inclined to give first place to the physicians. It is a pity that we can't prove this by printing a lot of their letters; but here is a fair sample:*

### I Am the Doctor

I am the custodian of health, that condition of mind and body essential to the adequate enjoyment of all life's blessings, of the food supplied by the farmer, the reading matter provided by the editor.

I am the only servant of society who is expected to adhere to the twenty-four hour work day and the seven day work week. I am understood to be ready to answer all calls, regardless of hour or weather.

I am the first to be summoned in serious illness or accident, and the last to be remunerated for my service.

In war I am able to forestall the appalling loss of men from disease, once more decimating to armies than shot and shell. In peace I am still on military duty, altho no politician suggests a bonus or advocates a pension.

Each day upon the firing line of my profession I have coughed into my face the deadly germs of "flu," pneumonia and tuberculosis.

I am with you in the hour of nativity; I minister to the ailments of your infancy and childhood; and, when the final battle with death has been lost, I am found at your bedside as you "put out to sea."

I am an insignificant unit in the puny army that is called upon to police the world of disease. Yet I am expected to appear in the sick-room with the smile and the message of gladness and good cheer.

My competitors are as the sands of the sea. The patent-medicine man has a ready-to-take remedy for each particular ill, with many panaceas besides. The Christian Scientist attacks disease by giving it the cut direct, and by resolutely refusing to recognize its presence. Many of the mind-cure cults accuse me of gross materialism, while the chiropractor cannot understand why I do not "cure" all forms of disease thru the "adjustment" of a vertebra.

Notwithstanding all these impediments, when surgery is required, or epidemics are to be controlled, or when grave illness strikes your home, I am usually called.

You have guessed what I am. Some call me "doc."

I am the doctor.

William Y. Ward

Ivanhoe, Texas

*Very few lawyers, comparatively speaking, joined our symposium, but here is one whose sturdy defense of the legal profession is worth the advocacy of many:*

### I Am the Lawyer

I am the lawyer and upon me all men depend for the maintenance of their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Whether you are a rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, doctor, farmer, editor or chief, you are indebted to me for much of the good in your past and you rely upon me for your present and future. No rich man ever acquired wealth honestly and kept it long without my assistance and every poor man owes his freedom from slavery to me. The beggar, whether for himself or for others, for private

or public enterprizes or philanthropies, at home or abroad, knows me as his "first touch." Ye editor would not be safe in publishing the news of the day were it not for the laws formulated and enforced by me.

When you think that you are not likely to need me for a little while you get independent and might even like to have the game laws amended so that it would be open season for lawyers twelve months in every calendar year, but whoever or wherever you are, as soon as trouble comes to you, you come to me. You should have a real genuine affection,—yes, a reverence for me. If you have it not, you will get a shock when you enter the pearly gates, for many there will be lawyers.

I am the lawyer.

EDWIN L. WAUGH

Chicago, Illinois

*So much for the professions; but the world of business must not be forgotten. Let us listen first to the aristocrat of the commercial world, the banker:*

## I Am the Banker

I am the provider of credit on which is based 90 per cent of the business transactions of the country.

I marshal the millions of potential "silver servants" and keep them working.

I provide the wherewithal for turning the spindles, cutting the timber, tilling the soil, garnering the grain, smelting the iron, manufacturing the products, launching the vessels, transporting the freight—that keeps America in the forefront of the commercial world.

I am asked for advice concerning coal mining, tobacco curing, wheat producing, insect exterminating, hog raising, cattle grazing, stock watering, soap making, fruit tree grafting, plain grafting, melon growing, melon cutting and all other pursuits of happiness and unhappiness.

I am the banker.

FRANK BRANAN

Macon, Georgia

*The advertizing man can always, of course, do a good "blurb" whether his goods or his trade be the subject:*

## I Am the Advertising Man

I am the dynamo that keeps stocks turning—the generator that puts pep into your business motor.

I stabilize the demand for reliable merchandize, thereby minimizing the high tide and low ebb of industry.

I educate the public to new, easier or more economical ways of doing their work. I show them where to find new playgrounds, how to increase their salaries, and even how to dress.

Without me the public would lose its protection against inferior imitations gained thru the trade-marking of good merchandize and would become the prey of unfair competition. Were it not for my support the most relied upon source of American informa-


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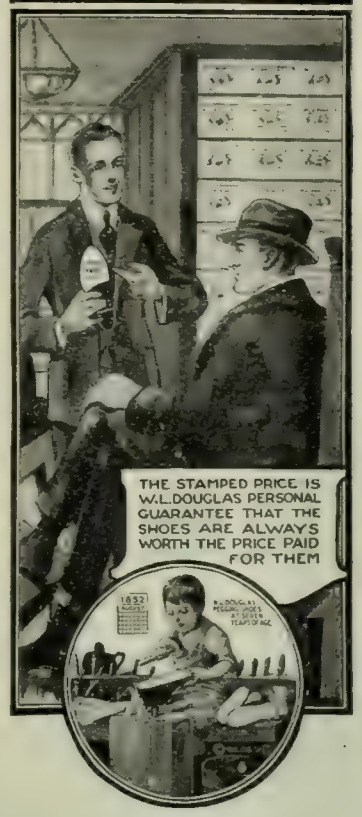
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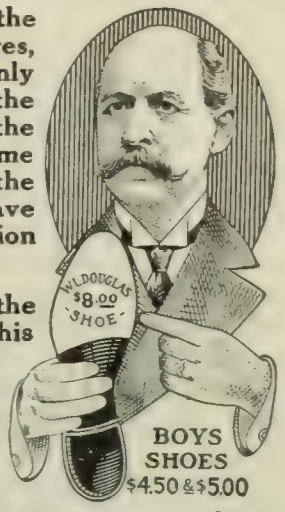
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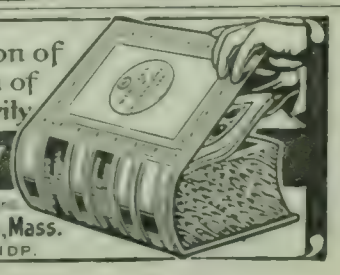
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I am the advertising man.

*No man is more unjustly or universally overlooked than the clerk:*

## I Am the Railway Clerk

Upon me all humanity depends to bring their daily bread.

Because of my labor America's railroads lead the world. Their prosperity is purchased by the "sweat of my brow."

When I prosper it spreads gloom thruout the world, for "prices must go up" if I am paid sufficient to provide for one good square meal a day to keep my weary soul and body together. When I am "let down easy" (a drop of $20 per) all the world smiles and is happy again.

I live amid noise and clamor, under smoke from monster iron steeds. I walk along the beautiful steel highways of the railroad tracks.

Without me the "Farmer" could not fill the granaries of the world, or have a "flivver."

Without me the "Editor" could not reach the 90,000,000 literate Americans with his garnered sheaves of manuscript.

In short I am the servant of the public.

I am the railway clerk.

L. A. WEED

Saratoga Springs, New York

*The editor has a soft place in his heart for those who bring his news; such as the telegraph operator and the letter carrier:*

## I Am the Telegraph Operator

I transmit intelligence under the sea, thru the air and across the land. In thousands of offices thruout the earth, in the great cities and the smallest hamlets; in lonely wireless stations by the sea, from where gleams aurora borealis to southern seas bathed in the soft radiance of the southern cross; I am at your service. In box car offices along the railroads, high in the snow-locked mountains, or in the desert's desolate waste, I help keep the streams of traffic moving.

I go to sea in ships. In daylight hours and thru the silence of the night my ear is listening for distress calls or warnings of danger. The great ships of commerce heed the whisperings in my ear that are deciphered in black and white by my hand. Mighty battleships dash away on missions of rescue or to defend a nation at a command sent thru a thousand miles of space. Messages of terrible import are trusted to me for generals on the field of battle. Nations rejoice or despair by magic words that pass thru my hands.

My names are engraved on tablets of bronze commemorating my heroism. Performance of duty even in the face of death is my record. My passion is service.

I am always on the job.

I am the telegraph operator.

K. M. HUDSON

Cle Elum, Washington

## I Am the Letter Carrier

Numerically I am over forty thousand strong. Individually my strength is sufficient to carry a sizable load of mail over a route laid out with a view to utilizing to the fullest extent every minute of the working day.

I am the exemplification of the democratic spirit in practical operation. I am cheerful, courteous and accommodating to all patrons alike. Riches, poverty, caste, creed, politics, virtue or vice have no meaning for me professionally. All must be served faithfully and impartially.

I am the repository of private and confidential matters, but the privacy of the mails is a principle not to be violated.

The little child's delighted cry, "Mamma, here's the mailman," testifies to my popularity.

I am the most familiar, the most intimate, the most welcome, best appreciated public servant.

I am the United States postman.

GEORGE WHITTINGHAM

Alliance, Ohio

*Here is the saga of the building trade, the trade to which Christ Himself was apprenticed as a youth:*

## I Am the Carpenter

I built the first house that was built of wood. I built the shop where Tubal Cain taught men to make the farmers' tools.

I built the ark that saved mankind at the time of the flood. I build the barns and storehouses where the farmer can store his surplus products for the provision of all mankind pending their distribution and also the cold storage warehouses where he can keep his surplus against the time of scarcity.

Men have had wonderful visions of beautiful temples of worship. I have made those visions a reality.

I build the house which provides a shelter from the sun of summer and the cold and snows of winter and which holds in the heat from your furnace. I even built the shop where your furnace was made and I am at the mine where you get your coal, shoring up the roof of the mine, building the shaft, and the breaker that breaks your coal in sizes to suit your needs.

I build shelters for all mankind, yes, for man and beast I keep them in repair. I save you from the rainy day you talk so much about by keeping your roofs shingled.

I am the progenitor of the one who makes the first chair you sit on, the first bed you sleep in, and the box in which you take your last long sleep.

Thus I am the first and the last whose work you need and I am needed all thru life.

When I am called in I always hit the nail on the head.

I am the carpenter.

HENRY A. TROU

Glen Cove, Long Island

*They used to say that it took nine tailors to make a man, but one of the craft points out that no man could put up much of an appearance if it were not for the tailor:*

## I Am the Tailor

I am the provider for covering of all mankind. I put the fashion on kings, statesmen and toilers in every walk of life.

I ascertain the dimensions of the perfect and the deformed. I labor from dawn until late in the night cutting, stitching and stretching here and shrinking there, and padding up to shield the deformities and make those whom the Almighty failed to make perfect appear perfect.

I am not greatly respected, altho I am as much of a necessity as the farmer, the builder, the preacher, the architect, the statesman, and—yes, the editor. If it were not for me, mankind would be compelled to return to the Garden of Eden and robe in fig leaves.

I am the tailor.

*Surely space must be given to the man who speaks for all of us, whoever and whatever we are—the townsman:*

## I Am the Townsman

I am the townsman. Without me the farmer's would be a sorry life indeed.

Without me he would not be in this our country and other countries where he has prospered. I am the shipbuilder who built the "Pinta," the "Nina" and the "Santa Maria" with which was discovered our country, the "Mayflower" and others who brought us both here and the countless vessels which carry the product of the farms to the ends of the earth and bring the farmer that which he requires. Also, I am the seaman.

Without me the farmer would harness his wife with withes to a crooked stick and but scratch the earth's surface instead of plowing it; he would live in caves or burrows dug with naked hands and sticks, for he would have no tools with which to build himself a house; he would use gourds and hollow stones for cooking utensils instead of pots and pans, and for lack of tools to cut the forests he could till but the parts of the earth left free of trees by Nature. Without me his would be a life of nakedness and wretchedness. I am the manufacturer.

I furnish the metals with which the manufacturer makes utensils and tools for the farmer and the coal wherewith to cook and keep warm, and save him from burning his corn and other output of his farm. The coal for the factory of the manufacturer is produced by me. I am the miner.

I furnish the farmer with ready markets for his produce, with transportation of it to markets, and con-

veniently supply him with that which he requires. I am the merchant and the transportation man.

I am the soul of civilization who lifts up the farmer from a life of ignorance and misery. I teach him better methods of life and cultivation and add materially to his happiness, well being and prosperity. I am the student, the inventor and the educator.

I put joy in the life of the farmer for I supply him with needed recreation. In me he finds the "movies" and other relaxations when he is weary of living with nature out in the great alone and hungers for humanity and the places where man is. I am the town.

I am all these things in peace and in war, and in war I protect the farmer if he but feed me and I give life and limb for him, for while he feeds he cannot fight. But I am not *it* nor is the farmer. If I work hard and do my work well, I am a cog in the mechanism of the universe and no more than that is the farmer.

I am the townsman.

A. P. GUNARI

New York City

## Forged Checks Are Easy Money to the Scratch Man

(*Continued from page 309*)

to the required amount. Half an hour later, I send a messenger boy to the bank with a check drawn in favor of Smith, and later on, the forged check is again presented for payment, this time successfully. You see, at every stage of the game, the bank has been of actual assistance. The rule should be that no bank official may give out information regarding any depositor's account.

If I were a depositor, I would never dream of insuring my deposit against forgeries. There are a number of different systems I might adopt. For example, I might use the "period" code for my signature.

Monday.....J. A. Doe.
Tuesday.....J. A. Doe
Wednesday.....J. A Doe
Thursday.....J A. Doe
Friday.....J A Doe.
Saturday.....J A Doe

Monday three periods are used, Saturday no periods are used, on the days between the periods are used in a different arrangement each day.

Of course, my bank would have a copy of any code I had chosen to use.

Then I would probably have, as further precaution, some little secret mark, if no more than a tiny blot of ink in the lower left-hand corner, or three instead of two lines thru the dollar mark.

Get your checks printed on a soft, absorbent, cheap quality paper—one on which your ink signature shows clearly thru on the back; add to this some such code of signature as I have described; see that your bank teller checks your signature each day by the code for that day; and you will have less reason to fear the Scratch Man.

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# The Lady from Oklahoma

(*Continued from page 311*)

audited accounts, prepared statistics, made quarterly and annual reports and each summer handled two normal schools. Her work required her to drive with horse and buggy, in all kinds of weather, over this Creek country as large as the state of Connecticut, thru sections that were sparsely settled; but she was never molested. There were no hotels and her stops overnight were made wherever she could find accommodations. She accepted the rude hospitality of Indian friends, who were always glad to welcome her.

When Colonel Roosevelt became President one of his early appointments was that of Miss Robertson as postmaster at Muskogee. Since childhood Miss Robertson has supported herself and the sympathy she feels for others who toil expressed itself in many ways. Perceiving the need for some sort of a club or gathering place for the working girls of the town, she undertook to supply it. The first step in this enterprize was to secure a room and make provision for serving meals to these girls at a nominal price. It was only a step from this beginning to the establishment of a cafeteria in which hundreds of people were fed—an enterprize which has been running successfully ever since.

It was from this modest little restaurant that Miss Alice conducted the unique campaign that elected her. Neither daily paper in Muskogee supported her candidacy. She proceeded therefore to extend the space in both papers where she advertized her restaurant, and every day the want ad. columns of these papers carried her appeal. So varied, piquant and interesting was her copy that it was widely read, so sincere and so free from the wearisome buncombe of the ordinary campaign appeal that it won her many friends and votes.

Miss Alice is intensely patriotic, and not being able to serve her country in the ranks she has done yeoman service by giving comfort and good cheer to the boys in uniform upon whom she spends a mother's solicitude and affection. Two troops, "L" and "M" of the Rough Riders, were recruited at Muskogee and she took deep interest in looking after some of the Indian soldiers who had been her pupils and in speeding them on their way to service in the Spanish War.

But it was in the Great War that Miss Alice earned her crown. When troops began to mobilize they went first in small numbers on regular trains and then trainload followed trainload southward thru Muskogee to the many training camps in Texas; a Red Cross chapter in Muskogee was among the first in the state to organize for service, but Miss Alice did not wait for Red Cross funds or assistance, so urgent did she feel the call to mother the boys who were going to war. Taking her Ford and loading it with good things from her restaurant made for the occasion—cookies, and pies, sandwiches made from her own home baked hams, with candies, cigarettes, postcards and chewing gum, and towering over all a big smoking can of hot coffee—the flivver driven by her colored boy and convoyed only by her, she set forth to be on time for every regular or special train that might carry a soldier. At first these embryo soldiers were astonished by this attention, for they had not yet experienced a Red Cross canteen; but it was not long before the fame of Miss Alice extended to all the southwestern training camps, and passing troops began to look forward to Muskogee and to the motherly woman who would greet them. No soldier in the service could have applied himself more rigorously to his duties than did Miss Alice to her self-appointed ministrations. Meeting the trains was a matter of the first importance with her.

As the work grew the railroad company generously placed an old passenger coach on a siding for a Red Cross canteen in which Miss Alice presided over a corps of efficient Red Cross workers, while her canteen became a pattern for others set up in towns that were not so early in the field of Red Cross work. Many soldiers stopped in Muskogee for various reasons and they were not long in learning that if they were hard up or otherwise in trouble they could find help in a visit to Miss Alice; and altho she will not admit the charge against a boy in uniform, it is reasonably certain that some of her slender funds thus bestowed were never returned to her. She would not permit a man in uniform to pay for a meal in her restaurant and something over 5000 boys thus accepted her hospitality.

The Indians of Oklahoma will have a champion and friend in Congress in the person of Miss Alice. Beside remnants of smaller tribes there are in Oklahoma 100,000 members of the five civilized tribes, the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek and Seminoles. The shameful treatment of these Indians by their white neighbors east of the Mississippi and by our Government is a matter of history. They were practically driven out of their homes eighty years ago to the country that is now Oklahoma, where the Government promised that they should live in peace unmolested by white men. And now, the white man has overtaken them again; and the land which is now Oklahoma, every foot of which a few years ago belonged to the Indians in fee simple, has in large part passed into the hands of the white man.

Miss Robertson knows the Indians and their problems as well as any other person living. The trials and sufferings of the Indians are inseparably bound up with the traditions of her family for a century, and for half of that time she has been a witness of the injustice done the Indians.

*Muskogee, Oklahoma*

# The Uses of Diversity

(*Continued from page 310*)

whenever he invited Whittier, Longfellow or Bryant to send him a poem. The check, I believe, was invariably cashed and the poem sent. Years ago I tried the experiment on William J. Bryan, tho not for his poetry. He promptly sent the article on why the American people should give him their suffrage. But for some reason I never could understand the check remains uncashed to this day.

Magazine poetry in this country fell into a pretty bad way after the mighty Boston literary coterie passed from the stage. Little was produced in the United States outside of the "tinkle-tinkle" school until very recently. Now we have a group of young poets who take poetry seriously. They have something to say and they say it. They look upon poetry not as an end in itself, but as a means to get ideas into the minds and hearts of the people.

The new school of poetry is above all dynamic. It glories in exhibiting leadership in politics, sociology and religion as well as in all other departments of human thought and action. Of course there is an extreme left wing in this poetic renaissance. No one is allowed to forget that the vers libre movement is spreading o'er the land, while futurism, imagism, cubism, and vorticism—each has its apostles and devotees. But let them pass. Time, the universal solvent, will send them to their own place as it already has horsehair furniture, pine cone picture frames, the old-fashioned waltz and ping-pong.

Whatever the theme of the magazine poem, brevity is still the one essential. I may as well admit it, for no one would believe me if I stated the contrary, that nothing gives a finer typographical appearance to the bottom of a page at the close of an article than a sixteen line, four stanza verse. On account of the convenience of this length an American editor once gave a "rush" order to a well known poet for a "sixteen line sonnet" to fill out such a space. Doubtless it was some such experience as this which led Bliss Carman to make the sweeping statement that the late William Hayes Ward of The Independent and the late Richard Watson Gilder of *The Century* were our only modern editors who "really knew poetry when they saw it."

# The Presidential Handicap

(*Continued from page 308*)

cases in point. Public health activities, for instance, are carried on by all but one of the departments, and the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, with state and other public health experts, insists that, until reorganization of these activities is brought about, it will be impossible for the President—even had he nothing else to do—to get completely satisfactory results from such a situation. In the second place, there now exist more than twenty independent bureaus, some—such as the Interstate Commerce Commission—of great size, which are expected to report to the President direct. One may see then, if one ponder the situation ever so little, why it is foolishly unfair to suppose that a President can do, in addition to stupendous and more pressing duties, what rather large administrative bodies keep continuously busy over, in corporations that are relatively small.

Our small New England corporation has a planning division serving its president. This division uses the corporation as a kind of laboratory in which it strives to ascertain just how the loose ends can be gathered in, how the machinery can be controlled, how, in a word, existing plans can be made more efficient. Another, a larger American corporation of national scope—the American Telephone and Telegraph Company—has two considerable departments, each headed by a vice-president, and manned by high-paid experts, which have no administrative duties whatever, but are engaged continuously simply in working over the entire province of the corporation, to make sure that there are no wrinkles or wastes either technical or financial in character. One of these is a department of development and research, the other a department of accounts and finance. Both work above, with, and for the numerous subsidiary companies, by supplying to the executives scientifically established information about every corporation activity. They work to attain the utmost perfection in the organization as a whole, and have an eye always to the future, so that, long in advance, they are prepared to anticipate growth and emergencies. They work also to establish standards, technical and financial, in all administrative matters. And the result is that the head of this great corporation, not comparable in size or complexity with the United States Government, can, compared with the President of the United States, take things comfortably and as they come. He can, as it were, steer by compass, or even leave to others the business of steering, for he has always before him or immediately available data that shows him, as the saying is, "where he's at."

So there is something deplorable, something even tragic, in the nation's conception of the function of White House offices. In spite of our national pride and the great respect we accord a President, it is folly to expect that, if he is to measure up anywhere near to national expectations, he must inherit patents of divine ability from Almighty God.

We ask him to do the impossible and threaten him with national disgrace, despite Congress, despite a thousand and one pressures from all sides; and yet, when a new President takes office, he does not find even a complete file record of what his predecessor has done.

We ask him to pass, on the first of every October or within eight weeks thereafter, upon the estimates of appropriations needed by the 120 or so bureaus; he must pass on them, approve them and send them to the Treasury, to be printed in the book of estimates, the biggest book of abstract figures one ever saw, which is sent to Congress to be manhandled and massacred, so that the departments and bureaus may begin to spend our millions successfully on the next July 1st, the opening of the fiscal year.

We do not give him so much as an administrative secretary. He has a private secretary, but he is kept busy serving as intermediary between the President, on one hand, and political party, press, and public on the other hand. Actually, that is the traditional notion of the White House offices—they are to serve as a kind of clearing house between the President and the public and between the President, the public and the administrative departments and bureaus. The offices perform that function, which is in part perfunctory. They refer letters to the bureaus and the departments. Their major task is correspondence—that and dealing with the public. That is substantially all an office force of forty can do, all it has ever been expected to do. The proof is that during the last three years or so President Wilson did the bulk of the personal work in his own study or in the library of the White House. He seldom came to the White House offices, except on Tuesdays, Cabinet days. Contact with his office he maintained almost entirely by exchange of memoranda with his secretary. When he went abroad, that well-trod path from the White House to the offices was merely elongated some 4,000 miles and cable was substituted for messenger.

In the picture as a whole, then, you have a powerful reason why the Presidents fail, why in an Inaugural Speech one or another may say that tools are the modern means of civilization, and then come grimly to realize four years later that tools, in any modern sense of the term, are wanting.

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And here you have a suggestion for the Congress and the new President, and a suggestion, also, that the nation broaden its concept of the Presidency.

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G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. The Uses of Diversity.**

1. "The editor attempts to make up what might be called a menu. There must be soup . . . meat . . . salad . . . and finally dessert." Explain exactly what Mr. Holt means.
2. Criticize the last issue of your school paper along the lines indicated by Mr. Holt in the passage just quoted.
3. What figure of speech does Mr. Holt employ? What is the advantage of using the figure?
4. What is a "flimsy-whimsy"? Name some famous literary "flimsy-whimsies."
5. "The average good short story is about 5,000 words in length." How do you account for this length? What did Edgar Allan Poe say concerning the ideal length of a short story?
6. "Few fictionists can produce more than half a dozen really good stories a year." Why not?
7. What are some of the principles that guide one in writing a short story? What principles did Edgar Allan Poe set forward?
8. How should writers for your school paper write short stories?
9. Explain the following words as applied to an editorial office: Pegasus, Cabinet of Apollo, Seat of the Muses, Parnassiad.
10. Why did Longfellow's "Wreck of the Hesperus," for which he was paid $25, become a famous poem?
11. Name the members of "The Boston Literary Coterie." What different types of literary work did they accomplish?
12. What is "the tinkle-tinkle school"?
13. What does Mr. Holt mean when he says: "The new school of poetry is above all dynamic"?
14. Explain how time is "a universal solvent" in literature.
15. Mr. Holt names four objects of a book review. Are these the four objects you have in mind in studying literature in schools? If they are not, what objects do you have in mind?

**II. "I Am the—"**

1. Read aloud the article called "I Am the Engineer."
2. Name and explain every figure of speech in the article.
3. Write a letter entitled: "I shall be the ——," telling about the work you intend to carry on in your mature life, and about your purpose in carrying on that work. Imitate the style of the letters in The Independent.
4. Write a little play in which the characters represented in the printed letters work together for some common purpose. Invent any other character whom you wish.

**III. The Lady from Oklahoma.**

1. Write a paragraph of cause and effect, entitled, "The Influence of Ancestry."
2. Write a paragraph of specific instance in which you endeavor to prove that Miss Robertson will make a good member of Congress.
3. Write an original narrative in which you imagine yourself as having been the companion of Miss Robertson during some of her unusual experiences.
4. Write a paragraph of detail in which you summarize the unselfish services Miss Robertson has performed.
5. Imagine that you visit Miss Robertson in her Washington office, and that you talk with her concerning her life, her work, and her future purposes. Write a short account of your "interview."

**IV. The Presidential Handicap.**

1. Explain how the article is founded upon comparison and contrast.
2. Write a paragraph in which you summarize the constructive suggestions made in the article.
3. Draw from the article a subject suitable for argument. Write a brief in support of your view of the subject.

**V. Forged Checks Are Easy Money to the Scratch Man.**

1. The article suggests systems that might be adopted to prevent the forging of signatures. Write a "Sherlock Holmes" story in which you make use of the systems suggested.

**VI. The Reparations Deadlock.**

1. What is the value of the sort of introduction that the article has? Can you employ that type of introduction in your school compositions?
2. Give a clear oral exposition of the present situation involving Germany and the Allies.

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. The Business of Government—The Presidential Handicap. First Tax; Then Tariff. The Public Peril of Election Expenses. The Lady from Oklahoma. Splitting the States.**

1. What do you mean by "efficiency"? In what respects does public business fail to measure up to the standards of efficiency established by private business? Give some illustrations of this from Mr. Wilhelm's article.
2. How is the President handicapped by an inadequate "general staff" to help him in his administrative work?
3. Make a list of the duties that fall to the President. (You will find them mentioned in general terms in the United States Constitution; you should be able to fill in details by following the current news.)
4. Choose *one* of the following topics for a brief essay: (a) The President as Boss of the World's Biggest Corporation; (b) The Development of the President's Job from Washington to Harding; (c) What Public Business Can Learn from Private Business.
5. List the "unfinished business" of the recent Congress. With what other problems will the new Congress have to deal?
6. Comment on the statement that "tradition has made the tariff the favorite battle ground of American party politics." In what campaigns did this issue figure largely? What is the historic position of the Republican and Democratic parties on the tariff?
7. Use the material in Mr. Williams's editorial for briefing a debate on the legal limitation of primary and election expenses. Do you think publicity of campaign expenditures a sufficient remedy, or should there be a definite maximum limit to the amount which can be legally spent?
8. Would you suggest any changes in the boundaries of your own state? Why or why not?

**II. American Foreign Policy—The Lawyer and the League. The Colombia Treaty. Harding Appeals for China. Tongs and Fingers. Hughes the Peacemaker.**

1. How did Secretary Lansing's policy diverge from that of President Wilson with regard to the League of Nations Covenant?
2. What did Secretary Lansing propose as a substitute for Article X of the Covenant?
3. Mention some instances of international quarrels which are "justiciable," that is, subject to settlement by some international court or tribunal. Mention some other quarrels which cannot be settled on legal grounds, but involve diplomatic negotiation.
4. Give the history of our acquirement of the Panama Canal Zone. On what grounds has it been criticized? On what grounds has it been defended?

**III. Industrial Problems—Why the Comrades Need Capitalism. Labor and the Packers. Steel Trust to Reform.**

1. What does Mr. Spargo mean by saying that "The civilized world is less ready for Socialism than at any time in a hundred years past"?
2. Contrast the doctrine of evolutionary Socialism "that Socialism will come as the logical development of the capitalist system" with the doctrine of revolutionary Socialism that Socialism will come about by means of "the collapse of the capitalist system."
3. Why is there a downward tendency of wages at the present time? What issues are involved in the meat packers' dispute?

**IV. The Near East — Letting the Turk Down Gently.**

1. Explain the historical references in the first paragraph.
2. Why is the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire to be partial instead of complete?
3. What countries has the Turkish Empire lost from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present? When? How? To whom?
4. Explain the reference to the "pre-war German plan of Berlin to Bagdad."

**V. European Politics — The Reparations Deadlock. The Petrograd Revolt. Spanish Premier Shot.**

1. Write an essay on any *one* of the following topics: (a) The Reparations Crisis; (b) Bolshevism in Russia; (c) The Revolutionary Spirit in Spain; (d) Spanish Parties and Political Traditions.

# The Independent

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## "I Am the—"

*This week we give the floor to Soldier and the Student, in whom are represented a large part of mankind:*

### I Am the Student

"Why" is my watchword. "How" is my directing influence. "What for" is the by-word of the scoffer and if I cannot answer, I laugh, for nothing I have ever discovered has been of no value to the world, and nothing I shall ever do will be without some beneficial influence.

All men devote some of their lives to study, no man ever ceases to learn, but some learn only what is forced upon them, some acquire knowledge for the sake of riches, some for power to rule their fellow men, while others love knowledge for the enrichment and gift of understanding which it gives their own souls—these are students.

I may never possess great wealth, political or social power, I miss much of what the world calls pleasure, but I possess within myself a greater treasure and a greater strength, a depth and capacity for enjoyment and sorrow and understanding which no man can take away from me.

Men talk of being led by mobs or by aristocracies, of the divine right of kings. I smile at their lack of observation, for the world has always been led by an aristocracy—the aristocracy of brains. The student taught a race of ape-men the use of fire, the use of tools. He taught the savage to coöperate, to dwell together in villages, to cultivate grain and to domesticate cattle. He taught the barbarian to read and write. He taught civilized man to use machinery. In them all he helped develop a belief in God. Today his work continues, it is boundless. The dream of the idealistic student of today is but the achievement of tomorrow.

If you would become a leader of men, join with me.

I am the student.

MELVIN B. HALLETT
Amherst, Massachusetts

*Some letters point out that the guardian of the nation's peace, tho honored in war, receives less than just recognition when the nation enjoys the peace for which he fought:*

### I Am the American Soldier

I am the advance guard of civilization. I am the Knight of Democracy.

I am your protector, the protector of the great American public.

When Mars tore asunder his chains and smashed his shackles, at the beckoning of the Hun; when he hurled the world into a mire of blood; when he pitched the peoples of the earth into a rampage of slaughter and devastation; when he rattled at your very gates and threatened your wives and mothers, your sisters and sweethearts with plague and pestilence, with destitution, poverty, starvation, then I was your only hope of salvation, then I was your valiant hero.

For you I fought the Hun; for you I suffered sickness and disease and "all the ills that flesh is heir to"; for you I bore pains, and wounds, and weariness.

For you I lived in the rain and mud of France and stalked death in No-Man's Land thru a never-ending nightmare.

For you I defeated the Hun, that democracy might live and civilization not perish from the earth.

And now?

You mark me as a pest, a social outcast, a necessary evil, a public burden.

The serf has served your purpose.

I am the Knight of Democracy. I am the advance guard of civilization.

I am the American soldier.

C. HUNDERTMARK
Douglas, Arizona

## Opening Nights

*The Right Girl*—a tuneful musical comedy cut to the orthodox pattern of successful summer shows. (Times Square Theater.)

*The Survival of the Fittest*, by George H. Atkinson. A puzzling play; if meant as a burlesque on old-fashioned melodrama, it is yawningly tedious; if seriously intended, it is unspeakably poor. (Greenwich Village Theater.)

*Sascha Jacobsen*, a violinist not without honor in his own city, gave his farewell recital in New York last week, preceding an eighteen months' European tour. The Concerto in B Minor, by d'Ambrosio, was the outstanding feature of his program, which showed a brilliant mastery of the violin in musical moods that ranged all the way from Mozart to Rimsky-Korsakoff. (Carnegie Hall.)

*Inheritors*, by Susan Glaspell, shows the Provincetown Players at their best, and worst. The play is courageous in its presentation of ideas and written with grim sincerity. But of the cast of fifteen only two are adequate actors: Ann Harding, as the flamingly radical young college girl, and Jasper Deeter, as her farmer father, who sees in the world nothing more than a field of corn. (Provincetown Theater.)

*Mary Stuart*, by John Drinkwater, is a great play, greatly played. Clare Eames brings to the title role all the regal dignity, the brilliant wit, the passionate fire that are written in Mr. Drinkwater's characterization of the unhappy Queen of Scots. The action of the play takes place in a single day in the early life of Mary Stuart, its climax the murder of Riccio. But the action is unimportant in comparison with the play's analysis of fate. (Ritz Theater.)




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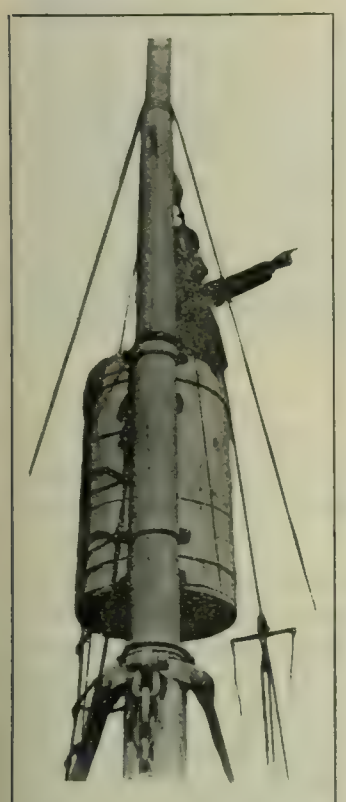
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The Independent
April 2, 1921



"Hiram was the greenest of all greenhorns . . . according to his ideas the crow's nest was 'up in the garret'"

*"The boat, crew, gear and all, was hurled high in the air and in an instant I felt myself skidding down that whale's back as tho it had been a greased toboggan slide into the sea"*

# Thar' She Blows

## A Tall Water Story of Adventure Aboard a Whaling Ship

### By James H. Williams, Able Seaman

WHEN I was a boy I always harbored a secret ambition to make a whaling voyage. This laudable but dangerous ambition was shared by a good many other healthy but humble youngsters in our locality, for we lived but fourteen miles from New Bedford, the great "Sperm City," and the reek of blubber was in the atmosphere.

Whaling was a game of chance; a mere gamble against long odds and a losing game.

But nearly every boy knew some older boy who had made a lucky voyage in a New Bedford whaler, won a few thousand dollars in the common hazard of a fortunate cruise, married the girl of his choice, bought a farm, or otherwise established himself, and settled down to a home life of contented respectability and maritime renown on the hard won proceeds of his early daring.

Personally, I cannot say that I shared in the prevailing ambition, so common among my youthful townies, to make a whaling voyage merely as a stepping stone to a peaceful stay at home existence.

I was born with a roving commission; I never knew a man in my home town whom I was willing to work for, nor a girl whom I dared pay court to, for my real love was the roaring sea. It is better to leave a maiden unkissed than a widow to mourn. By the irony of fate I was born amid a home environment in which I was entirely misplaced; in the heart of a dirty, smoky, sulphurous, noisy factory town to which I could never become reconciled or hope to endure.

I was a hopeless foreigner among the disagreeable surroundings of my native town, simply because my parents happened to get there at a most critical moment in my history and remained longer than the immediate necessities of the occasion required. I love my native land, but I always did despise my native town.

When I returned to my home in 1880 I was sixteen years old, and had just completed four years tall water sea service.

I had traded two years in the Western Ocean, sailed to the East as well as to the West Indies, crossed the Equator four times, doubled both Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope and circumnavigated the globe. Therefore, I justly considered myself some sailor-man, and decided that a four years' whaling voyage was all I needed to round out my career and establish my prestige as the most famous boy who ever left Narragansett Bay.

But when I reached New Bedford the local crimps, unscrupulous as they were, dare not ship me, in spite of my previous experience and evident fitness, because of my extreme youth. The law, they told me, had interposed a barrier which even they dared not overstep. They advised me, therefore, to return home and come back when I was older. So I was reluctantly obliged to resume my course in the ordinary service of the merchant marine.

But I never forgot my original determination to make a whaling voyage. And two years later I again presented myself to the local crimps in the port of New Bedford, lied my way thru and gained my long cherished position among a blubber hunter's crew.

It was early in March, 1882, that I was mustered into the whale fishery, thru the agency of old Tom Codd, the famous but more infamous "Shanghai" prince of New Bedford, and sent to sea in the good ship "Ramirez," 350 tons, Captain Dodge, for a four years' cruise. My ambition was to be gratified, but my trials had just begun.

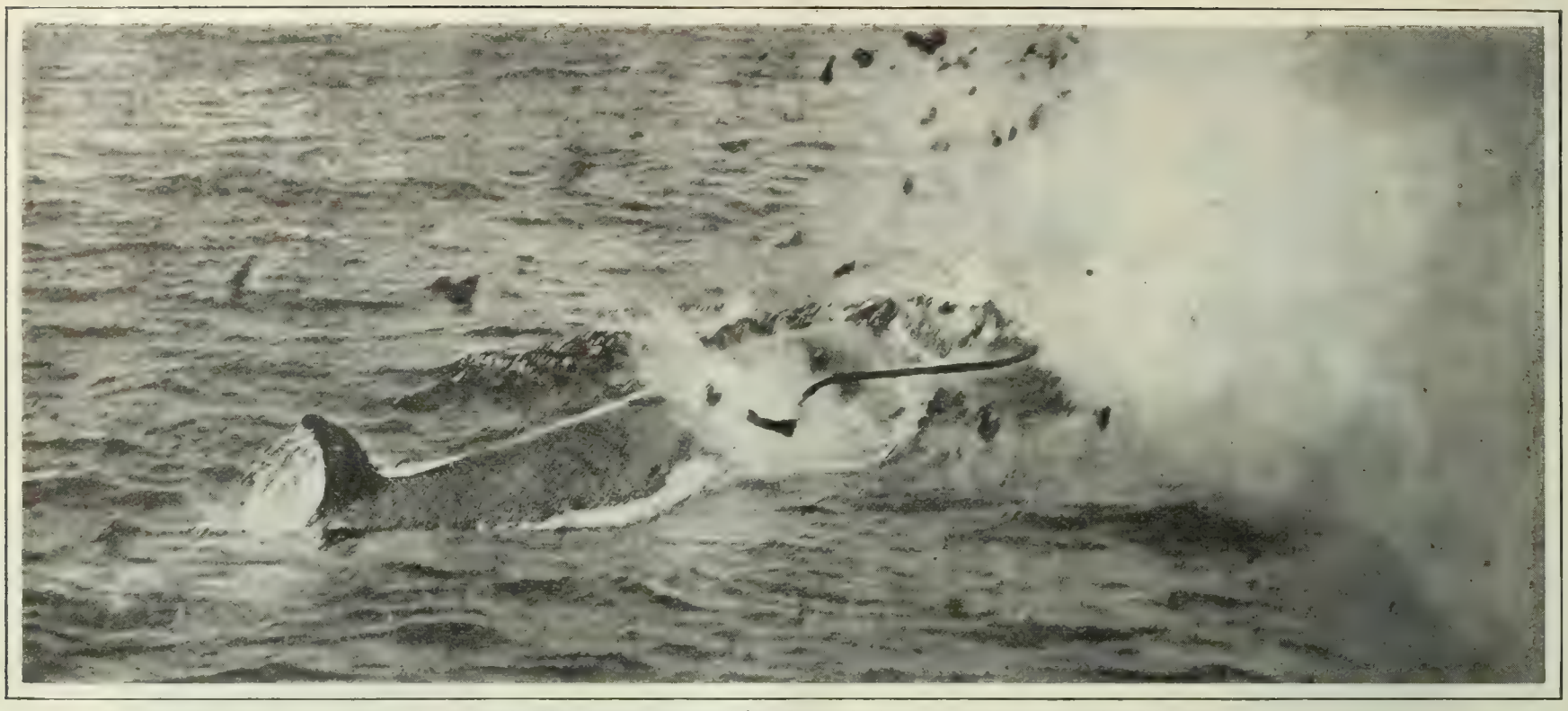
Many times during that memorable voyage I cursed the day I met old Tom Codd, and vowed that if ever I got my grapplings on him I would make short work of him.

It was a bitter cold morning in mid-March when we were lined up in front of the shipping office for first inspection and final selection by sturdy old Cap'n Dodge. We were a motley, unkempt assortment of various nations and races of men, most of us the helpless objects of dire adversity.

There were but few sailors and only three Americans. The rest were all human derelicts attracted together from far and near by decoy advertisements circulated by the wily crimps, who realized $100 bonus on every man secured thru their insiduous methods, regardless of whether he was sailor, farmer, peddler or soldier.

Among the crowd I noticed but one acquaintance, Tom Dennis, of Dartmouth. Tom and I had been playmates in early childhood and we had often gone swimming together in the Bay, and played baseball and lea stalks on the New Boston road.

I was glad to see Tom among the crowd of possibilities,



Struck home! The harpoon caught this whale squarely and lodged deep

not only because I knew him, but because, being somewhat older than myself, he had already one "plum pudding" voyage of seven or eight months to his credit and I felt therefore that he would be a valuable shipmate and helpful instructor to a person in my state of inexperienced enthusiasm.

By far the most noticeable personality among the motley crowd of stragglers was a big, raw-boned, verdant giant from East Down East, as fresh and unsophisticated as his native hills are green. He answered to the name of Hiram and hailed from "Vermount."

Old Tom Codd and big Joe "Beef," his overfed and corpulent side partner in legalized iniquity, were strutting around among the crowd of uncouth send-offs, appraising the individual merits of their promiscuous roundup with all the critical shrewdness of a pair of drovers exhibiting a herd of steers.

"Thar ye ar', Cap'n," grinned old Tom Codd, with an appreciative leer, as he approached the big Yankee and proceeded to paw him over to emphasize his good points. "Thar's suthin' fer ye; jest lookud 'im; han's on 'im like a whale's fluke; heave a harpoon in out o' sight every time."

"Hey, yew ol vagabon', I ain't no beef critter, consarn ye!" grunted the big greenhorn resentfully, and with a disdainful shove he sent Tom Codd sprawling into the frozen gutter six feet away. A general laugh greeted the fallen crimp's discomfiture, in which the whaling skipper joined the heartiest of all.

"All right, Tom," he bellowed, as the old beach pirate scrambled wrathfully to his feet. "I'll take that feller on your recommendation, but you oughtta come along jest to exercize him; he seems kinda fracshus!"

Amid the titter of unsuppressed merriment that went around, Tom sneaked away, crestfallen and furious, to the outskirts of the crowd, leaving the skipper to select his crew according to his own judgment.

The next day the elected members of the "Ramirez" crew were assembled at the shipping commissioner's office to sign articles.

The shipping agreement for whalers differed in some essential particulars from the ordinary shipping articles signed by seamen entering service in the general merchant marine.

This was considered necessary because of the unusual length of the voyages, and the greater hazards and unusual labors undertaken by the crews, and also because the requirements of the trade necessitated large crews and small ships, therefore the crews had to be content to accept more cramped and crowded quarters than in a cargo ship. But the principal distinction was in regard to compensation. The whaling and fishing crews have always been signed on a no catch no pay basis.

All hands, masters and mates as well as seamen, were engaged on shares, usually referred to in the trade as a "lay." The entire profits of the cruise were, therefore, divided in very unequal ratio between the owners, masters, mates and men, and were presumed, of course, to be based upon the prevailing price of oil and other substances gathered during the voyage at the time of delivery.

In the "Ramirez" the sailor portion of the crew were signed for the eightieth lay. One portion in eighty, whether of oil, balene, spermaceti, ambergris, or any other product was to be our share. It was a pretty long lay, but we laid for it.

When Big Hiram was called up to sign the official proceedings were entirely new to him, but he got thru fairly well after all. He gave his name as Hiram Stebbins and his native state as "Vermount," and his father's name as Abner, who owned a farm "jest a short piece outside o' Rutland." When questioned as to his stature he replied, "Wal, I'm either six foot 'n' two inches or two foot 'n' six inches. I fergit which."

But green and unsophisticated as he was, Hiram proved a good shipmate and a faithful friend, and in time developed into a good whaler and fully verified Tom Codd's reckless prediction about heaving whale irons home in a cachelot's flank.

Hiram was the greenest of all the greenhorns I have ever seen on board a ship. He didn't even know the sea was salt; but it was "a mighty big river." According to his ideas the forepeak was "down cellar," the tops were "upstairs" and the crow's nest was "up in the garret." It took a month and a great deal of promiscuous instruction to impress the value of sea etiquet upon his mind and break him of calling the old man "boss" and the mates "fellers."

The rest of the crowd dubbed him "Country," tho most of them were just as green as himself in all the practical essentials of seamanship.

But after "Country" had got over his first fright and recovered from a severe attack of sea sickness and become somewhat reconciled to the sparse rations and night watches he became a prize among our crew.

At the beginning of our cruise we slanted leisurely along the American coast and sighted our first school of whales off Cape Hatteras.

We lowered our boats and man- [*Continued on page 358*

# Keeping Them on the Farm

## The Story of Henry C. Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture, Who Has Spent His Life Studying, Teaching, Improving and Practising Farming

By Olynthus B. Clark

MR. Henry C. Wallace, the new Secretary of Agriculture, comes to his task well equipped, both theoretically and practically. He is a "son of the soil," in that he comes of an agricultural ancestry and has himself been in constant contact with actual farming. Moreover, tho he is a real "dirt farmer," so much talked about in recent months, in the sense that he has had actual experience in turning the soil, growing crops and feeding hogs for a livelihood, he is not a "dirt farmer" in the sense that he knows only actual farming, that he has just doffed his overalls to assume the duties and responsibilities of directing the agricultural development of a nation of 110,000,000 people—a position requiring broad knowledge, scientific technique and administrative grasp. Fortunately, Mr. Wallace does know the day's toil and the season's task on the farm. But what is indispensable, he knows vastly more, or he could not qualify to supervise the vast and complex concerns of the Department of Agriculture. In his generation, Mr. Wallace has had a large part in the tremendous advance made in agriculture; he has witnessed the discovery of important scientific principles and their practical application to agriculture — in the growing of crops and livestock and in the substantial improvement in the conditions of rural life. Not only this, but—what is equally important to successful farming—he is a recognized authority on marketing the products of the farm. The American people have a right to know what the Secretary's connection with and contribution to agriculture have always been, and what his general policies are likely to be.



Secretary Wallace's case proves that really modern farming is a matter of sound scholarship no less than of vigorous practise

Mr. Wallace is of Welsh-Scotch ancestry, the original family home being in Ayrshire, Scotland. In the seventeenth century certain members of the Wallace clan went with the Scottish migration into Northern Ireland, becoming farmers in counties Antrim and Derry along the River Bann. His grandfather, John Wallace, emigrated to America in 1830, settling down as a farmer in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, where he married and reared a family of seven children, one of the sons being the late Henry Wallace, the father of Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture.

The elder Wallace, familiarly known as "Uncle Henry," was educated for the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church, and for several years was a popular and successful pastor in Western Illinois and Eastern Iowa, until ill health compelled him to live in the open, whereupon he turned back to the ancestral occupation of farming. He established himself in Adair County, Iowa, and soon demonstrated what an educated man could do in serving humanity, by putting his life into farming as he had done in preaching. Before long he was the recognized leader and teacher of his fellow farmers. He developed intensive, specialized farming, operating three of his six farms himself, making one a steer farm, another a hog farm, and the other a dairy farm.

It was in such an atmosphere and environment, and under such guidance that Henry C. Wallace was born and reared. He was nine years old when, in 1875, his father took up farming, the family living in Winterset, county seat of Madison County. Young Wallace spent his summers on the farm, accompanying his father and doing the part of the average farmer boy of that day. During the winters he went to school and on the side learned the printer's trade in the office of the county newspaper, of which his father was part owner.

In the spring of 1885, at the age of nineteen, young Wallace entered the State Agricultural College, at Ames, enjoying the rare privilege of studying under the renowned Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. Just before the opening of the spring term of the college, in February, 1887, he was compelled to give up his studies to take personal charge of one of the farms, the tenant of which hav- [*Continued on page 355*



Mr. Wallace carries off with him a considerable part of Des Moines, in his large and active family. The sons—of whom Henry A., at the left, is a graduate of Ohio State University, and John and James, the other two in order, graduates of Pennsylvania University—have all been more or less associated with their father in publishing *Wallace's Farmer*. The eldest daughter, Annabelle (center) now Mrs. Angus McLay of Detroit, was graduated from Drake University, and Mary, at the left, from Vassar College; Ruth, on the right, is studying in Goucher College, Baltimore



*Paul Thompson*

**The little girls of the North Harlem Community Club for Negro Children patronize the most sophisticated of the arts —ballet dancing. And the young aspirants seem to take to it naturally, to say the least**

# "I'd Like to Show You Harlem!"

## This Prosperous City of 150,000 Negroes (Where Even the Cops Are Colored) Is One Bright Spot in Our Black Problem


## By Rollin Lynde Hartt

### Author of "The New Negro"


"WHEN we get possession of Africa," a negro said to me in Harlem the other day, "we are going to build a civilization so splendid that white women will blacken their faces and frizz their hair." He was joking, partly. But in all seriousness he added, "Who knows if we have a long time to wait? Already the spirit of prophecy is abroad; out West the Angel Gabriel has told a fifteen-year-old boy, 'You negroes shall have Africa,' and in Liberia the trees have cried out, 'You negroes shall have Africa!' and the rocks answered, 'Yes, yes! Amen! Africa for the Africans!' "

I suppose I looked incredulous, for he went on, "Superstition? Well, we are superstitious." And they are. More than that, they are quixotic. Outside the building where we chatted hangs the red, green and black flag of Africa. Within reigns—if you call it reigning—all Africa's "provisional president," his Excellency the Honorable Marcus Garvey. And yet negroes, like other folks, require some visible basis for their superstition and their quixotism. Back of both, in the new negro's case, looms an achievement—namely, Harlem, the wonderful.

Greatest negro city in the world, it boasts magnificent negro churches, luxurious negro apartment houses, vast negro wealth, and a negro population of 130,000, or possibly 150,000, or, as enthusiasts declare, 195,000. Only fifteen years ago Harlem was white. Today it is an exhibit, not of darkest, but of brightest Africa. No matter what his attitude toward Garvey and Garveyism, every new negro argues, consciously or unconsciously, "If my race could make Harlem, pray, what on earth can't it do?" and, in discussing race problems, he will remark, sooner or later, "I'd like to show you Harlem." It is his Q. E. D. And a point well taken? Go see.

Climbing the subway stairs at 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, you suppress a squirm; also a rising humorosity. Both are foolish. This is no usual Black Belt or Little Africa or San Juan Hill. It is no mere glorified Lime Kiln Club. From the top of those stairs you get an impression of spaciousness, of cleanliness, of prosperity, of success—of brilliance, almost. A negro said to me once, "There's no finer section of New York City."

It was not a particularly wild exaggeration, you will find.

True, a certain amount of poverty and a certain very pitiable degree of overcrowding occasionally lurk behind those brownstone fronts or sadden the interiors of less antiquated dwellings, and one hears on official authority that crime and illiteracy in Harlem are above "normal." Yet what meets the eye is all but universally cheerful—streets broad and well kept, houses scrupulously cared for, and the inhabitants admirably prosperous. You notice a profusion of "pussy-cat" hats. You see expensively clad mothers perambulating superb baby carriages. Beside Little Italy and the Ghetto, Harlem shines. And if its people are black, who cares? In ten minutes or less, you begin to forget, and in a half-hour or less you are color-blind, quite.

As for the humorous side, you may be tempted to poke fun a little at that Harlem grandee, Sir Walter Craig, musician, and at Professor Darling Mack's "twenty-five jazz demons, every member an irresistible jazz fiend," and at the basket ball promoter who advertizes, "Come out, bring your horns, bells, rattles, and cheer the home girls on in their fight to stop the invaders," nor will you keep an entirely straight face when reading, "Hats off to Lelia Edmunds! She has broken into the charmed circle of the three leaders of the Popularity-Beauty Contest." Perhaps you might also poke fun at the Jack Johnson Welcome Home Club. But Harlem is not amusing, in the main. In the main, it is impressive. Especially the churches.

St. Philip's, with 4000 communicants, has lately erected a $300,000 Gothic edifice in stone and tawny brick. Note the mullioned windows, the exquisitely sculptured corbels, the fine brass, the reredos adorned with gleaming mosaic. Any parish, anywhere, might well be proud of such a church. Meanwhile the Metropolitan Baptists have taken over a handsome stone structure, vaguely Richardsonian in design and belonging originally to a white congregation. Of the many smaller churches in Harlem, a few are undeniably quaint. One, in a tiny shop, has a tiny restaurant down cellar. Another announces a "big baptizing." Still another puts out a sign, "Look! Look! Souls are being saved!" A fourth styles itself "Christadelphian Ecclesia." And the Spiritualists flourish, moderately, while a charm-

ing wizard proclaims, "Magic words—secret, sure method of obtaining anything you want; postpaid for dime." But the usual Harlem church, tho little, is so beautifully built in such costly material that you ask, "Where do these negroes get all this money?"

Where, indeed? Their "Y" cost $350,000. Their "Y. W." cost the same. St. Philip's deals in real estate and has holdings valued at $1,000,000. All told, the Harlem negroes control real estate worth $20,000,000 according to the lowest estimate, $300,000,000 according to the highest. Nobody knows precisely. You hear of "four millionaires" and "ten half-millionaires"; also you hear that individual wealth rarely exceeds $75,000. But there are two banks owned and operated by negroes, and of New York's 500 negro automobile licenses a majority are held in Harlem, and the Harlem shop-windows display goods at prices by no means humble—$18 for a smoking-table, $30 for a lamp.

The explanation is, negroes have gone into business—the real estate business, the insurance business, the amusement business, and a dozen other kinds of business, large and small. A negro millinery shop offers "a variety of styles in the latest Parisian shapes" created "by expert negro designers." A negro apothecary advertizes, "Why Not Go to Our Own Drugstore? They employ all colored men." A negro music shop sells negro "spirituals" and records of "Lucille Hegamin, the wonderful colored singer, accompanied by the Blue Flame Syncopaters." And what chances one hears of for investment! The African International Traders, Inc. "are buying and selling for negroes the world over." S. S. Bassa arrives with "a rich cargo of mahogany for the Gold Coast Import and Export Company." "Kpakpa Quartey, West African timber and mineral lands owner, will entertain general business propositions." "The World Wonder Oil and Gas Company of Kansas City, largest oil company operated by negroes, has opened its eastern headquarters in the beautiful office building owned by Dr. Wiley Wilson." And the Crocker Air Line Company (Detroit) is "equipping locomotives with compressed air" and desires $100,000 "to erect a machine shop to employ 50,000 laborers of our own race. Our boys and girls have been educated to a commercial and business knowledge, but, owing to the lack of business industries have been compelled to let it waste and have had to go to the other race and accept lower positions."



*Paul Thompson*

**With Booker T. Washington and Abraham Lincoln approving from the walls, the very young men of the North Harlem Community Club get together in solemn conclave over all manner of important questions**

To a certain extent the charge is true. But more and more the negroes are driving the whites out of business all thru Harlem, and this is one reason why Hampton and Tuskegee seek recruits so confidently there, and why such establishments as the Toussaint School of Professional Photography, the Crichlow-Braithwaite Shorthand School, the New York Academy of Stenography and Typewriting, the National School of Music, and Mme. Grant's School of Dressmaking attract pupils. Young Harlem will soon be independent of "the other race." Its own race advances rapidly, for, while undesirables, of a sort, pour in from the Southern states, a highly ambitious and on the whole very well educated type arrives from the British West Indies. To this influx of West Indian negroes—40,000 have come, they say—Harlem's prosperity is largely due.

Why do they come? Explanations vary. Some will tell you, "It is because land in the British West Indies is held in large estates; a negro has no chance to buy in and get a start." Others say, "It is because we lacked opportunities for technical education." And when you ask if the much more drastic color line in the States was not a deterrent, they shrug their shoulders and change the subject. They feel it, tho—especially the mulattoes. In the British West Indies, there is a distinction between "colored people" and negroes. Here, the West Indian mulatto finds himself a man without a race. The whites scorn him. He scorns the blacks. Meanwhile he is not too fond of the Spanish-speaking folk—West Indian cigarmakers from Cuba and Porto Rico. Harlem has 15,000 Porto Ricans. In the Harlem Branch of the New York Public Library you will see an array of photographs, "Old Homes of New Americans—Porto Rico." You will also see *La Tribuna* and *La Gaceta*, newspapers printed in Spanish.

This, obviously, is a first step in Americanization. Once the Spanish-speaking negroes have been attracted to the Library, they may begin to show interest in its forum, where race problems are discussed by visiting celebrities, and perhaps even in its collection of books on race problems. Harlem reads enormously. Harlem thinks, tho you would little imagine it at first. What with festivities loudly announced by "the Great Fraternal and Loving Order of Grand United Mosaic Templars," the Colored Amateur Billiards Association, the Waiters' Association, the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, the Professional Chauffeurs, and the Royal Four Social Club ("first prize $5 in gold to the lady wearing the prettiest silk waist and stockings"), the place seems frivolous. But pause in front of Young's Book Exchange and see what Harlem buys. In one window you will notice "Dunbar's Poems," "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," "The Journal of Negro History, Vol. I," "Frederick Douglass, Orator," "The Negro Soldier in Our War," Emilio's "A Brave Black Regiment," Booker Washington's "My Larger Education," Du Bois's "Dark Water" and "Souls of Black Folk," Wiener's "Africa and the Discovery of America," Hatcher's "John Jasper," Henson's "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole," Ray Stannard Baker's "Following the Color Line," Pickett's "The Negro Problem," Stewart's "The Haitian Revolution," Dowd's "The Negro Races," "Zabriskie's "The Virgin Islands," Seligmann's "The Negro Faces America," Stoddard's "The Rising Tide of Color." Incidentally, Harlem supports five negro newspapers, all of which endeavor persistently—and successfully—to keep race problems uppermost in Harlem's mind.

[*Continued on page 357*

# The Old Order Changeth

## An Accurate Explanation of the Basis of the League of Nations, and a Practical Solution of Our Greatest Problem

### By Hayne Davis

**In 1904 some articles were submitted to The Independent which seemed to us to open up a wider field for achievement than any other subject then being discussed in the periodical press of America. Therefore we did more than accept these articles for publication. We made the personal acquaintance of the author, stated to him the impression made upon us by the articles he had submitted, encouraged his further development of the subject, and for a number of years published in The Independent whatever he contributed on the subject.**

**What this author foresaw, and foreshadowed in the columns of The Independent in the years 1904-1908, took definite and legal shape at the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919, when the Covenant of the League of Nations was approved by the representatives of the nations assembled at that historic spot, to put an end to the World War and to prepare for a new era of Peace and Justice.**

**The second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907 had been an earlier and a great achievement along the lines laid down in the articles published in The Independent from the pen of Mr. Hayne Davis. Soon after that conference was held Mr. Davis ceased to write on the subject, feeling that his work for this cause was finished.**

**While unanimous consent was not secured at The Hague in favor of the American proposal for the periodical assembling of a self-governed international congress, such a proposal was made by the American delegation, with the sanction of the then President of the United States (Theodore Roosevelt) and was approved by a great majority of the nations represented at the conference. Mr. Davis believed that it was a mere question of time when public sentiment in other countries would rise to the level of the American proposal at the second Hague conference, and thus establish a permanent international union with its congress, courts and all the other proper agencies for law, justice and peace.**

**Now that the international union has been actually formed and upon the initiative of the President of the United States (Woodrow Wilson) and has held its first General Assembly at Geneva, with the United States still holding aloof, Mr. Davis has consented to treat the League of Nations, for The Independent, in a series of articles whose object will be:**

**(1) To properly relate the Covenant of the League to the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States;**

**(2) to set forth the basis of any international union that can hope to endure;**

**(3) to indicate the true relation of national armament to national security, international law and justice;**

**(4) to point out some of the dangers in the path of any Association or League of Nations and the way of escape therefrom; and**

**(5) to show the orderly steps of progress from a union however imperfect to one that is more perfect and capable of establishing justice and peace, even as our own Union of States grew gradually into its present excellent form.**

**Now that the new Administration is taking up the reins of government the time is most opportune for a treatment of this great subject, which will be free from political or personal bias, and with due appreciation of the political principles and historical facts applicable to this subject.—*The Editor***

NO more important political question has ever been presented to the American people than the League of Nations. It is the same question indeed as the Union of "The States," but on a worldwide, instead of an Atlantic seaboard, scale, with all sorts and conditions of people and political institutions involved, instead of merely the English people and institutions as they were in America in 1776. What was then decided upon by our forefathers, in the face of the conditions which confronted them, is well worth our careful consideration now. Indeed I venture to say that the action they took then, when duly considered, will supply the solution for our present problem, created by the World War and the Treaty of Peace with the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was made the chief political issue of the day, in the Senate and thruout the country, during the recent campaign.

The League of Nations came into practical politics at a time when there was little time or inclination to deliberate. Decide and act was the order of the day. And so it happened that an International Union was actually formed and put into operation, by concerted action of only fourteen of the half hundred nations of the world; and of these fourteen it is probably true that only a few had a real opportunity to contribute to the deliberations from which the Covenant of the League of Nations was evolved. In fact the actual framing of the League Covenant was the output of nine working days of a small committee of the Peace Conference. The first session of the Committee on League of Nations was held February 3, 1919, and the last on the 12th. On the 14th the proposed Covenant of the League of Nations was laid before the Peace Conference in a plenary session. The speed with which the Peace delegates worked at Paris was not a fault, however. Indeed they are censured for not evolving the Treaty in less time. The circumstances surrounding them are responsible for their actions, not their individual characteristics. The armistice had been signed. Millions were in arms, billions were being spent, production and distribution of products necessary for normal existence had been neglected for four years, and all energies everywhere had been directed first to supplying the needs of the War Departments of the nations involved, leaving the people to get along as best they could.

Under these conditions the peace plenipotentiaries did the best they could. They evolved and submitted to the nations of the world a League of Nations. All belligerents, except those on the German side, and Russia, were to be the original members, i. e., if they approved the Covenant. All the acknowledged sovereign powers (except Mexico), who had been neutral in the war, were invited to join.

When the proposal was submitted to the several Governments concerned, most of them said "Amen," with little or no discussion. In fact the general state of mind did not tolerate discussion, which was regarded as approaching, if it did not actually constitute, disloyalty.

In this country, however, people are accustomed to full and free exercize of their political rights. Freedom in the expression of opinion had been suppressed a long time, by the conditions necessarily accompanying a state of war. When the Covenant of the League was laid on the American political table, relief from danger had just begun to be felt.

Furthermore, we were on the eve of a Presidential election, a time not auspicious for calm deliberation, under

ordinary conditions, and less so this year than perhaps at any time since Lincoln's assassination.

Under such circumstances almost the chief political issue became censure of the Government for its conduct and conclusion of the war. The political atmosphere became darkened to an unusual degree, even for a Presidential year. But the storm is over, the clouds are clearing. no longer can dire disaster be predicted if time is taken to deliberate before we decide. For we took time and the disaster predicted did not come.

Political opinion can form itself now after the people have dispassionately informed themselves on the subject. And it seems the duty of every citizen at this time to give his best thought to the League of Nations question. The new administration must soon make decisions on that question of vital import to the people, not only of this, but of every other, country. The subject should be considered in all its aspects, and to do this, certain of its historical phases should be reviewed before taking up in detail the proposals made in the Covenant of the League. Only in this way can the question come before us in perspective.

The League of Nations, as far as the United States is concerned, is still a proposal. For all other nations, except Russia, Germany and Mexico, which are intentionally excluded, the League is a fact. We must deal with it, therefore, not only as a *proposal* but also as a *fact*. In discussing the question of our entry into the League, we consider it in the main, tho not entirely, as a proposal. When it acts in matters which concern us, we have to recognize that it is not a theory but a fact which confronts us. Take for example its decision adverse to our contention and in favor of Japan in regard to the Island of Yap. Japan was represented in the meeting of the Council which passed on that question. The United States was not. Japan now has the concurrence of Great Britain, France and Italy with its position on the question. Our Department of State has to attack the Japanese position thus fortified. And one of the unsettled matters for Mr. Secretary Hughes to take up, as he enters upon the duties of his office, is this action, not of a dead but a living League, in matters which concern the United States and to which our Government felt compelled to object.

In dealing with the League, we can best satisfy ourselves as to our proper course, by considering first the relation of the League to The Hague organization, next to the Articles of Confederation which constituted the first Union of our States, and then to the present Constitution which was substituted for those Articles. Then we can see clearly the way we should now take.

There is prevalent a misconception as to the relation of The Hague organization to the League of Nations and also to the World War. Even so high an authority as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in the last election showed, by some of his utterances during the campaign, that he shared to some extent this misconception, which inclines those who are under it to hold in low esteem the Hague organization because it did not prevent the recent war. It had much less opportunity to prevent that war than the Congress and Courts of the United States did to prevent the Civil war. The Hague organization had no lawful right to act in the matter at all. Serbia, when the Austrian demands were received, asked that the Hague tribunal be permitted to judge that matter. Austria was under no legal obligation whatever to accede to this request and at once rejected it. On the contrary the Courts and Congress of the United States did have a right to act in matters leading to the Civil war. Were they of no value because they did not or could not prevent that war? The fact that they survived it and have since grown in strength and usefulness is the answer.

The Hague organization survived the World War, and seems destined to grow in stature and in usefulness. The Conferences and the International Bureau at The Hague and the Tribunal of Arbitration constitute that organization. The Conferences are likely to fall into innocuous desuetude. The Tribunal of Arbitration has good prospects, however, of long life and increasing usefulness. This prospect rises in part from the fact that it was proposed by the committee of eminent jurists who formulated recently a plan for an International Court of Justice, that the existing Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague be made use of as the body authorized to nominate persons for seats on the proposed International Court of Justice, to be formed under the Treaty of Versailles by the League of Nations. That part of the report has been approved by the Council of the League, and will come in due time before all the nations in the League and also those considering the question of entering, for their approval. This question of The Hague Tribunal of Arbitration in its relation to the proposed Court of International Justice is very important and deserves careful consideration, but further reference to it here would be out of order.

But the relation of The Hague Conferences to the League deserves some consideration here. There have been two such Conferences and a third has been lawfully provided for but not yet held. It was upon the initiative of the President of the United States that the Second Hague Conference was called, and also that provision was made by that Conference for the convening of a third Conference. The first Conference occurred in 1899. The second Conference convened in 1907, after an interval of eight years. The third was to be called after a similar interval. This would have brought the third Conference into session at The Hague in 1915. The World War began in 1914, and made the Conference an impossibility until after the war. It is lawfully ordered to take place, however, and may still be found desirable. Calling it into session is one way President Harding might try out his plan of an Association of Nations other than the League as now constituted.

It was in 1904 that Theodore Roosevelt informed the delegates to the Twelfth Inter-Parliamentary Conference that he would comply with their request that he call a second Conference at The Hague. Why did not that Conference convene till June, 1907? Because Russia and Japan were at war at the time invitations to the Conference were sent out. Japan accepted the invitation of President Roosevelt for a world conference to be held immediately, provided it was understood that Japan's little unpleasantness with Russia would not be taken up in the discussions of the Conference. Russia's acceptance was based on the condition that the Conference would [*Continued on page 352*

## Mob Law in Kansas

THE mobbing of Non-Partizan League agitators in Kansas is a disgrace to the state that should never be repeated. Kansas was founded by pioneers who sought not only land but freedom. Geographically the state is the heart of America; morally it has claimed, not without justice, to be the heart of Americanism. It cannot afford to break a noble tradition in order to punish a few loose-tongued radicals.

## The New Congress

WHEN the new Congress convenes it will have a great deal of the unfinished business of the recent Congress to attend to, as well as its own proper work. The "short session" was a complete failure. It bungled the tariff, rushed thru an immigration bill just in time for the President to pocket it, failed to get action on the naval bill, failed to establish a budget system or to reorganize the administrative departments, failed to reapportion seats in the House by the new census, failed to carry out the projected plans for Federal regulation of the coal and packing industries. The short session which follows a new election might as well be abolished, not only because it is anomalous

and undemocratic for an old Congress to legislate after a new Congress has already been chosen, but also because experience shows that such sessions rarely carry to completion the work they undertake. Better yet, amend the laws so that the new Congress can get to work as soon as election is over.

## Facing Facts

THE Germans know that if it is a question of their unwillingness to pay the indemnity demanded, the Allies have the power to compel them.

The Allies know that if it is a question of inability to pay, all the power in the world cannot extract the wealth that does not exist.

This being so, why is it impossible for both sides to face actual conditions and agree on the maximum sum which Germany is really in a position to pay? Empty defiances will not help the Germans nor will empty promises fill the treasuries of the Allies.

# A God-Given Right to Fail?

### By Franklin H. Giddings

THERE will always be people in the world who will unfalteringly believe that Almighty God, or Dame Nature, or the Great Unknowable has decreed that every human being ten minutes old, or a hundred years old, or of any intermediate age shall live his own life in his own way without let, hindrance or compulsion by a fellow man. These philosophers will, of course, draw from their premise the corollary that any group, bunch, gang, clan, tribe or "small nation" must have self-determination by command of the moral law, and that any nation, empire, entente, alliance or league of nations, which denies the right, stands condemned as an oppressor.

A sinful world thruout most of its history has been deaf to the admonitions of these 100 per cent anarchists, and has gone on spanking the babies, putting the older children at school or at work, making the hoboes move on or work at the wood pile, and compelling the small nations to undergo de-lousing and various other salutary discipline. Every now and then, however, the self-determination idea wins a lot of new converts, the gospel of independence is preached with new unction, and interesting experiments are tried.

A cursory review of the political and social consequences of war discloses a rough and ragged rhythm of subordinations and liberations affecting small peoples and backward races. At times imperial authority has been extended and its grip has tightened. At other times imperial systems have disintegrated, petty states have multiplied and self-determination has quadrupled custom houses, bred plague-carrying rats, cultivated the cholera bacillus, and effectively checked the circulation of ideas.

The period from the close of the Spanish war to the end of the Roosevelt administration witnessed a marked advance in the theory and practice of cleaning up, and in various ways improving the health and morale of small peoples. Order was restored in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and later on in the Panama Canal Zone. Elections were made legal expressions of the general will. Schools were established, and yellow fever was stamped out. These procedures were intensely irritating to our self-determinist moralists. They saw the United States becoming a militaristic autocracy and they endured sympathetic anguish over the fate of helpless fellow men whose liberties were ruthlessly trampled.

Then the swing of the pendulum brought contrary reactions in America and thruout the world. Ever since European hostilities were nominally terminated by an armistice, revolution has been the chief occupation of a quarter or more of the human race, and another quarter has been in a state of mind over revolutionary plans and possibilities. Self-determination for everybody has been the slogan, and half or more of the progress in civilization made by the preceding generation has been annihilated.

There is nothing like a concrete case to exhibit the difference between a theory and a condition.

When Porto Rico had become a possession of the United States an administration was established there which set about its task with the philistine purpose to make life and property secure, and to build up an educational system, altho the undertaking might to a certain extent curtail self-determination. For example, Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, an enlightened gentleman of the efficient sort, but not in the least disposed to attempt the role of a despot, was made Commissioner of Education. He accomplished results that the most optimistic would hardly have believed possible. An educational system was created and put into operation which promised to make the island a demonstration that a half-breed population can be made literate, decently informed, and interested in a number of things besides Sunday afternoon cock fights. A sanitary administration was set going and to an extraordinary degree the island was made clean, and free from epidemic disease.

Then the self-determination idea took hold of Washington and was conferred upon San Juan. The people of Porto Rico had a God-given right to manage their own affairs in their own way. So they were put on the job. They have been on it now long enough to show us how they do it and what results they are getting. Education has sunk to a level possibly lower than in New York City, or, if comparisons are odious, then to a level slightly above an absolute zero. Two and a half million rats infest the island and the bubonic plague has broken loose. Local quarantines are attempting to check it, street cars and automobiles and their occupants are sprayed and soused every few miles. Steamers arriving at the port of New York from San Juan are held in quarantine until every passenger has been rigorously examined and pronounced safe.

Is it not about time to apply to this question of self-determination a little homely common sense? Law-abiding adults of sound mind and understanding may properly and rightfully enjoy self-determination. So may peoples, great or small, that have become civilized enough to conduct their affairs so as not to be a menace to all the other peoples of the earth. For infants, imbeciles, lunatics, criminals and peoples that prefer to be dirty, lousy, rat-ridden and ignorant, self-determination is preposterous. They are a danger to all the rest of mankind, and mankind has an inalienable natural right to protect itself against them.

All of these considerations constitute an impregnable reason for a League of Nations to determine how far and by what methods the civilized peoples may control and discipline their lazy, dirty, ignorant, disorderly and insurrectionary neighbors until they learn how to behave.

## A Lost Chance

IN our opinion the greatest blunder of the Allies has been in giving a new lease of life to the decadent despotism of Turkey. Every time that the Powers have permitted the unspeakable Turk to continue ruling Christian peoples fresh wars have resulted from the reprieve. We hope we may prove false prophets, but we fear that if a single Greek or Armenian town is left within the frontiers of what remains of the Ottoman Empire there will be a new massacre and perhaps a new European war. It is not edifying to see the Powers partition the domains of even the most corrupt Asiatic State and scramble for "mandates" as children scuffle for pennies in the gutter. But it is far less edifying to see an overthrown tyranny propped up again from sheer expediency. Better even land-grabbing imperialism than renunciation of all the responsibilities of civilization. Better had even the Czar or the Kaiser been seated at Constantinople than the Sultan.

# The Ides of April

## By Talcott Williams

THE second week in April, week after next, is a pivot on which large affairs, financial, commercial, political and international, will turn.

Congress meets April 11. On April 15 and the days about it, large adjustments made, as the old year passed into the new—December, '20, January, '21—on the ninety day basis, will come up for readjustment. For one thing, the automobile interests, now working on a basis of 35 per cent compared with the output in recent years, will know whether the largest figure in the automobile world can meet the commitments which suddenly loomed large three months ago. The Goodyear Rubber Company has been safely handled, tho at the cost of heavy new obligations. Can this be done for the manufacture of the lowest priced car yet made?

The largest recent stocks of wheat, corn, cotton, wool, leather, copper and other products are being carried by those whom the fall in the prices of these raw materials last fall, forced, at dates between October, 1920, and February, 1921, to extend credits made on these and other staples. It is ruin if they are sold now. Europe cannot buy until the settlement of war finance creates new credits. The Reparations issue is the largest of these problems. Europe cannot buy. We cannot sell until Europe can buy. The question of Reparations payments, both the total and the method of payments, is deadlocked.

In this February, Europe took two-thirds as much cotton as in February, 1920. The United States used only three-fourths as much cotton in the first two months of this year as in the first two months of last year. This is true of nearly all commodities. Chemical companies sold fertilizers to cotton growers a year ago on their notes. The planters cannot sell their cotton. The companies cannot force the collection of these notes. The makers of farm implements face the same difficulty. The copper producers had to pool all their stocks. All the big raw materials face this situation, long on stocks, short on sales. A single bank loaned $700,000 last year on leather worth thrice the loan when made. At a forced sale, the loan could not be met.

Nothing but the Federal Reserve Banking System has prevented dire disaster. Under it, to each point of danger, funds and loans could be sent. This saved local credits by drawing on general credits. Now a company, now a bank, now a factory, now a mining concern has been salvaged, at a price. Lord Overstone, the great English banker a century ago, told a Parliamentary committee that panics should not be interfered with because they were the wise dispensation of Providence to reward the frugal, the foresighted, the thrifty at the expense of the careless, the wasteful and the improvident. The world of banking has changed since he played so large a part in drawing the Banking Act of 1844 and so far thru an unparalleled strain wholesale failure has been prevented and promises to be.

But no one banking system can alone meet a situation which is international. Before Congress meets and the strain of mid-April comes, M. Viviani, the representative of France, and Sir Eric Geddes, the English Ambassador, will be in Washington. By that time, it will be plain that we cannot sell our supplies or liquidate local credits created by the check to exports, unless European countries have the credits with which to purchase and these can only be created as the Reparation Commission provided by the Treaty of Versailles has the United States as a member, bringing moral pressure to bear on Germany and opening the American market to the bonds Germany, France, England and Italy, with other powers, must sell.

A foolish idea was present in this country two years ago, 1919, that Europe must buy, and the United States was therefore sure of a market, treaty or no treaty. Bankers, manufacturers, railroad managers, business men and Senators hugged this delusion. It is gone. No country can buy unless it has the credits with which to buy.

When the Ides of April come—the day for settling interest in Rome, by the way,—Senators who are cherishing the delusion of the cloakroom of the Senate in 1919 ("To —— with Europe") will find that President Harding's policy as to the treaty and an Association of Nations must be carried. Hughes, Hays and Hoover are for an agreement with Europe which avoids the military pledges of the Covenant and brings also the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles so that the wheels and machinery of international credits can be set in motion. Financial pressure from all over the country will be felt by the Senate, which is, rightly, very amenable to "economic influences." Final action cannot come much before August or September.

This linking of the pressure of our unsold goods, our credits and European needs will pivot at the Ides of April. For the first time since last July, a better financial sky is ahead, in time to quicken fall trade and "move the crops."

## Tammany

THE leopard knows that he cannot change his spots, but the tiger always thinks that he can hide his stripes under a good coat of whitewash.

# Justice to Colombia

## By Hamilton Holt

EVERY American citizen who has the honor of his country at heart ought to be glad that President Harding, following the footsteps of Presidents Taft and Wilson, has requested the Senate to ratify the treaty with Colombia by which the United States will indemnify Colombia for the loss of the Panama Canal.

Whether Mr. Roosevelt "took the Isthmus" rightly or wrongly is a matter about which political moralists differ. But there can be no doubt whatsoever that the United States by recognizing Panama immediately on her secession prevented Colombia from regaining or trying to regain her lost territory. Colombia repeatedly appealed to our State Department. She did not raise the question of the return of Panama, but she did think she had a good case for damages and was desirous of referring the whole matter to arbitration. Mr. Root, however, as Secretary of State, turned a deaf ear to Colombia's repeated importunities, and finally stopped answering her notes altogether.

Our refusal to lay the case before an impartial tribunal has done probably more than anything else to make us unpopular in South America. As ex-Secretary Colby has well said, "Wherever Spanish is spoken our delay in this matter has cost us friends, confidence, and commercial opportunity."

When Mr. Taft became President he expressed his willingness to pay Colombia a quitclaim of $25,000,000, but it was near the end of his term and Congress, having no expectation of "favors to come," paid no attention to him. Mr. Wilson made a similar attempt, but the matter was held up because the treaty began with an apology. Mr. Wilson deleted the apology, but the war broke out and the whole matter was tabled till today.

At last it looks as tho the treaty would be ratified. President Harding is at the beginning of his term, and his political strength is at its maximum. Senators will hardly care to antagonize him for the present. Even Senator Lodge, it is reported, is ready to reverse himself and vote for ratification.

The United States, despite the last election, can well afford to be generous in her dealing with foreign nations and especially with those of this continent. There should be no further delay in satisfying the claims of Colombia both for her sake and ours.

# The Story of the Week

## More Unemployment

THE Department of Labor publishes statistics showing a slight increase of unemployment during the month of February. From January 31 to February 28 a survey of firms in sixty-five great industrial centers showed a decrease in employment of 16,295 persons, or about one per cent. The iron and steel industry showed the most rapid falling off during the month. Other branches of industry which continued on the down grade in February were the railroad repair shops; chemical products; beverages; foodstuff preparation; stone, clay and glass products; paper and printing; tobacco manufacture, and many minor manufactures. On the other hand the resumption of work in Detroit automobile factories brought about a very large proportionate increase of employment in vehicle manufacture, and there was some recovery also in the textile, leather and lumber industries.

Viewing the situation by cities instead of by industries, Denver showed the greatest falling off in employment during the month. Youngstown, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Grand Rapids, Schenectady, Albany and Perth Amboy were the other cities with a decrease of more than 10 per cent. Minneapolis, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Birmingham, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Buffalo, Chicago and about a score of other cities declined less than 10 per cent. Chattanooga, Tennessee, led the list of cities which showed marked recovery during February, and Detroit was a good second. Most of the New England mill towns reported a slight improvement. On the whole, February left the United States very much where January did; the depression in iron and steel and rolling stock being in a measure offset by the partial recovery in the automobile and textile industries. The statistical estimates for March will be awaited with interest.

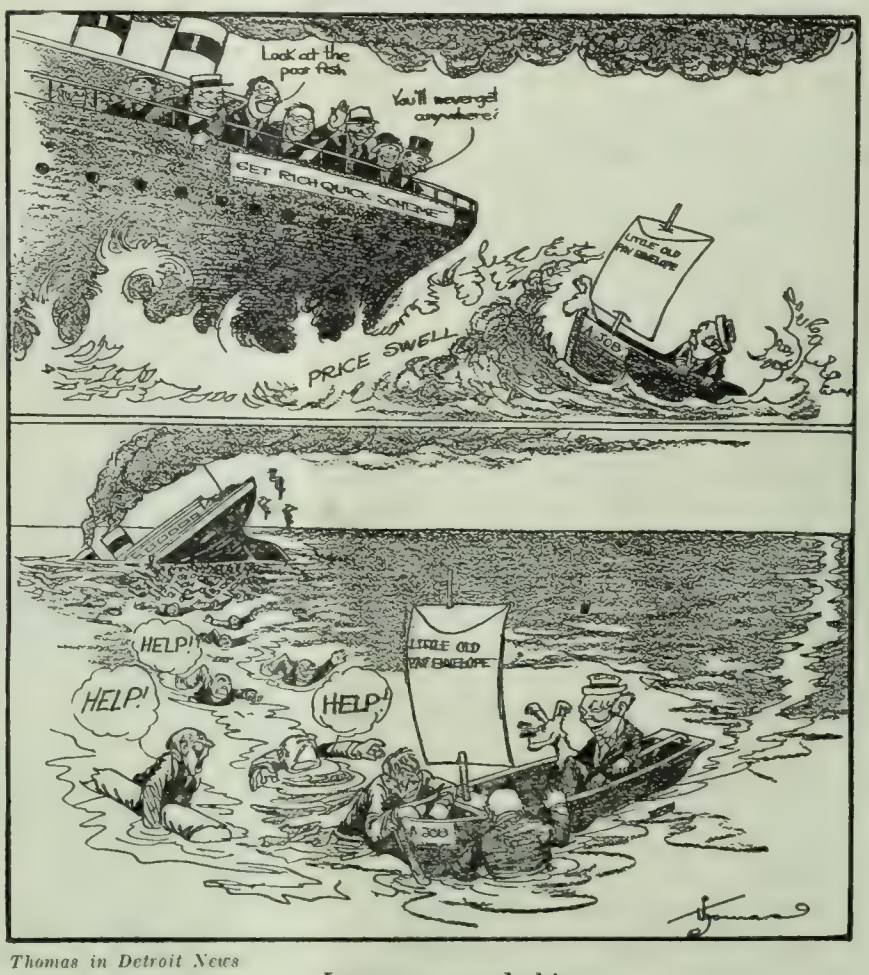
## Panama Must Obey

WHEN Secretary of State Hughes informed the Governments of Panama and Costa Rica that the United States would not tolerate a war so near to our Canal zone, the Government of Panama agreed to cease hostilities, but at the same time protested against being compelled to recognize the frontier line awarded by the decision of Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court. Secretary Hughes sent a long explanatory note to Panama, reviewing the question from a legal and historical standpoint, and insisting on immediate compliance with the arbitral decision.

He pointed out, in the first place, that the United States was bound by treaty to guarantee and maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama, and that in consequence "it must advise itself as to the extent of the sovereignty of the Republic of Panama and hence of the territorial limits of Panama." Panama had accepted the award made by President Loubet of France in 1900 (when Panama was still part of Colombia) but a portion of the boundary on the Atlantic side of the isthmus was considered still uncertain. Panama and Costa Rica entered into an agreement in 1910 submitting the question to the arbitration of the Chief Justice of the United States and agreeing that "his determination of the same shall be final, conclusive and without appeal." In 1914 the decision was rendered, giving Panama some of the land claimed by Costa Rica and Costa Rica some of the land claimed by Panama. Panama refused to recognize the award on the ground that Chief Justice White had exceeded his jurisdiction and awarded to Costa Rica some territory outside the limits set by the Loubet award. But Secretary Hughes "finds no basis for the contention that the arbitrator exceeded his powers." "This Government, therefore, deems it its duty to ask that the Government of Panama definitely indicate its intention to comply with the representations made to it by the Government of the United States."

President Porras did not submit at once. He tried to appeal from Secretary Hughes to President Harding, "recalling your kind words with which you expressed your friendship and good wishes toward my country when you honored us with your visit in November." He reiterated the charge that the decision of Chief Justice White "notoriously exceeded its jurisdiction" and asked President Harding to use his "personal, political and administrative influence" to re-open the question and give Panama a more favorable frontier.

President Harding, however, was in no way inclined to break with his Secretary of State over the first diplomatic controversy which had arisen under the new Administration. He informed President Porras that "The communications from our State Department to the Government of Panama and the Government of Costa Rica have been sent with the full knowledge and hearty approval of the Executive." This remark has a significance that extends beyond the trivial immediate issue. It implies that President Harding intends to "back up" Secretary Hughes on questions of foreign policy. This will give added weight to the authority of Secretary Hughes, for often a foreign diplomat takes advantage of difference of policy between the responsible chief of another government and the official in charge of foreign affairs to play off one against another.




*Thomas in Detroit News*

Last year—and this

# The Railroad Problem

THE Railroad Labor Board has its work cut out for it in the present movement of the railroad executives to bring down wages to pre-war levels. The position taken by the railroad companies is that even the increased rates granted last year did not suffice to restore prosperity to the transportation industry. The industrial depression carried with it a decrease in traffic which almost neutralized the profit from higher rates while expenses remained at the very highest level owing to advances in wages. The only way to bring expenses back to normal and thus make possible a reduction of rates to the shipper, or even to run the roads profitably at the present rates, would be to restore former wage scales. To this end railroad executives are seeking by direct local agreements with employees to bring down wages; using the threat of unemployment to back up their proposals. In many cases a direct agreement seems possible; in other cases the employees will carry the matter before the Railroad Labor Board or, failing that, threaten a strike. For the last five years the country has been in fear of a general railroad strike to gain higher wages; now the menace is a general strike to keep wages from falling so rapidly.

A number of prominent labor union officials joined in a message to Senator Cummins urging a Congressional investigation of the transportation situation and that "the duly elected representatives of the thousands of employees, members of the respective democratically governed railroad labor organizations, will be given an opportunity to present to the committee information now in our possession, and thus it is hoped to assist Congress and the American public in arriving at a just conclusion as to what is wrong with the railroads and who is responsible for the present unjustifiable and unnecessary situation." The message admitted that the railroad labor organizations had opposed the return of the railroads to their private owners and had objected to the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act. However, "we desire to state that railroad employees have complied with the law, while railroad managements have manifested implacable purpose to use and abuse the law, solely to enjoy its benefits and reject its burdens." The employers have abandoned the idea of collective bargaining on a nation-wide scale and are attempting to impose on local labor organizations the policies worked out by the national organization of railroad management. The principle of upholding national agreements as against the policy of local adjustments to meet conditions is to a large extent the issue between the labor brotherhoods and the railroad executives.




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Well, don't sit there and let him starve to death!



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The counsel for railroad employees, Frank P. Walsh, former member of the War Labor Board, put some searching questions to railroad executives on the witness stand in the examination now being held before the United States Railroad Labor Board to discuss the after-war readjustment of wages and hours for railroad labor

# General Wood's Mission

ALTHO, to the disappointment of many of his Republican admirers, General Leonard Wood was not offered a place in the cabinet, the new Administration does not propose to neglect his services altogether. He has been selected to head a mission of investigation to the Philippine Islands in association with W. Cameron Forbes, former Governor-General of the Philippines. President Harding's Philippine policy, at present rather indefinite, will depend very largely on the advices of the special commission. Traditionally, the Democratic party has been in favor of Philippine independence and the Republican party in favor of retaining the islands; but the difference between the parties is greater in theory than in practice. Two consecutive Democratic administrations since 1912 have not granted full independence, and every Republican President since we acquired the islands from Spain has promised eventual independence should the Filipinos continue to desire it. The real issue, therefore, is not one of policy but a question of fact: whether or not the Filipinos are at the present time sufficiently trained in the methods of orderly and civilized administration to take over the entire responsibility for the government of an independent republic. General Wood's personal experience in the Philippines has made him exceptionally able to determine this question of fact.

On his return General Wood will find another position awaiting him. The trustees of the University of Pennsylvania have nominated him "head of the University of Pennsylvania." The formal election will take place April 18. Dr. Penniman, the acting Provost, will probably be associated with General Wood as Provost of the University, in charge of the purely academic functions of the University, whereas General Wood will have general charge of administration.

# The Silesian Plebiscite

ON Sunday, March 20, the most important plebiscite which has yet taken place in fulfilment of the Treaty of Versailles resulted in a victory for Germany.

Germany had already reconquered by popular vote the Allenstein and Marienwerder regions, claimed by Poland, and central Schleswig, contested

with Denmark. Northern Schleswig went Danish; the only loss which Germany has sustained by popular vote, since Alsace-Lorraine went to France and Posen and part of West Prussia to Poland without a plebiscite. The Saar valley will ultimately decide its own destiny also, but a period of fifteen years under international administration must elapse before the vote takes place. The plebiscite of March 20 covered Upper Silesia and involved the fate of one of the most important mining regions of Europe.

Silesia is a province of Prussia, conquered from Austria by Frederick the Great in a series of bloody and destructive wars which raised Prussia to the position of the strongest military power in central Europe. It was originally a Polish land but fell under German control in the twelfth century, and since then has had no connection with the political life of Poland. German immigration modified the racial character of the province, leaving the Polish peasantry in a minority limited to the extreme southern and eastern parts of Silesia (Upper Silesia). But the development of Upper Silesia as a mining district created a current of Polish immigration of a new type, industrial workers who settled in the towns. Taken together, the old Polish peasantry and the Polish miners and laborers of the towns constituted a majority of the inhabitants of the plebiscite zone of Upper Silesia, even by the linguistic statistics of the German Government. The Allies therefore in the first draft of the Treaty of Peace with Germany assigned the region to Poland.

Germany protested vigorously. The German peace delegates contended that 23 per cent of the German coal supply came from Upper Silesia and that German industry would be wrecked beyond redemption if the district went to Poland. They also insisted that the people, tho very largely Polish in speech, were German in national sentiment. Premier Lloyd George and the British delegation generally were impressed by the German arguments and favored settling the question of Upper Silesia by a plebiscite. The French and American delegates at first opposed this concession, but ultimately yielded the point, and in the final terms of peace accepted by Germany at Versailles it was provided that there should be a plebiscite in Upper Silesia under the control of an international commission of the Allied and Associated Powers supported by the necessary troops to maintain order. Persons born within the limits of the plebiscite zone were entitled to vote there, even if they had not maintained their residence. This clause led to vigorous efforts by the Polish and German Governments to bring back to Upper Silesia natives of the place who might be expected to vote "the right way." As a further concession to Germany, it was agreed that Poland should not be allowed to place any restrictions for a period of fifteen years on "the exportation to Germany of the products of the mines in any part of Upper Silesia transferred to Poland in accordance with the present Treaty." It was thus impossible for Poland to throttle the industries of Germany which depend on Silesian coal, even if mining districts were awarded to Poland.




WHERE POLAND MEETS GERMANY

**This map shows the relation of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia to the general western frontier of Poland. (1) is the little corner of Upper Silesia to go to the Czechoslovak Republic in the event that Poland gets the rest; (2) is the plebiscite zone of Upper Silesia; (3) is the part of Germany annexed to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles; (4) is the Free State of Danzig; (5) and (6) are the plebiscite zones which voted to remain German; (7) is held by the Allied Powers in trust for Lithuania**

Agitation raged fiercely in Upper Silesia and a strong Allied army of occupation under General Lerond had the greatest difficulty in maintaining order. Both sides charged terrorism and intimidation against their opponents. Rumors filled the press of large Polish armies massing on the frontier ready for invasion, and, on the other hand, of concentration of German troops to overawe the voters. But in spite of much disorder during the "campaign" the actual vote passed off without more disorder than is apt to occur at any exciting election.

The first returns came from German sources but were claimed to be based on the official count. They gave Germany 713,700 votes; Poland 460,700. This means a German victory for Upper Silesia as a whole, and indicates that the German-speaking portion of the population and the former Silesians of German stock who returned to vote were joined by some of the Polish-speaking community. Probably the chief reason for this was the fear that to enter Poland meant participation in future wars between Poland and Bolshevist Russia. Of course the war indemnity is a heavy tax on German allegiance, but the general political and economic position of Poland is in no way superior to that of Germany and the burdens of after-war reconstruction would be as heavy on the taxpayers of Poland as on those of Germany.

The result of the plebiscite does not mean that all of Upper Silesia is to remain German. Several important industrial towns, such as Tarnowitz, went strongly Polish and the rural districts in the extreme south, near Pless, voted in the same way. If the new frontier is drawn to correspond as closely as possible to the result of the vote a large part of the mining and manufacturing district of Upper Silesia will be joined to Poland. The Treaty of Versailles leaves the detailed demarcation of the frontier to the Allied and Associated Powers, paying as much regard as possible to the wishes of the people as expressed in the plebiscite and also to "the geographical and economic conditions of the locality." The latter clause is essential, because merely to follow the result of the vote by communes would be impossible; it would leave some towns to Germany which were completely surrounded by Polish territory and would in some cases separate the homes of workingmen from the mines and factories where they were employed. Considerable discretion in the matter of detail is thus granted to the Allies; and it is at present impossible to state what proportion of the mineral resources (coal, iron and zinc) of Upper Silesia will eventually go to Poland.

## The Lion and the Bear

GREAT Britain has at last concluded the much discussed and frequently postponed trade agreement with Soviet Russia. Essentially the agreement is the same as that taken to Moscow for approval by Leonid Krassin, Soviet envoy to Great Britain. Perhaps the most interesting clause of the treaty is that which binds each Govern-

ment to refrain from conducting outside its own boundaries any propaganda against the other Government and its institutions. In particular the Soviet Government agrees not to stir up insurrection in Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan and India.

This clause would not bind the British Government to refuse recognition to a new revolution in Russia by which the Bolsheviki would be overthrown; but apparently it would place the British under the moral obligation not to give direct aid to such a revolution, or to organize an anti-Bolshevist movement in the Baltic States or in the Caucasus or any other region bordering Russia. Siberian revolutionists, Cossacks of the Ukraine, leaders of peasant uprisings, Czarist plotters in Constantinople, mutinous sailors of Kronstadt—all will have to wage war with the Soviet power as best they can without invoking the moral or material assistance of the British Empire. On the other hand, the whole agreement falls to the ground unless the Bolsheviki on their part stop their attempts to incite nationalist uprisings along the border of India and Mesopotamia and to smuggle agitators into the factories and shipyards of Great Britain.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Trade makes strange bed fellows**

British subjects in Russia and Russians living in any part of the British Empire are free to return to their own countries without being subject to arrest or detention. Each Government agrees not to impose any blockade on the commerce of the other or to subject trade to discriminating restrictions. Ships are to be admitted to the harbors of each country on the conditions usually accorded to foreign shipping. Mines are to be cleared from the Baltic to permit the safe access of ships to Russian ports. Postal and telegraphic facilities are to be renewed. Each Government may appoint commercial agents to the other, tho neither Government is obliged to receive anyone who is personally objectionable to it. Neither Government may confiscate the goods or money which play a part in the commerce of the two nations; but it is probable that the courts may have to pass on the ownership of Russian gold exported as payment for imports. Mr. Krassin agrees to have a test case brought to settle this point.

What will be the practical effect of the agreement between Russia and Great Britain is uncertain. It comes at a most inopportune moment, when the stability of the Soviet Government has been shaken by a new revolutionary movement. Tho it does not amount to formal recognition of Bolshevist right to rule Russia, it does seem, in practice, to be a recognition of the Soviet Government as the *de facto* authority in Russia. One can hardly make treaties with a Government which is considered non-existent, even if the agreements in question relate mostly to trade. The Conservative party press in Great Britain is highly indignant at the agreement; denouncing the Government for touching the "unclean thing" by virtual recognition of Soviet authority in Russia, and pointing out that most of the gold and goods which Russia has to export has been "stolen" from its lawful owners. The Liberal papers defend the agreement on economic grounds as probably beneficial to British foreign trade. One British firm has agreed to build locomotives for Russia. What Great Britain can export to Russia is obvious; Russia is in serious want of nearly every kind of manufacture. But it is not certain what Russia can send in return. One paper declares that "Russia has nothing to export but propaganda" and under the terms of the treaty Russia is not free to export that! Of course there are large stocks of grain and other agricultural produce in the interior of Russia, but present conditions are such that they cannot even be brought to Moscow or Petrograd still less to distant foreign countries, until transportation is improved. Russia also has gold, but many fear that Russia's repudiation of her national debt to foreign countries and the confiscation of private fortunes would place the takers of the gold in the position of "receivers of stolen goods." Russian paper money is, of course, worth nothing at all to any foreign country, as the Soviet Government has never made any attempt to redeem any of it. Perhaps the Soviet Government, if it continues to exist, may pay for the goods it buys from the British by granting concessions of undeveloped natural resources in Russia to British capitalists.

A statement by Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce seems to indicate that the United States will be slow to follow the British example.

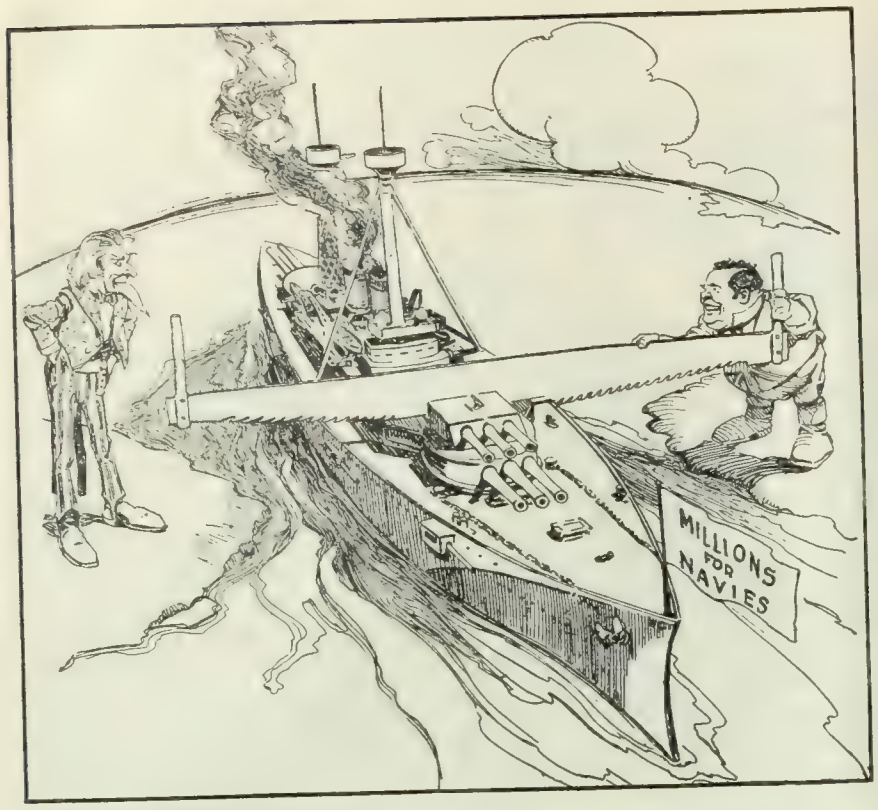
# Britain for Small Navies

BARON Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the British Admiralty, has announced that the British Government intends to reduce naval expenditure "to the lowest limits compatible with national security. The Admiralty have effected drastic economies and have agreed to assume risks which, in ordinary circumstances, they would regard as difficult to reconcile with full maintenance of the Government's declared policy" of maintaining an adequate navy.



A LEADER IN SERBIAN RECONSTRUCTION

**Bishop Nicholai Velimirovic (center), who is lecturing in this country now, brings an inspiring message of Serbia's progress since the war in establishing an advanced and constructive program of public health and child welfare. But Bishop Nicholai emphasizes also the fact that in Serbia, and in all Europe, the people are looking to American Christianity not only for material aid but for leadership in the spiritual regeneration that must follow war. He believes that if the churches of America stand together now in the unity of good will they will have profound influence on the churches of Europe. Bishop Nicholai is visiting the United States by arrangement of the Serbian Child Welfare Association, the president of which, Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, is at the right of the photograph. At the extreme left is Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which also acted as host to Bishop Nicholai; and standing is Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, also a secretary of the Federal Council**




© *New York Evening Post, Inc.*

**"Sam, you take hold and we'll cut this thing down"**

The number of capital ships in active commission has been reduced to sixteen, "the smallest number that will enable the essential seagoing technical training of officers and men to be carried out properly." Fourteen effective capital ships will be held in reserve. Some of the older ships, fast verging to obsolescence, will be replaced by new vessels, but no program of increasing the navy would be undertaken. The personnel of the fleet will also be slightly reduced.

Thus far has Great Britain gone in naval disarmament on her own initiative; she will not go farther without an international agreement. In a striking speech before the Institution of Naval Architects, Baron Lee declared:

> If America invites Great Britain to a conference to come to an agreement on the naval question, I am prepared to put aside all other business in order to help that matter forward, for there can be no more pressing business in the affairs of the world.

He denounced the idea of any naval rivalry between Great Britain and the United States. Both Governments could and should come to an understanding as to the relative and absolute strength of their respective navies. "The difference between our formula and America's is too slight to be made the subject of controversy, still less of friction or hostility." "I hold strongly that we are not engaged in a game of bluff, but that we ought to lay all our cards on the table."

The American navy is practically the only rival of the British navy, and direct agreement between the two absolutely dominant naval Powers would make naval disarmament possible. The British fear nothing from the navies of France, Italy and Japan, as the navies of these countries are relatively small and their Governments are bound by the closest political and commercial ties not to fall out with Great Britain. The navies of Austria, Germany and Russia disappeared in the Great War. So the future of the "seven seas" is now a family affair of the English speaking peoples.

## British Cabinet Crisis

ANDREW Bonar Law has withdrawn from public life on account of ill health. His resignation applies to his post in the Cabinet, his leadership of the House of Commons on behalf of the Coalition Government, and his leadership of the Unionist party. Under the strain of many years of active public life he broke down and informed his friend and colleague, Premier Lloyd George, that his physicians had warned him that "an immediate and long rest" was necessary. With great emotion the Prime Minister read the letter of resignation to the House of Commons and later referred to Bonar Law as "one of the most capable, one of the most trusted and one of the most loved of our leaders."

Mr. Bonar Law is a Canadian of Scotch descent who returned from Canada to establish himself as an iron merchant in Glasgow. Later he entered Parliament as a member of the Unionist (or Conservative) party, and when Mr. Balfour retired from the leadership of the party. Mr. Bonar Law took his place by common consent. During the war he entered the Coalition Government and held the important posts of Colonial Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was one of the British representatives at the Peace Conference. After the war he took the post of Lord Privy Seal in the Cabinet; a position which enabled him to take part in ministerial deliberations without the added burden of having to administer a department of government. Mr. Bonar Law was an efficient executive with a keen head for business and public finance, but he did not have the imagination of a great statesman and never succeeded in impressing his personality on the public as did such men as Lloyd George, Balfour, Gladstone and Disraeli. Conservatives accepted his leadership with docility, but without enthusiasm; as one English writer said, "Squiredom and farmerdom are even yet bewildered that this Canadian-born Glasgow iron merchant, landless, Presbyterian, and teetotal, should stand for them." Respecting Ireland, Mr. Bonar Law was rather inclined to a repressionist policy and his sympathies went strongly to Ulster.

The real significance of the passing of Mr. Bonar Law from the stage of British public life lies in its possible effect on the future of Premier Lloyd George's Coalition ministry. Austen Chamberlain is slated to succeed Mr. Bonar Law as head of the Unionist party and its chief representative in the Government. Whether he will work as well in double harness with the Premier is uncertain; and even should he do so there may come a revolt in the Unionist rank and file against continuance of the Coalition policy. Premier Lloyd George depends for his political po-



© *Keystone View* T

**These French cyclist troops led the way in the Allied occupatio carry out the agreements of the peace treaty. The German pop troops**

sition on the maintenance of the war-time "party truce" in times of peace. If the Coalition Government should split into its Liberal and Conservative elements the Prime Minister would have to choose between abandoning his life-long allegiance to the Liberal party and becoming a strictly Conservative Premier or holding a general election. Already the Government has lost strength in a number of recent by-elections and a general election might possibly bring into power a Liberal-Labor majority hostile to Premier Lloyd George. The Government received some consolation, however, from the capture of the industrial town of Woolwich. This was thought a sure seat for the Labor party, but Ramsay MacDonald, the Labor candidate, tho a man of great ability, was handicapped by his pacifist record during the Great War. The Coalition nominated against him a war veteran, Captain Gee, and carried the election by utilizing popular patriotic sentiment.

## Poland and Russia

AT the time when Polish thoughts were mainly turning westward to the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, Poland's statesmen were busy strengthening the position of the nation in the east. For a thousand years the standing peril to Polish independence has been the geographical location of Poland between the Germans and the Russians. As the weakest numerically of the three peoples of the Baltic plain they have stood the greatest danger of being crushed. Poland may be compared to a small man caught in a crowd. With one elbow he shoves at the ribs of the big, blond fellow in spiked helmet and Prussian boots who is squeezing him from the left, while he pushes with his other elbow at the still bigger giant with the bushy whiskers who is crowding him on the right. His neighbors think him ill-mannered and "imperialistic"; he thinks the same of them, and he feels very certain that in any case his only choice is between using his elbows and being crushed to death.

This is the real significance of the Polish-Russian treaty, finally signed at Riga by the representatives of Poland, Soviet Russia and the Ukraine, on March 18. The frontier which Poland gains to the east cannot be justified on grounds of national self-determination, as it includes hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians and White Russians and gives to Poland a long strip or corridor of land as far as the Dvina River cutting Soviet Russia off from Lithuania. Very few Poles, except in some of the towns and as owners of large rural estates, live within this strip of land; but it is an admirable defensive barrier against Bolshevist invasion, and prevents any direct advance of Bolshevist Russia to Lithuania or East Prussia. By the peace with Soviet Russia, Poland gains the vast but thinly settled region of the Pripet marshes, lying east of Brest Litovsk and extending beyond Pinsk. Further north a large area south and east of Lithuania and extending almost as far as Minsk is added to Poland. The status of Vilna is uncertain. The League of Nations Council decided to abandon the plan for a plebiscite to determine the fate of this city and its surrounding territory, and instead has proposed direct negotiation by a joint commission of Polish and Lithuanian delegates.

Other clauses of the Russo-Polish treaty are also favorable to Poland. Both Governments agree not to carry on propaganda against each other. Russia must pay to Poland 30,000,000 gold rubles indemnity and Poland is freed from any claim based on the debts of the former Russian Empire. War trophies, libraries and other valuables taken by Russia from Poland since the partition of the latter country in the eighteenth century are to be returned. Commercial relations and postal communication are to be restored between the two countries.

This treaty is naturally unpopular in Russia, and not among the Bolsheviki alone. Kerensky declared that "The Riga peace is not a peace of compromise but a peace of oppression and national subjection." He estimates that of the 7,000,000 inhabitants in the land gained by Poland beyond the minimum frontier fixed originally by the Allies (the "Curzon line") only about 400,000 were Poles. On the other hand, it may be said that the White Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and other peoples living within the disputed territory are not much more akin to the people of Soviet Russia than to the Poles, and their wishes have never been directly consulted by either Government.

Poland has also strengthened herself in the east by entering into agreements with Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary for mutual self-defence against the Bolsheviki. The French have been working ever since the armistice to build up a barrier of States in eastern Europe between Germany and Soviet Russia in order to preserve the balance of power and prevent a Russo-German coalition against France. Poland, as the largest of the new nations, is the natural cornerstone of any such barrier.

Soviet Russia seems about to undertake a change of policy. The conclusion of peace with Poland, the trade negotiations with Italy, the trade agreement with England and the peace with Turkey indicate that the Bolsheviki are weary of war and desire a temporary truce with capitalism in foreign countries, if not a permanent peace. Lenine has also come out for a policy of concession and conciliation within Russia. He announced that the grain monopoly would be stopped and the peasants permitted to sell their corn without interference from the Government, other than the payment of a small tax in kind. This is a really revolutionary concession and means the abandonment of a large part of the communist program, yet Lenine was able to secure for his policy a majority of the Communist party Congress.

The Kronstadt rebellion has been put down. Trotsky took the fortress by assault, throwing against the guns of the city a vast army, estimated at 60,000. Most of the rebellious garrison were killed in the assault or executed afterward, but a number succeeded in escaping across the Finnish border.



**PAY UP**
**ies of Germany, a move executed as a threat to force the enemy to dorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort took the entrance of French and British y than alarm**

# A Little of Everything



## The Triumph of Cain

Lovers of rural life are fond of saying that God planted the first garden and Cain built the first city. If that is so, the United States is in a bad way. The 1920 census has recently announced the figures on the distribution of rural and urban population by states; defining urban population as including incorporated cities and towns of at least 2500 inhabitants. For the first time in the history of the country the urban population showed a majority over the rural. 54,318,032 Americans live in towns and cities; only 51,390,739 on farms and in small country villages. Only in three states, Colorado, Montana and Wyoming, was there a proportionate increase in the rural population as compared with the urban. As Professor Bailey showed in The Independent of January 1, 1921, all the northeastern states show a decrease in the number of farms, as well as many of the Mississippi and Missouri valley states. Only in the mountain states of the Far West, where irrigation has opened up new lands to agriculture, does the farm area, the number of farms or the proportion of rural population show any notable increase.

The District of Columbia, which is all one city, has of course the highest percentage of urban population in the Union. But Rhode Island with 97.5 per cent comes a very close second; Massachusetts with 94.8 per cent a good third. Then come New York, New Jersey, California, Illinois and Connecticut; all with more than two-thirds of their population in the cities. Texas has the largest rural population in the Union; but Mississippi the highest percentage. The Dakotas follow Mississippi; then Arkansas, South Carolina and New Mexico, all with more than four-fifths of their population in the country. A century ago practically the whole United States was in about the same position regarding the distribution of the population over the countryside as the Gulf States and the Dakotas today. A century hence will the United States be like present-day Massachusetts, or will a turn come in the tide which is now setting so strongly towards the cities?



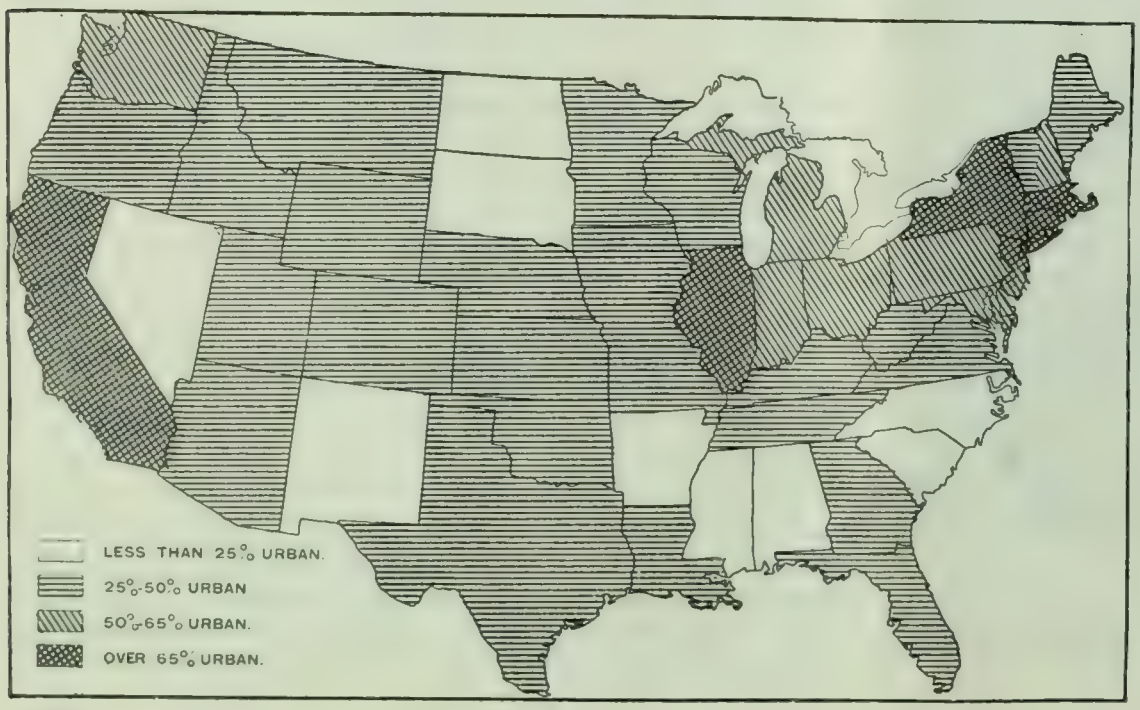
The Golden Eagle of Red desert, in southern Wyoming, gathers sticks of sagebrush, greasewood, anything that is available in that bare land, and, in the absence of trees, builds his nest high on the black cliffs that surround the desert. The nest looks big enough for the man beside it to camp out in, and it is a stable structure besides; for the Golden Eagle comes back to the same nest year after year. The American Eagle of the gold-piece flies faster and farther and house-hunts every season

## Aquatic Snipers

There are certain tropical fish called *Toxotes* or "archers," that shoot their prey, says a writer in *The Scientific American Monthly.*

Four species are known, inhabiting Polynesia and the East Indian archipelago. The archer *Sagittarius* is found from the Dutch East Indies as far as the northern shores of Australia. The body is yellowish or olive brown in color, with large rounded or oblong spots or with vertical black bands. The eye is a brilliant pink and the belly a silvery white. The best known species is the *Sagittarius* or *Toxotes jaculator.* This fish has a singular habit of "shooting" its prey, the various small insects which frequent aquatic plants or the grass and weeds along the edge of the water; it simply launches at them, with wonderful accuracy of aim, a tiny jet of water, which it is said to be able to project to a distance of three feet or more. It nearly always hits the mark. The Malays call it the spitting fish. In many countries it is made a domestic pet by the inhabitants, who keep it in their houses and furnish it with flies and bugs for the pleasure of observing its marvelous marksmanship. In Java it is kept in basins over whose surface a small stick is fixed at a hight of about sixteen inches. Wooden corks are strung on this stick and insects placed thereon.

When the fish catches sight of a victim it rises to the surface of the water, remains motionless for a few moments, and then squirts several drops of water at its prey, which it usually succeeds in striking and bringing down to the water. Should it fail it swims about a bit and after a while tries again.




## Word Casualties

There was a curious transformation of names among the refugees who flocked to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In order to shake off all associations with the country where they had been so badly treated, many of the Huguenots translated their names into English, sometimes with a slight alteration of the sense. Boileau became Drinkwater; Delamere, Bythesea; Jolifemme, Prettyman; Loiseau, Bird; Lefevre, Smith; Dubois, Wood; and Sauvage, Savage or Wild. Chapius became Shoppee; Beaufoy, Boffin, and Condé, Cundy.

Similar havoc, on a less extensive scale, has been played with English names in France. Mazarin's "financial

clerk," Colbert, who, under Louis XIV, was entrusted with the kingdom's finances, was descended from an Englishman named Cuthbert; and the real name, it is said, of the artist who decorated Versailles was not Le Brun, but Brown.

The English language shows many examples of word shrinkage, i. e., the gradual loss of an unaccented vowel at the beginning of the word. This is called "aphesis." Sometimes the middle syllable of a word will be slurred to the point of extinction. From Mary Magdalen, tearful and penitent, comes the word "maudlin," now generally used to designate the lachrymose stage of drunkenness. "Sacristan" is contracted into "sexton"; the old French word "paralysie" becomes "palsy"; "hydropsie" becomes "dropsy"; and the word "procurator" becomes "proctor" in English. Bethlehem hospital for lunatics, established in London, came to be telescoped into "Bedlam," much as Cholmondeley came to be Chumley and Marjoribanks, Marshbanks. "Mend" is for "amend," "lone" for "alone," "fender," whether before a fireplace or outside a ship or conveyance, is for "defender," "fence" for "defense," "taint" for "attaint."

The word "peach," commonly regarded as English thieves' slang, goes back to the time of Shakespeare, and is related to "impeach," tho used to indicate information against an accomplice. Sir John Falstaff (Henry IV, Part 1, Act 2, Scene 2) says: "If I be ta'en, I'll peach for this." The word "cad" is for Scotch "caddie," once an errand boy, now familiar in connection with golf. "Caddie" is from the French word "cadet," meaning a junior, or younger brother.

## The Suicide Wave

We hear much of the crime wave, and usually we mean by the term burglary and highway robbery, and perhaps murder. But people who devour statistics are alarmed over the prevalence of another crime: suicide. Dr. Hoffman in a report of the Save-a-Life League declares that "All over the world reports show a marked increase in suicide since the war ended. During the war the rate fell the lowest in many years." This was due to a double cause, it may fairly be surmized. In the first place, human nature strings itself taut to meet a great crisis and only collapses into depression after the crisis is passed; it was remarked, for example, that the suicide rate in San Francisco was abnormally low just after the earthquake and fire had devastated the city. In the second place, a man who wishes to get killed can usually find a way of dying with honor in war time by volunteering for some dangerous service, instead of disgracefully and uselessly ending his own life.

In the United States during 1920 there were 3567 men and 2604 women who are known to have killed themselves; probably the actual number was much greater, as suicides usually take some care to make their death appear accidental. Altho the number of women was so much less than the number of men as to entitle the fair sex to the further name of the cheerful sex, yet the relative proportion of women killing themselves increased very rapidly over previous years. This was due, Dr. Hoffman thinks, to the entrance of women into business life and also to post-war economic problems. The youngest suicide was five years old; the oldest 103.

The number of children killing themselves increased from 477 in 1919 to 707 in 1920; perhaps the most alarming sign of all. Four hundred soldiers took their own lives.

Other countries are far worse off than the United States with respect to self-murder. In Hungary, for example, police reports show that 3200 women and 2100 men killed themselves in 1920 and that there were more than 10,000 unsuccessful attempts at suicide. Hungary as it is today is a small country with a population roughly comparable to that of New York state, and yet it had almost as many suicides last year as the whole United States. A special police force has been organized in Hungary to prevent suicides, and the clergy of all denominations have combined to fight the suicide wave.

## Side Shows

Men fly kites in Japan.

***

Servant girls in Argentine are now getting $2 a month.

***

Many American brewers are now starting plants in China.

***

More than 50 per cent of the vehicles in the Postal Service are automobiles.

***

Fishermen in Portage River, New York, have caught several tons of goldfish.

***

Omaha policemen have adopted bullet proof breast and back armor plates.

***

The Y. W. C. A. is starting "Courage Clubs for girls temporarily separated from their pay envelopes."

***

Motion picture films exported by the United States in 1920 would extend twice around the globe at the equator.

***

A Kentucky hen is reported to have laid an egg already dated; what was worse, dated in advance of the day it was laid.

***

One hundred and forty American cities in twenty-four states have adopted the city-manager plan of municipal government.

***

Three hundred and forty-two thousand one hundred and fifteen questions were an-




SIX YEARS A PRISONER OF WAR

This drawing, and the following quotation from a letter, both from a Hungarian prisoner in Russia, tell twice over the wretched story of a prisoner of war. ". . . We succeeded in enduring these six cruel prisoner years, tho locked up between four dreary walls, resting on rotten plank-beds. A narrow yard was all where we were allowed to walk at a certain time just as in the houses of correction, watched by rough conveying guards. Nothing around but the extraordinary sadness of an uninhabited country. Exhausted by heat in summer and cold in winter, beaten by Cossacks and Czechs. . . . White and red both enrolled us by force into their lines, threatened by gun-fires and killed those, who had courage enough to resist. Thousands and thousands perished under the unfriendly climate in cold, rainy, pooly lands painfully working in order to earn their miserable livelihood. . . . And now the lovely years of golden youth are over, the happiest age of our human life has gone by without freedom and joy." . . . This letter, also the drawing, came to us thru the Young Men's Christian Association

swered during the past year at the information booths operated by the New York Community Service, as a part of the effort of this organization to make New York a friendlier city. The booths are manned by volunteer workers.

***

Stereoscopic or "third dimension" motion pictures, in which the screen pictures have apparent "depth" and do not seem a mere surface, are announced by George Spoor of the Essenay Company.

***

The American Humane Association has offered a $1000 prize for the most satisfactory horseshoe or other device which will prevent horses from slipping on smooth or ice-covered roadways. The contest is open to everyone until July 1, 1921.

## The Indomitable Past

Things out of the mouldy past have a way of turning up now and then to make us of the twentieth century wonder whether we are as modern as we think we are. Johann Amos Comenius, a Moravian educator, born March 28, 1592, hands to us across three and a quarter centuries quiet teachings that make the theories of the "radicals"—from Madame Montessori on—seem like old-fashioned good sense:

To instruct the young is not to beat into them by repetition a mass of words, phrases, sentences, and opinions gathered out of authors; but it is to open their understanding thru things.

We must offer to the young, not the shadows of things, but the things themselves, which impress the senses and the imagination. Instruction should commence with a real observation of things and not with a verbal description of them.

It should be the parents' first care to preserve the health of their offspring, since children cannot be trained successfully unless they be lively and vigorous.

The joy of the heart is the very life-spring of man. Parents ought to be especially careful never to allow their children to be without delights.

No one will therefore doubt that one boy sharpens the genius of another boy more than any one else can.

Whatever first attaches to the tender age of children, whether good or bad, remains most firmly fixed, so that thruout life it may not be expelled by any after expression.

# Everyman's Genealogical Album

## By George Henry Fox, M. D.

"I know
My father, grandsire, and great grandsire, too:—
If farther I derive my pedigree,
I can but guess beyond the fourth degree.
The rest of my forgotten ancestors
Were sons of earth."

—Dryden.

The family tree or genealogical chart running back for many generations is often inaccurate and uninteresting. Any tramp on the street with a spare hundred dollars in his pocket can get some alleged genealogist to prepare a lineage connecting him with William the Conqueror.

On the other hand everyone ought to know and be interested in his or her great grandparents and the eight families with which he or she is thereby most closely connected. But how many of us can name these eight great grandparents? And how few of us can furnish the dates of their birth, marriage and death!

Some time ago the writer devised the accompanying chart for such a record. It has spaces in which to write the names of two parents, four grandparents and eight great grandparents with a central space for a friend's autograph. When a score or more of these charts are collected they can be readily bound in album form and, if preserved, would doubtless prove a bonanza to genealogists of a century hence.

The Independent, which is interested in everything commendable like the study of genealogy, has agreed to supply these blanks at a minimum charge to readers who desire them.

The writer will be grateful to any reader who will take the trouble to fill out and send him, at 616 Madison Avenue, New York, the accompanying blank chart and will preserve it carefully for its genealogical value.

### Eight Families to Whom I Am Related

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

PATERNAL SIDE

| 1 GREAT GRANDFATHER<br>BORN — DIED<br>RES | 2 GREAT GRANDMOTHER<br>— |
|---|---|
| GRANDFATHER<br>— | |
| FATHER<br>— | |

| 5 GREAT GRANDFATHER<br>— | 6 GREAT GRANDMOTHER<br>— |
|---|---|
| GRANDFATHER<br>— | |
| MOTHER<br>— | |

| 3 GREAT GRANDFATHER<br>— | 4 GREAT GRANDMOTHER<br>— |
|---|---|
| GRANDMOTHER<br>— | |

MATERNAL SIDE

| 7 GREAT GRANDFATHER<br>— | 8 GREAT GRANDMOTHER<br>— |
|---|---|
| GRANDMOTHER<br>— | |



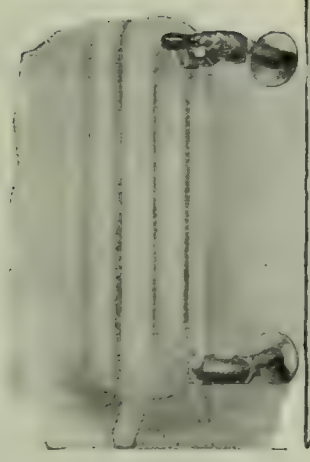


# Pride of Possession

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# Your Garden in April

## Plans for the Month When "Things Begin to Happen" in Countryside and Garden

By Hugh Findlay, Lecturer in Horticulture at Columbia University

### Flower Garden

**Gladiolus** Before planting out gladiolus the last of the month, the soil should be made rich with decayed stable manure for twelve inches in depth. Large bulbs should be planted six inches deep and small ones only four inches. Never use fresh manure.

**Dahlias** Before separating the dahlia roots, make sure that you leave part of the crown stem. A little bone meal should be added to the decayed manure before digging it into the soil. Mix a little sand with the garden loam and decayed sod for covering the bulbs.

**Sweet Peas** Before sowing the seed or transplanting the potted plants to the garden, dig a trench twelve inches deep. Fill it with decayed manure, decayed sod chopped up fine, and garden loam. Draw the furrow about six inches deep and cover the seed to a depth of six inches. Place the supports, brush or wire, as soon as the seed is planted. As the vines grow the soil will fill in the trench after a few cultivations. Sweet peas require a rich deep loam.

**Carnations** The plants for next year may be transplanted to the open as soon as all danger of frost has passed.

**Roses** Less hardy roses, including the ever-bloomers, should be pruned. All winter protection should be removed. In order to keep in check fungus disease, spray with Bordeaux mixture even before the buds appear. In planting out new roses, be sure to pack the soil firmly about the roots.

**Seedage** Seed of pansies and other such hardy plants may be sown in the open. Pansy and hardy aster plants may be planted out after all danger of severe frost has passed.

**Fertilizer** Wherever you have highly colored flowering plants dig into the soil a free application of decayed stable manure mixed with a little fine bone meal and nitrate of soda. If chicken manure is used, apply it sparingly.

### The Greenhouse

**Cuttings** Continue to put in a few cuttings of coleus, antirrhinum, geranium, abutilon, fuchsia, and other bedding and fall blooming plants. Shade all cutting beds and ventilate the greenhouse freely on bright days. Remove all shade at sundown. The late varieties of chrysanthemums should be propagated now.

**Cyclamen** Shift the cyclamens to the cold frames and shade them. Make a floor of about three inches of ashes mixed with a little lime. This will not only insure proper drainage, but also check the work of earthworms and snails. Set the pots level and never allow them to dry out.

**Shading** The best mixture for shading the glass over the fern and palm house is a mixture of clay with a very little lime and water. It should rub off easily after drying, so that there will be little or no difficulty in removing it in the fall. Shade the glass over highly colored flowers.

**Cucumbers** A light application of pulverized sheep manure worked into the surface soil of the cucumber beds will give immediate results. If the fruit is crooked, apply nitrate of soda in liquid form, three quarters of a pound to seven gallons of water. After applying this solution, water the plants thoroly. A hive of bees in the cucumber house will aid in the fertilization of the fruit flowers.

**Roses** Rose plants that are to be held over for another year may be given a rest now. Allow the bed to dry down. Remove and burn all leaves after the plants have become defoliated. Do not prune the roses back until after their period of rest.

**Palms** This is a good month to wash palms with whale oil soap to destroy the young scale insects. Use a sponge that is free from grit. Do not crack or scratch the foliage. Never use oil to make the foliage shine. The oil stops up the breathing parts of the leaf (Stomata) and smothers the plant.

**Melons** If muskmelon seed is planted under glass now, the fruit will be ripe two months earlier than from seed sown in the garden.

**Cut Flowers** Cut roses, snapdragons, carnations, and other flowers early in the morning. Plunge the stems in cold water and allow them to stand in the dark for a few hours. If given this treatment they will last much longer.

**Diseases** Carnation leaf-spot. This is known by round grayish spots on the stem and leaves. Spray with copper sulfate, one pound to twenty gallons of water.

Chrysanthemum leaf-spot. Watch for small round spots appearing on the leaves. Spray plants with Bordeaux mixture.

**Easter Plants** Rush Easter lilies, pot roses, genistas, azaleas, etc., by increasing the heat. Keep the house more or less moist. If the plants are a little too far advanced, increase the ventilation, keep the temperature low, and a few days before Easter place the plants in the dark.

### The Vegetable Garden

**Early Start** About April 15, start cucumbers, sweet corn, string beans, and summer squash in paper boxes or strawberry baskets in the hotbed, to be planted out later in the garden.

**Hotbed** Ventilate with care. On cold, dull days ventilate only enough to allow the foul air to escape. Never allow the hotbed to become overheated. Cucumber seed may be sown among the seedlings. The seedlings will be removed before the cucumber vines need the room. Much time is gained in realizing a crop of cucumbers and the hotbeds are in use during the whole summer.

**Seedage** The seed of all hardy types of vegetables may be sown this month; celery, carrots, beets, endive, lettuce, leek, onions, parsley, parsnips, radish, salsify, spinach, smooth peas, cauliflower, Swiss chard and turnips.

**Planting** Plant out as soon as the soil is in good condition rhubarb, horseradish, asparagus, Jerusalem artichoke, and chives. Manure heavily and cultivate thoroly if you want good results from old beds. If stable manure is not available, apply fine bone meal.

**Cultivation** Keep the Norcross weeder busy in order not only to keep in check the weeds, but to supply air to the roots. The scuffle hoe is a fine weapon to use on very young weeds. Do not use it too close to the root crops such as beets and carrots.

**Intercropping** After the potatoes are planted, sow the seed of dwarf peas, radish, or early beets between the rows. Lettuce, beet plants or early cabbage may also be planted. Care should be exercised in the cultivation of these catch crops, so as not to disturb the potatoes.

### Fruit and Berries

**Spray** Spray the apple trees just as the buds show pink, with one part lime sulfur to forty parts water, and add to this solution three pounds of arsenate of lead. The apple scab is held in check by the lime sulfur, and the codling moth and tent caterpillar are destroyed by the poison. Remove all spray apparatus and poisons from the orchard. Clean out spray

machine after using. Do not allow stock in the orchard for from three to five days after spraying. It is not a good practice to keep stock in a fruit orchard.

**Scale Insects** If your fruit trees are troubled with scale insects, such as the San Jose, destroy or spray all bushes of hawthorn, Japanese quince, wild plums, and wild roses. Get all of your community fighting insects, and know where to find them and how to destroy them, and in a few years you will be freed from these pests.

**Planting** It is not too late to set out young fruit trees and berry bushes. Prune back the tops vigorously after planting.

**Cover Crops** Plow under the cover crops among the fruit trees and give the surface a thoro harrowing. Grub all grass and weeds about the tree. Care should be taken not to injure the roots. Use some slow acting fertilizer like coarse bone meal about the trees. Never use nitrate of soda.

**Cleaning** In the rush of spring work, don't forget to clean up all prunings from the berry patch and orchard and bunch them. Brush left in piles only makes harboring places for insects later.

**Inter-cropping** If the orchard is young it may be intercropped with vegetables.

## Garden Enemies

**Maggots** The onion, turnip and radish are subject to the attack of root maggots. Before sowing the seed, scatter a little air-slacked lime and tobacco dust in the trench.

**Sparrows** With the coming of the tender shoots of the peas, the sparrows visit the garden and pick them off close to the surface soil. Sprinkle the young pea vines early in the morning when the dew is on them with tobacco dust.

**Carnation Stem-Rot** The soft rot of the stem just below the surface of the soil destroys many plants at transplanting. Change the field location of the plants annually.

**Apple Casebearers Bud Moth** This caterpillar in its case works on young leaves and buds. Poison leaves with arsenate of lead. The bud moth is brownish in color and works on the buds. Use poison.

**Tent Caterpillar** Early in the spring this enemy appears with the coming of the first leaves. He builds large nests in the crotches of the branches. Poison by spraying.

**Cut Worms** If this pest cuts off the cabbage plants close to the surface, wrap a little paper about the stem on transplanting to the open. Make a bran mash mixed with molasses and paris green. Scatter this about where the worms may readily find it.


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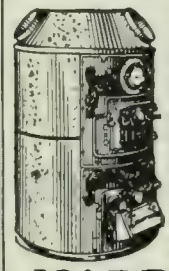
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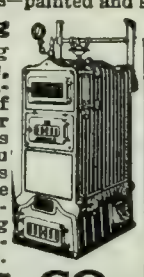
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## The Old Order Changeth

(*Continued from page 337*)

not occur till after the Russo-Japanese war was over. That is why the Second Conference did not convene till peace had been restored between Russia and Japan, a consummation for which the world must still be grateful to our departed and great ex-President.

The resolution of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, upon which President Roosevelt acted in calling the Second Hague Conference, was embodied by the President in his invitation to the nations to assemble in a Second Conference at The Hague. This invitation was sent not only to the twenty-six nations represented at the First Conference, but to all those not invited by the Czar. All came except Costa Rica and Honduras. Thus Roosevelt's action brought the nations of South and Central America into The Hague Union, only Mexico and the United States, of all American nations, having been invited to The Hague in 1899 by the Emperor of Russia.

The Inter-Parliamentary Resolution* according to which Roosevelt called the Second Hague Conference was in the following words:

Whereas, enlightened public opinion and the spirit of modern civilization alike demand that differences between nations should be adjudicated and settled in the same manner as disputes between individuals are adjudicated—namely, by arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law;

The Conference requests the several governments of the world to send representatives to an international conference, to be held at a time and place to be agreed upon by them for the purpose of considering:

First, the questions for the consideration of which the Conference at The Hague expressed a wish that a future conference be called;

Second, the negotiation of arbitration treaties between the nations represented at the Conference to be convened;

Third, the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically for the discussion of international questions.

And this Conference respectfully and cordially requests the President of the United States to invite all the nations to send representatives to such a conference.

The American proposals at the Second Conference went the full length of the foregoing resolution and indeed somewhat further. These proposals included a Court of International Justice, as well as a permanent and self-governed international Congress to convene periodically for discussing international questions with power to elect its own officers and determine its own program of discussion. A majority of the nations represented were in favor of this proposal. It was a member of the Russian delegation who informed the American delegates just when the proposal seemed on the point

*The Resolution of St. Louis was proposed by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, president of the delegation for the United States Congress at the Twelfth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, and presented to the Conference by Hon. Theodore E. Burton, a member of the delegation. Unanimously approved September 13, 1904, by the Inter-Parliamentary Union at its First Conference held in America.

of unanimous approval, that there would be opposition to the resolution as proposed by the United States, but none if it were reduced to making provision for a Third Conference to convene after an interval such as that which came between the first and second Conferences, a committee to be appointed in ample time before the Conference to consider and report upon a plan for its organization and a program for its discussions.

As unanimity was required the American delegation assented to this amendment to their resolution, which was then unanimously approved by the Conference.

But the World War prevented the carrying out of this approved peace program. In the midst of the smoke of its battles, however, another President of the United States (Woodrow Wilson) came forward with a proposal which bears a striking analogy in its fundamentals to the Roosevelt proposals of 1907.

The Assembly of the League of Nations is really what President Roosevelt proposed at The Hague in 1907, for it is a permanent International Congress to convene periodically hereafter for discussion of international questions, with power to elect its own officers and determine its own program of discussion. It is more than that, it is true, but it is that. Thus the foresight of the United States, manifested thru its chosen authorities in 1907, has been justified and realized in 1920, notwithstanding Russia's crossing the path of the proposal in 1907, and despite the Austro-German thwarting of its partial execution by the holding of the Third Conference at The Hague in 1915. The war they started seemed on the point of engulfing the whole world, not merely the Third Hague Conference. But the world is saved. And while Russia, Austria and Germany are brought into the dust, the proposal of the American delegation at the Second Hague Conference has come to pass, and the International Congress, to convene periodically, proposed to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference at St. Louis by the delegates from the United States Congress, and unanimously approved by that Conference, is now an integral part of the world's political machinery.

What are we to do about it? Before we answer the question let us take up in a following article the consideration of the Articles of Confederation which formed the original Union of our States.

---

I wonder does a mermaid kneel
Each night in fear and dread,
To see if there's a bur-gu-lar
Beneath her oyster bed?—*Judge.*

There was a grinding of gears, and the scream of brakes as the big tonneau swayed perilously backwards and forwards. Men jumped quickly to one side, women yelled and fainted; trucks stopped, passengers and pleasure vehicles came to a standstill. Camera men flashed photos, and reporters prepared the lead which was to follow the screamer headline. The whole populace was expectant, as the usual woman driver slipped into gear, smiled sweetly and drove onwards.—*Stanford Chaparral.*




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# Well Said!

## The Meat of Many Minds on Many Matters

### A Challenge to Students

By Oliver Wendell Holmes

Your education begins when what is called your education is over—when you no longer are stringing together the pregnant thoughts, the "jewels five-words-long," which great men have given their lives to cut from the raw material, but have begun yourselves to work upon the raw material for results which you do not see, cannot predict, and which may be long in coming—when you take the fact which life offers you for your appointed task.

No man has earned the right to intellectual ambition until he has learned to lay his course by a star which he has never seen—to dig by the divining rod for springs which he may never reach. In saying this, I point to that which will make your study heroic. For I say to you in all sadness of conviction, that to think great thoughts you must be heroes as well as idealists.

Only when you have worked alone—when you have felt around you a black gulf of solitude more isolating than that which surrounds the dying man, and in hope and in despair have trusted to your own unshaken will—then only will you have achieved. Thus only can you gain the secret isolated joy of the thinker, who knows that, a hundred years after he is dead and forgotten, men who never heard of him will be moving to the measure of his thought—the subtile rapture of a postponed power, which the world knows not because it has no external trappings, but which to his prophetic vision is more real than that which commands an army.

And if this joy should not be yours, still it is only thus that you can know that you have done what it lay in you to do—can say that you have lived, and be ready for the end.

From *Collected Legal Papers*, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, published by Harcourt, Brace & Howe.

### If There Is Any Problem of Sex

By G. K. Chesterton

A real problem only occurs when there are admittedly disadvantages in all courses that can be pursued. If it is discovered just before a fashionable wedding that the bishop is locked up in the coal-cellar that is not a problem. It is obvious to anyone but an extreme anti-clerical or practical joker that the bishop must be let out of the coal-cellar. But suppose the bishop has been locked up in the wine-cellar, and from the obscure noises, sounds as of song and dance, etc., it is guessed that he has indiscreetly tested the vintages round him; then, indeed, we may properly say that there has arisen a *problem;* for, upon the one hand, it is awkward to keep the wedding waiting, while, upon the other, any hasty opening of the door might mean an episcopal rush and scenes of the most unforeseen description.

An incident like this (which must constantly happen in our gay and varied social life) is a true problem because there are in it incompatible advantages. Now if woman is simply the domestic slave that many of these writers represent, if man has bound her by brute force, if he has simply knocked her down and sat on her—then there is no problem about the matter. She has been locked in the kitchen, like the bishop in the coal-cellar; and they both of them ought to be let out. If there is any problem of sex, it must be because the case is not so simple as that; because there is something to be said for the man as well as for the woman; and because there are evils in unlocking the kitchen door, in addition to the obvious good of it.

From *The Uses of Diversity*, by G. K. Chesterton, published by Dodd, Mead & Co.

### The World's Last Hope

By Reginald McKenna

*The former Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the leading British authorities on international finance, pointed out in a recent speech at Manchester University that the world is drifting straight into bankruptcy and that general ruin is inevitable if the present expenditure on armaments continues. He concluded as follows:*

All over the world Governments are spending millions on protecting their countries from what they believe to be real dangers which threaten them. It may be impossible to cure inefficiency, want of method and weak and foolish policy, but Governments can be relieved from the terror of foreign menace. The whole world is in a condition of instability, which in some countries has developed into violence and disruption. The external dangers are not fantastic in the present circumstances. They are real.

We must look either to constant meetings between all the powers to settle inevitable and innumerable disputes which arise on every side, or we must live in a state of perpetual war.

The one alternative is the League of Nations. The other is the huge machinery of armaments, expenditure on which is no longer merely exhausting the world, but is actually destroying it.

The choice before it lies plain. One or the other we must have as a means of quieting the world's disorders. The old way of victory to the strongest, measured in terms of physical force, or the new way of arbitration along the healing path of mutual adjustment and consent. If ever a time could come when the tragic futility of war stood finally exposed before a disillusioned world, that time has come now. If we in our generation fail to clutch at the one great hope which the League of Nations offers, a hope which once realized would transform the future of the world, we shall have failed to learn the lesson which long years of sacrifice and suffering have written so plainly across the desolate countries of Europe.

### Dat Am a Great Moral Question

*Professor Chafee of Harvard in his book, "Freedom of Speech," answers those who hold that it is wrong to criticize the conduct of a war until the emergency has passed by this appropriate anecdote:*

People will say, "We don't care what sort of a war it is. My country, right or wrong. Let us go ahead." It is something like the colored man who went with his son to rob a hencoop, and sent his son inside. The boy turned and stuck his head out of the door and said, "Father, am dis right?" And the father said, "Dat am a great moral question. We will argue it out at home dis evening. You get busy and hand out dem chickens."

From *Freedom of Speech*, by Zechariah Chafee, published by Harcourt, Brace & Howe.

### The Lovely Fox

By John Masefield

I went to many meets, and followed many hunts on foot. Each of these occasions is now distinct in my mind, with the color and intensity of beauty. I saw many foxes starting off upon their runs, with the hounds close behind them. It was then that I learned to admire the ease and beauty of the speed of the fresh fox. That leisurely hurry, which romps away from the hardest trained and swiftest foxhounds, without a visible effort, as tho the hounds were weighted with lead, is the most lovely motion I have seen in an animal.

No fox was the original of my Reynard, but as I was much in the woods as a boy I saw foxes fairly often, considering that they are night-moving animals. Their grace, beauty, cleverness, and secrecy always thrilled me. Then that kind of grin which the mask wears made me credit them with an almost human humor. I thought the fox a merry devil, tho a bloody one. Then he is one against many, who keeps his end up, and lives, often snugly, in spite of the world. The pirate and the night rider are nothing to the fox for romance and danger. This way of life of his makes it difficult to observe him in a free state at close quarters. . . . To know them well one should have cat's eyes and foxes' habits. By imagination alone can men know foxes.

From *Reynard the Fox*, by John Masefield, published by Macmillan.

## Keeping Them On the Farm

(*Continued from page 333*)

ing suddenly given up his lease. The result was that he remained on the farm for a period of five years. In the meantime, during the first year of this farming period, in the autumn of 1887, he was married to Miss Mary Broadhead, whom he had met while in college, the daughter of Captain John Broadhead, a Civil war veteran, and Mr. Wallace and his young wife settled down to farming in earnest.

These years, from 1887 to 1892, were anything but prosperous times on the farm. He sold corn at 10 cents and 15 cents per bushel, and hogs at 2¾ cents per pound.

Henry C. Wallace, more or less unconsciously, imbibed his father's genius and enthusiasm for scientific farming, and it was while on the farm during those "lean" years that he began writing articles for agricultural papers in Iowa and Illinois. His writings attracted the attention of leading agriculturists, among them Professor W. A. Henry of the University of Wisconsin and Director of the State Agricultural Experiment Station, and Professor James Wilson, who had just come to Ames in a similar capacity. Mr. Wallace's meeting with these men resulted in his decision to return to Ames to complete his long deferred college course. He took up his studies with a relish and incidentally demonstrated his energy and capacity for work, by doing the remaining two years' work in one. In the spring of 1893 he was made Assistant Professor of Agriculture, under the sound leadership of James Wilson.

While he was on the Ames faculty Mr. Wallace adopted the farm paper as the best medium thru which to express his ideas. What became *Wallace's Farmer* had its origin in the earlier publication, *The Farmer and Dairyman*, started in 1894, by Henry C. Wallace, his brother, John P. Wallace, and Professor Charles F. Curtiss. Six years before the father, Henry Wallace, had become joint owner and editor with the late James Pierce, in the publication of *The Iowa Homestead*.

The two brothers now took over the entire management of *The Farmer and Dairyman*, and urged their father to join the paper and become its editor. The new partnership was effected in February, 1895, and the paper broadened in scope, taking the name, *Wallace's Farmer*, with "Uncle Henry" as editor, Henry C. Wallace assistant editor and general manager, and his brother advertising manager. This arrangement continued for twenty years, until the death of the elder Wallace in 1916, when Henry C. Wallace assumed the editorship.

Thru the years the "family compact" has been enlarged by still others coming into the service of the paper. Henry A. Wallace, eldest son of the Secretary of Agriculture, upon his




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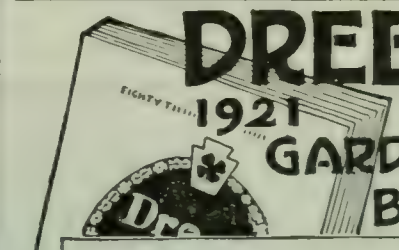
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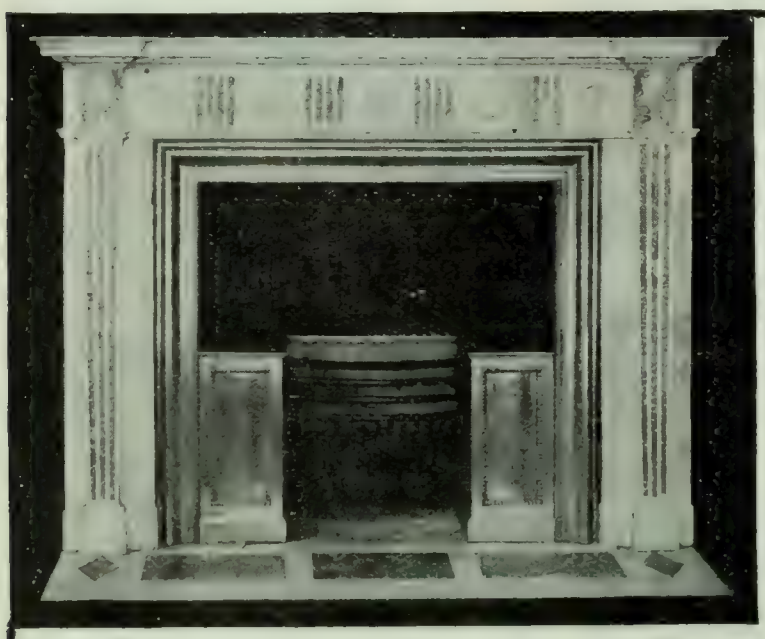
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graduation from Iowa State College, became associate editor. The Secretary's other two sons are also, since their graduation from college, associated with the paper. A son of Mrs. Ashby, their father's sister, is now in college, and also the only son of John P. Wallace, both equipping themselves for some special place on the paper.

There is found today, as always, standing at the head of the columns of the paper, the motto, wrought by the elder Wallace, "Good Farming, Clear Thinking, Right Living." With this in mind, the paper has always stressed the economic side of farming. First and foremost, the farmer must prosper; for without prosperity no decent standards of living can be maintained. Thus, *Wallace's Farmer* has constructively sought to improve actual farming conditions. A striking characteristic of the paper is that it has always kept a high moral tone and has been an influence for good among its rural readers. It has, therefore, occupied the place of the "family paper" in many an Iowa farmer's home.

When the movement to improve Iowa corn was started, some twenty odd years ago, to which end Professor Perry B. Holden was secured for Iowa State College, *Wallace's Farmer* joined with the two other concerns in piecing out his salary, since at the time appropriations were not sufficient to provide a salary large enough to entice him from the University of Illinois. Mr. Wallace and his father were on the first "corn special" train to traverse the State.

Secretary Wallace, for seventeen years now, has been the efficient and energetic secretary of the Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association, the most active organization of livestock feeders in the corn belt states of Iowa, Illinois and Nebraska. It was the work of this association that brought about the reduction of freight rates on livestock from points thruout this section to Chicago.

The success of *Wallace's Farmer* is largely due to the fact that the Wallaces have always owned one or more farms and, until recently, have themselves operated them. They have maintained farming interests in the midwest states of Iowa, Missouri and Nebraska, and also in South Dakota and Minnesota.

Secretary Wallace's is not a single track mind. He has been, for four years past, the active head of the Y. M. C. A. work of the State. During the war he personally passed upon all the Iowa men sent overseas in Y. M. C. A. service. His brother, John P. Wallace, was, during the same period, the efficient head of Red Cross campaigns thruout the State. Secretary Wallace has served in various advisory and administrative capacities, charitable and religious, civic and political, and is a director of one of the large banks of the city.

There are six children—three sons and three daughters. The family is popular in the city, a substantial asset in the community, the church and the

school life of Des Moines. Mrs. Wallace is active in social circles, the Women's Club, the D. A. R. and other organizations. Mr. and Mrs. Wallace have evidenced their belief in education by giving each one of their sons and daughters a college education.

Their home has been the social hostelry as well as the quiet retreat for many a national celebrity visiting in Des Moines, including Theodore Roosevelt, a particular friend of the family, William H. Taft, Gifford Pinchot, and others.

*Des Moines, Iowa*

## "I'd Like to Show You Harlem!"

(*Continued from page 335*)

One result is a growth of race pride. To be sure, the "beauty" business still flourishes, quite as in the days when Mme. Walker became the richest negress in America and built a $250,000 house on the Hudson. Miss Martha Simpson, "beauty culturist," advertizes "hair pressing," while "the Star Hair Grower," a "wonderful preparation," can be used "with or without straightening irons," and Dr. Fred Palmer's "Skin Whitener" is a "delicately tinted and scented face powder preferred by all race women of refinement." Moreover, certain mulattoes style themselves the "high brown" and would establish a color-line-within-the-color-line. But far more significant is the thriving trade in negro doll-babies. You find them displayed everywhere, with the legend, "Why should a negro child play with a white doll?" I wish they were blacker—yet they at least show that negroes are getting over their craven envy of the white race and learning to respect their own. Again, Harlem exhibits self-respect in its increasing readiness to care for its own unfortunates.

I imagine, however, that the negro children play with white children. Most likely they go to school with white children. Of the two large public schools in Harlem, one is 25 per cent white, the other 10 per cent. And no doubt it is permissible to applaud white entertainers at the Lincoln Theater, where they share the honors of vaudeville with negroes and seem hugely to relish the laughter of a black audience, as vanity knows no color line. But the loudest applause and the most uproarious laughter are reserved for negro performers.

Now it is not to be supposed that Harlem turned from white to black without something of a pang, and it would be interesting to find out just how the process began. According to one legend, a landlord put in negroes from spite. According to another, the negroes took the initiative and got in by employing a set of agents, sub-agents, and proxy sub-agents, who tricked the whites. It little matters. The negroes are there. They own the district—figuratively and to a surprising extent literally.

Soon there will be no old residents left. If present tendencies continue,


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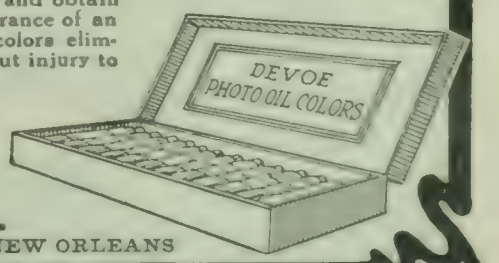
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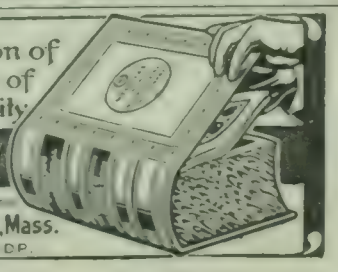
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there will be no white shopkeepers. And, little by little, black Harlem is spreading. Is it not conceivable, then, that somewhere along its borders, if not within it, there may develop the spirit that leads eventually to race warfare? Today, by all one can learn, no such spirit exists, tho Harlem is on its guard against just that sort of thing, and whenever the white race wants "trouble," "trouble" will be forthcoming. There are "guns."

I have this from inside. During the series of race riots, in Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere—not so long ago it was—a police officer consulted a leading negro in Harlem. "How's this?" said the officer. "Coming up the subway stairs, I notice that every negro's hip pocket bulges out, and I feel, and, sure enough, there's a gun. What would you advise me to do? Enforce the law against carrying concealed weapons?"

"My advice is, let 'em alone. They won't start anything. But if somebody else does, taking away all the guns you can won't make any difference. There'll be thousands more."

So the officer did nothing. And Harlem did likewise.

*New York*

# Thar' She Blows

(*Continued from page 332*)

aged to kill three specimens before the school took fright and sounded. By the time our three whales had "finned out" the ship was out of sight and night was approaching, so we made fast to our prizes and lay all night in a slick formed by the oil exuding from the dead bodies of our catch.

At dawn we ate a little hard-tack and pemmican, then made fast to the flukes of the three great carcasses and began the slow, tedious operation of towing them down the wind to meet the ship, which we knew was beating to windward to pick us up. About an hour after sunrise we sighted the "Ramirez" beating up to us with her royals furled, as the wind had freshened and the weather looked threatening.

In an hour or so we lay alongside, secured our whales to the ship by fluke chains and then got her under easy sail as a storm was imminent.

The sea was too rough to allow us to cut in our whales, so we hove to and prepared to ride it out.

That night the wind blew strong from the northeast and kicked up a tumultuous sea and in the middle watch our fluke chains parted and we lost two of our valuable prizes. It was a bad beginning and old Cap'n Dodge cried like a child over his loss.

After leaving the coast we cruised for some time among the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, then we meandered leisurely down the African coast, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and made an extended tour of the Indian Ocean with fair success and little excitement and on May 24, 1883, entered the harbor of Singapore with a full cargo of oil.

After leaving our cargo we cruised southward thru Oceanica to Desolation Island, where we remained six weeks and then doubled back across the South Atlantic to Tierra del Fuego, Patagonia and the Falklands, where we encountered fairly good results for three months.

Early the following spring we traversed the North Pacific and continued northward into Bering's Sea, where we spent quite a profitable season also. We cruised among the Aleutians and the Alaskan Bays until early September and then bore southward just fast enough to avoid being pinched in the great ice pack which was constantly working south. Eventually we were forced back into the clear, deep waters of the Pacific and shaped our course for the Sandwich (now the Hawaiian) Islands.

By this time, after two and a half years' training and experience, "Country" had developed into a very capable whaler, as well as a good sailor, and was easily the most popular man among the "Ramirez" crew. The fine arts of sailorizing he never mastered, but he was a strong, fearless hand aloft, and a whole team at shortening canvas in a storm. He could beat some of our best harpooners driving a whale iron, but had never been rated a boat-steerer, or official harpooner, because he lacked the practical skill in whale boat handling which is an important part of every boat-steerer's trade. But he really became an expert with the harpoon, and because of the great leverage his extra hight and strength gave him, his unerring aim and the amazing force and speed of his throw, "Country" was often given the honor by common consent of taking the harpooner's place in the bow when we raised an unusually lively or pugnacious whale.

Off the coast of Lower California, on our way south, we sighted a lone grayling cow swimming leisurely along with a calf under her fin.

These graylings, or California greys, as they are called, are of medium size, smaller than either the bowheads, the cachelots or the humpbacks, but they are considered good prizes as they are true whales and when full grown will yield from sixty-five to eighty barrels of oil. They are much lighter in color than any of the other species of whales, whence the appellation of "grays" usually applied to them by whalers.

They also bear a bad reputation as fighters, especially in defending their young. If you kill a grayling calf before you do the cow, she will chase you ashore and up a tree.

That is exactly what our fool of a mate did and that was why we lost poor "Country."

"Country" and I both belonged to the first mate's boat crew and when we lowered away to attack the grayling the mate had smuggled a new fangled bomb gun into the boat which he had always wanted to try, but which the skipper had always prohibited. The

old whaling skippers were ultra-conservative and did not believe in any new fangled whaling contrivances, but the mate had smuggled the cumbersome and dangerous implement into the rack and we had no option in the matter.

We sailed our boat close up to the flank of the unsuspicious grayling unobserved. She was too deeply solicitous of her nursing baby to notice our approach. Indian Joe, a Gay Head Indian, was our harpooner that day and he stood up in the bows and drove two irons into the naked flank of the whale in quick succession, but beyond a convulsive quiver of her great body, and an involuntary movement of her massive flukes, and a quickening of her speed thru the water, she gave no sign of the great pain she must have felt.

The poor creature could not turn and fight without injuring her calf, and she could not pound without drowning it, for baby whales cannot swim. Therefore the stricken mother sought to escape by swimming and towing our big whale boat with her.

It was at this point our old mate attempted to show off with the newly invented bomb lance.

Ordering us to belay the lines short, he raised the fatal contrivance over the gunwale and fired the deadly charge at the fleeing whale. The force of the discharge kicked him into the bottom of the boat. And the projectile blew the calf to pieces, but never injured the cow at all.

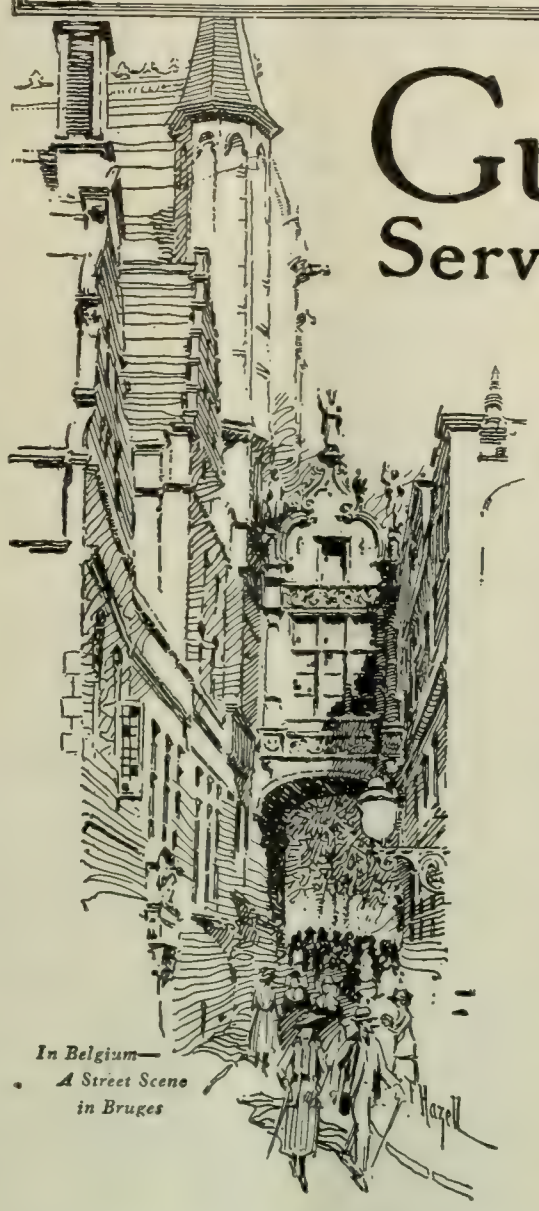
Then the situation changed in a twinkling. That bereaved and wounded whale leaped out of the sea her entire length as lively as a sprat. She lashed the whole Pacific Ocean into a smother of foam as far as we could see, then turned and charged repeatedly in a series of blind rushes directly for the boat. By quick work and good oarsmanship, aided by the blind fury of the maddened creature, we managed to avoid her, until at length she sounded, or pretended to, but a moment later arose directly beneath our keel.

The boat, crew, gear and all was hurled high in the air and in an instant I felt myself skidding down that whale's back as tho it had been a greased toboggan slide into the sea.

I was too busy for the next few minutes taking care of myself to realize what was happening. But two more boats from the ship had reached the scene by this time and we were all rescued—all except poor "Country." He had been caught on the whale's flukes in an upward blow and thrown twenty-five feet in the air. He was dead before his body struck the water again. The whale's blow had killed him. By quick work, however, his dead body was recovered, and we buried him ashore in a beautiful bay called Altata, in Lower California.

We killed that whale for revenge, but it took three boats' crews a whole day, at the risk of all our lives, to do it. She cut us in sixty-five barrels.

That grayling was the last whale ever caught by the "Ramirez"—the ship was condemned at Honolulu.

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San Francisco, California.

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**THE INDEPENDENT**

**311 Sixth Avenue** **New York**


# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. The Old Order Changeth.**

1. What comparison is involved in the first paragraph, and in the last paragraph, of the article? Why does the writer make use of comparison? Why does he make the comparison that he does make, instead of some other? What is the value of using comparison in writing? What are the principles of comparison?
2. Explain the value of the reference to the Roosevelt proposals of 1907. What is the rhetorical term for such a reference? What similar references does Burke make in his "Speech on Conciliation"?
3. Point out the most important topic sentences in the article. See in how many different ways you can express the thought of every sentence. Use different words, and different sentence constructions. Tell which sentence-form you find most effective.
4. Analyze the first sentence of the Inter-Parliamentary Resolution. Use a diagram, if you wish.
5. Give the syntax of all the infinitives, and of all the subordinate clauses, in the sentence just named.

**II. "I'd Like to Show You Harlem!"**

1. What sort of word is "quixotic"? What does it mean? Name other words derived in a similar way.
2. What sort of words are the following: "Garveyism," "humorosity," "jazz"? When is it proper to use such words?
3. What sort of words are the following: "mullioned," "corbels," "reredos"? What is the meaning of every one of these words?
4. What is an "*ipso facto* declaration of independence"? When is it proper to use such words as *ipso facto?*
5. Is the last paragraph good English? Give a full reason for whatever answer you make.
6. Prove that the article is based principally upon specific instance.
7. Explain the uses of quotation marks, as illustrated in the article.
8. Explain the uses of the dash, as illustrated in the article.
9. Sum up in one paragraph the principal thought of the article.

**III. Well Said.**

1. Explain what is meant by the statement: "Your education begins when what is called your education is over."
2. Analyze, by diagram or otherwise, the sentence in which the quotation just made occurs.
3. Explain the first sentence in the second paragraph of the same article.
4. Read aloud the full quotation from Oliver Wendell Holmes. Explain its meaning.
5. The page is made up of quotations from recently published books. What is the advantage of giving actual quotations?

**IV. A Little of Everything.**

1. What is the origin of certain English proper names? What is the origin of your own name?
2. What is the origin of the following words: "maudlin," "sexton," "bedlam," "caddie"?
3. Fill out, and preserve, the genealogical blank.

**V. "I Am the Student."**

1. Read the article aloud. Explain its meaning.
2. Show how the article makes one proud to be a student, and makes one wish always to remain a student.

**VI. Editorial Articles.**

1. Write, in the form of a brief, the points named by Professor Giddings in support of the statement made in the last paragraph of his article.
2. What is the derivation, and what is the meaning of the word "plebiscite"?
3. Give a talk in which you tell something concerning the location, the history, and the importance of Silesia.
4. Why is the Silesian plebiscite of particular importance?
5. Why is the resignation of Mr. Andrew Bonar Law of peculiar importance now?
6. Consult a good encyclopedia, and prepare a report on the work of Gladstone and Disraeli as statesmen.
7. Compare the work of either Gladstone or of Disraeli with the work of Lloyd George.
8. Give an explanation of the present relations between Russia and other countries.
9. Explain the present relations of the United States with countries in Central America.

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. The Department of Agriculture—Keeping Them on the Farm.**

1. What are the duties of the Department of Agriculture? What official is at the head of the Department?
2. What qualifications does Mr. Clark discover in Mr. Wallace's career for his present position?
3. "In his generation, Mr. Wallace has had a large part in the tremendous advance made in agriculture." What great advances in agriculture have taken place during the last generation?

**II. American Foreign and Colonial Policy—The Old Order Changeth. A God-Given Right to Fail? Justice to Colombia. Panama Must Obey. General Wood's Mission.**

1. How does Mr. Davis account for the fact that when the League of Nations "was submitted to the several Governments concerned, most of them said 'Amen,' with little or no discussion"? Why was the case different in the United States?
2. Why must we deal with the League of Nations "not only as a proposal but as a fact"? How is this illustrated by the Yap dispute?
3. Show the relationship of the League of Nations International Court to The Hague Tribunal; and of the League of Nations Assembly to The Hague Conferences.
4. What bearing has the experience of the United States with Porto Rico, as described by Professor Giddings, on our policy in the Philippines? Suppose that you were General Wood. What particular facts would you try to find out to determine the fitness of the Filipinos for immediate independence? What tests decide whether or not a nation is "civilized" sufficiently to enjoy self-determination?
5. State the argument of Secretary Hughes's note to Panama. On what grounds does the United States insist that Panama accept the arbitral award of Chief Justice White?
6. State the argument of the editorial on "Justice to Colombia."

**III. Industrial Problems—The Ides of April. The Railroad Problem. More Unemployment.**

1. Why has the sale of raw materials and staple products fallen off during the last few months? What has been the effect?
2. "Nothing but the Federal Reserve Banking System has prevented dire disaster." Explain this statement. Why has there not been a definite "panic" as in previous periods of industrial depression?
3. In what ways does the situation in Europe react on economic conditions in the United States?
4. Why do the railroad labor unions wish to maintain nation-wide agreements; while the railroad companies prefer to make separate local agreements with their employees?

**IV. Germany—The Silesian Plebiscite.**

1. What is a "plebiscite"? Can you think of any instances of its use before the Great War? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this method of determining the national allegiance of a disputed territory?
2. How is the question of Upper Silesia related to the amount of indemnity that Germany will be able to pay?

**V. Great Britain—British Cabinet Crisis. Britain for Small Navies.**

1. What is a "coalition" Government and how does it differ from "party" Government?
2. Make the situation in Great Britain clear to your mind by imagining a Republican-Democratic coalition at Washington.
3. Why is Great Britain now less insistent on a wide margin of naval superiority over other Powers than in 1914?

**VI. Eastern Europe—The Lion and the Bear. Poland and Russia.**

1. What are the terms of the trade agreement between Great Britain and Russia? What motives influenced each country to make this agreement?
2. Why does Mr. Hoover oppose a similar agreement on the part of the United States?
3. Why is the eastern frontier of Poland difficult to fix? What is the strategic position of Poland with regard to neighboring Powers?

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

Design—Why do you work so hard?
Science—I'm too nervous to steal.—*Puppet.*

"I'll marry you on one condition!"
"That's all right; I entered college on four."—*Princeton Tiger.*

Jeanne—Jenny, you look all run down.
Jenny—Yes, the dressmaker was here all day and I had one fit after another.—*Froth.*

She—Why do you insist in calling me your little cold cream?
He—Because you're so nice to a chap.—*Purple Cow.*

Stude—May I raise my hand?
Prof.—What for?
Stude—I want to ask a question.—*Columbia Jester.*

"What's the difference between a ditch digger and a cremator?"
"One earns his living; the other urns his dead."—*Yale Record.*

Bing—Has she many suitors.
Sting—Oh, yes, but none of them do.
Bing—Do what?
Sting—Suitor.—*Cornell Widow.*

The boy stood on the railroad track,
The train was coming fast;
The boy stepped off the railroad track
To let the train go past!—*Lehigh Burr.*

Mrs. Profiteer—Is this a pedigree dog?
Dealer—Pedigree? I should just think 'e is, mum. Why, if the animal could only talk 'e wouldn't speak to either of us.—*London Punch.*

"Mama, is papa going to die and go to heaven?"
"Of course not, Bobby. Whatever put such an absurd idea into your head?"—*The American Legion Weekly.*

Little Willie Jones took sick,
From eating too much jelly.
The doctor told him too much food
Had been the "casus belli."
—*Stanford Chaparral.*

Kid Sullivan (up to his old tricks)—Good morning, little one. Haven't I met you somewhere before?
Smooth—It's quite likely. I used to be a nurse in the insane asylum.—*Orange Peel.*

Irate Mother—Daughter, I have told you many times before not to let me find you kissing a man.
Dutiful Daughter—It's your own fault, Mother, I told you not to wear rubber soles.—*Orange Peel.*

"Why, my boy, I remember when it was a common occurrence for a young man to start as a clerk and in a few years own the business!"
"Yes, grandpa, but cash-registers have been invented since."—*The Passing Show.*

A librarian confides to us that she was visited by a young lady who wished to see a larger map of France. She was writing a paper on the battle-fields of France for a culture club, and she just couldn't find Flanders Fields and No Man's Land on any of the maps in her books.—*Boston Herald.*

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## Remarkable Remarks

WALT MASON—I do not envy Warren G.

JUDGE WILLIAM MORRIS—Blondes are fickle.

SENATOR PENROSE—Soaring wages must come down.

BERNARD SHAW—Nobody takes any notice of me.

THOMAS A. EDISON—It is possible to make synthetic milk.

ANNE RITTENHOUSE—Cream waffles are made with sour milk.

H. G. WELLS—The profiteer in Russia is not fined, but shot.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE—In the heart of Kansas is a spiritual tuning fork.

FINANCE MINISTER DOUMER—French wines are an antidote for alcoholism.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON—The press has become a menace to the Republic.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL—All Israel should set up a statue to Lenin for not being a Jew.

DR. RICHARD CABOT—Life consists of four things: work, play, love, and worship.

MARY GARDEN—Once you let yourself grow fat you are done for as a beauty.

G. K. CHESTERTON—All the women of England seem to care for is to have a good time.

ACTRESS VIRGINIA HAMMOND—A widow knows that the only way to hold a man is to let him go.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE—"Love your neighbor," is not only sound Christianity, but good business.

FRANCES MACDONALD—A lot of conversation worked off in society ought to be dumped in the garbage can.

SENATOR F. B. WILLIS—The bogey of the Senate oligarchy is the non-existent figment of a fevered political brain.

WINIFRED BLACK—Why should a woman imagine she owns a man—body and soul—just because she is married to him?

JAMES J. MONTAGUE—If Italy had had the intelligence to set Fiume free perhaps d'Annunzio would have stayed there.

I. PADEREWSKI—It would not be becoming in me to permit anyone to say in my presence that I was the greatest pianist.

SENATOR SHERMAN—There is more law-breaking in the District of Columbia than there is in any other quarter of the United States.

THE POPE—The two worst contemporary evils are the insatiable avidity to possess worldly goods and the unquenchable thirst for pleasure.

PRIMA DONNA GALLI-CURCI—Happiness in marriage depends on only one thing, both the husband and wife must be in love—and with each other.

OLIVER WENDELL SMITH—Today there is ten times as much bigamy in the sight of God in America as there was in Utah in the time of Lincoln.




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*The Stanford "Chaparral"*
*thus accepts our invitation to turn its undergraduate humor loose upon a page of The Independent. Presented under the auspices of the Hammer and Coffin Society*

## Remarkable Remarks

CHARLES PONZI—The first ten years are the hardest.

CHARLES CHAPLIN—I may be an acrobat, but I can't hang on to my wife.

BABE RUTH—I agree that Homer was the Greatest of the Greeks.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON—I'd rather be President than right.

WILLIAM II—I may have an axe to grind, but at present I'm chopping wood.

J. BOOTLEGGER—Every night should be New Year's Eve.

HENRY FORD—Who says I like flivvers? I'm always putting 'em out.

PSYCHOLOGY PROFESSOR — A certain amount of sleep is necessary for all people. Hence our courses.

W. G. HARDING—What's the use of a President when the Cabinet is supposed to do all the work?

LENIN—Bolshevism is a great success. I haven't missed a meal yet.

VENIZELOS—The Greeks may not be poker players, but they discarded me for a King.

CHARLES E. HUGHES—If the President selects me as a Secretary it won't be I who sought the job—I've been hiding behind the bush for years.

BARNEY BARUCH—I may be a Democrat, but I don't need the salary anyway.




UNVEILING THE NEW STATUE
OR
THE NEW STATUE UNAVAILING

## Boulders

1 A. M.

Him—Are you?
Shim—I am.—*Boston Sanskrit.*

Oh—Does she?
Mi—I'll say she does. (period)—*Oskaloosa Times-Gazette.*

Naybor—I hear you have a new baby at your house.
Nearby—Oh, can you hear that far?—*Babies' Home Journal.*

[Chappie's Note: "What mean the above?" you inquire, my gentle reader. Alas, they signify zero, otherwise spoken of as nothing whatsoever. The which amounts to as much as the originals which we have perused.]




# The Indecent

DUMBFOUNDED 1848

## Including Sharper's Sneakly

Hammertong Bolt
Editor

Broken Blossom, Aide-de-Comp — Handlem White, Chief Worker
Frankley Kidding — Norman Halfgood
Jailer Disuse — Williams Talcum
Pressed Blossom — Bum Cargo

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Suream Bore, Chancellor Exchequer — Jay Hamstu, Mexican Athlete


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Why We Must Accede to the Demands of the Central African Bigoshes.....Page T. W. Wilson


### A BOLSHEVIK LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A village of Bakst design jazzes near the waters of the Ivanoffulitch River. A babel of shouts shimmy along the air and reach the hearers' ears in a jumble of non-understandable phrases. Males with verdant facial foliage and collarless crimson blouses scurry hither and yon, between the gasps of recurrent explosions. The Bolsheviki have grasped the reins of world government. This hamletoff of Boomski is the center of the hemispheres.

Within a tentovich the Council of the Leagueski of Nations reposes. Tobacco fumes spiral within the canvas borders. This assemblovich has been in power for one day, having blown up the preceding one at the previous sunrise. The members are discussing universal problems, but are somewhat muddled as to what methods to pursue. However, they appear somewhat sleek and comfortable, despite their grave worries. Turmoil arises. They set upon each other. They are interrupted by a messenger. Time out is called. The Herald shouts in scrambled clauses:

"Worry notski, brethren. The last man on earth beside us favored ones has died of ptomaine poisoning from eating the next-to-last man. There is no one left to govern."

They set upon each other again. For what is life when there is no longer a reason to agitate? The harbinger is hit by a stray time-bomb. The members of the soviet do away with each other.

Man's rule on earth has endedski. The purpose of the great Lenin and Trotski is accomplishedovitch.

FINISKI.

### HERE ARE REVIEWS—ALSO REAR VIEWS AND NEAR VIEWS

#### Sagacious But Not a Saga

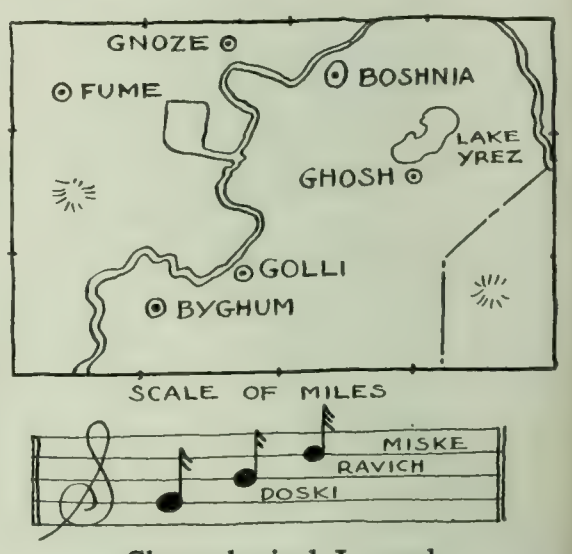
The latest contribution to the science of ichthyology is the book, "Why Women?" by the Scandinavian author, He-married Andrew A. Blank. It greatly advances the aforementioned science in that all the male characters, with perfect justice (and with a good deal of cleverness, we ourselves admit), could be called poor fish. This book lacks the strength of the author's earlier novel, "Cheese," but in his deep study of the eternal feminine, he is excelled only by the heroes of some of Booth Tarkington's works.

#### Origin—Ohio

Notwithstanding the tremendous growth of cities that has characterized American development for the past half century, every book reviewer knows that most people now living were born in small towns, and it is with pardonable pride that we recommend to our readers, "Billy of the Old Brass Band," by French Horn Harden. This is a delightful idyll of the rapid rise to fame of an unsoiled son of the soil who never forgets his humble beginnings, especially when running for office.

#### South Sea Gravels

A dignified account of tantrums among the tom-toms together with a poignant plea for a race fast vanishing from fast living is contained in "Brown Limbs that the South Sees," by Frederick I'Mdyin. Such sketches as these are like brightly colored pebbles and are becoming numerous on the barren beach of our current literature. The detailed beauty of the writer's description is such as to make one wistful. Henry Henpeck will be especially so when he reads how easily divorces are obtained down there.




#### Chronological Legend

Dec. 23: The Checkers slug the Rumaniacs.
Dec. 24: The Rummies make the Checkers move.
Dec. 25: Time out for Christmas dinner.
Dec. 26: Both sides sick of food but not of fighting.
Dec. 27: Gas attack launched on Fumes.
Dec. 28: Mutiny behind the lines, by Golli.
Dec. 29: Fumes, smothering opposition, counter-attacks by Ghosh.
Dec. 30: Both sides in Boshnia claiming victory.
Dec. 31: Somebody produces a pair of bones and the war ends.

The Independent
April 9, 1921

# This Changing World

## By Edwin E. Slosson

## IV—The Chemist's Race to Save Civilization

IN last month's issue of this continued story I left off, as a serial writer should, at the most exciting point. I had shown that all work whether done by muscle-power or engine-power meant the using up of free or potential energy; that such energy was limited in amount and irrecoverable when reduced to lower forms; that the amazing increase of population and wealth for the last hundred years was due to the tapping of the subterranean reservoirs of potential energy, the coal and oil fields; that these are rapidly becoming exhausted; that the further expansion and advancement of the human race or even the continued maintenance of our present level of comfort is dependent upon the discovery of new sources of energy; that no adequate substitutes for the fossil fuel which we are wasting so wantonly are yet in sight; and therefore that we must face the prospect of the slowing down or cessation of the progress of civilization.

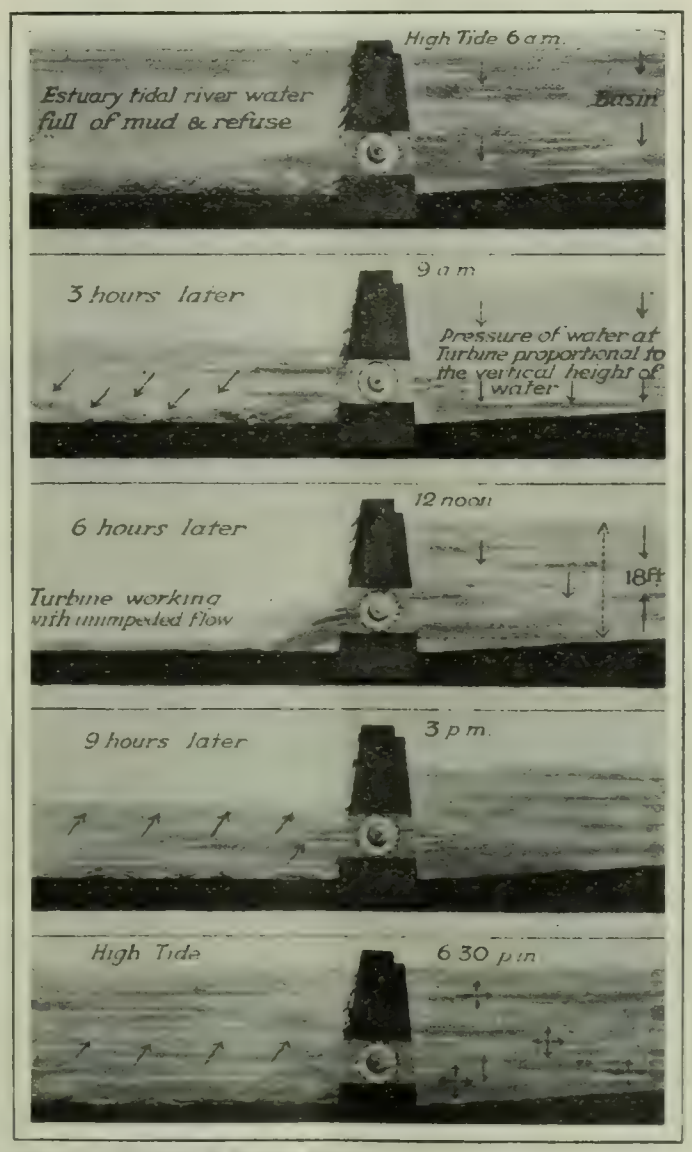
This then is the pressing problem of our time—and of all future time. It underlies all the other problems. The labor problem—for the only way to settle that satisfactorily is by eliminating labor by the substitution of inanimate energy for muscular exertion. The sanitary and social problems—for if every person in the world is to be kept as well and well fed as some are now we must have vastly more wealth, that is to say, more available energy. The international problem—for the nations are already beginning to snatch at coal and oil as starving children quarrel over crusts.

The fate of civilization hangs upon a race against time. If the chemist cannot beat Chronos the game is lost. As Professor Soddy of Aberdeen puts it in his recent and remarkable book, "Science and Life":

> Curious persons in cloistral seclusion are experimenting with new sources of energy which, if ever harnessed, would make coal and oil as useless as oars and sails. If they fail in their quest, or are too late, so that coal and oil, everywhere sought for, are no longer found, and the only hope of men lay in their time-honored traps to catch the sunlight, who doubts that galley slaves and helots would reappear in the world once more? The history of man is dominated by, and reflects, the amount of available energy.

The unprecedented spurt in population during the last century, which multiplied the number of Europeans by two and the number of Americans by twenty, was directly due to the employment of external energy, especially in the transportation of people and provender. But now the vacant land of the world has been all divided up and soon it will all be settled up, and then the pressure of population will involve the nations in mortal combat or, if they prefer to share equally and peaceably, will reduce the standard of living of the most favored nations to the low level of the rest. Already we are beginning to feel the pinch of it in the price of food and fuel, such as meat and gasoline. The Great War was merely a warning of greater conflicts to come when the stringency begins to get severe. The era of unrestrained national expansion and reckless waste of resources has come to an end. "Conservation" is the present watchword.

But conservation may mean two opposite things according to conditions. Conservation of a coal bed means not using it. Conservation of a waterfall means using it. The former will remain till we get ready for it. The latter we are losing so long




*Drawn by G. Bron, © London Sphere*

HARNESSING THE TIDES

**The difficulty involved in the rise and fall of the tide twice a day is shown by these diagrams which present the successive steps in the rise and fall of a single tide harnessed by means of a dam to turn wheels. The water enters thru sluices, and then at high tide it remains caught in a lake of tapering form. The water then has its own downward weight, and a pressure results in all directions, increasing with the depth. A certain amount of pressure is exerted against the turbine, but this cannot be used at once, as the tide is still high outside the dam. When the tide falls to its lowest, then only can an unimpeded rush of water be obtained**

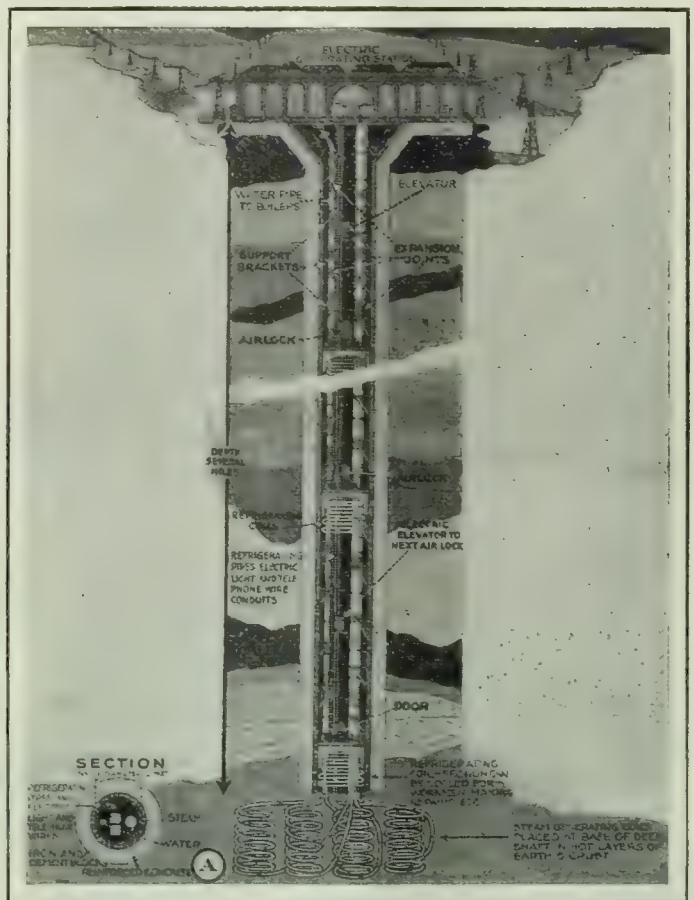
as we neglect it. We are wasting three-quarters of our coal power by inefficient methods of production and utilization. We are wasting almost all of our sun power.

Since, then, our lives and fortunes are dependent upon our energy supply nothing can be more important than a study of how to increase and maintain it. I have put down in the table herewith all the possible sources of energy that I can think of or that seem worth considering. Of course there are others that would have to be mentioned if we wanted to make the list complete. Anything in motion exhibits energy and this occasionally might be utilized for power. For instance, a stone rolling down hill might be used to turn a mill as well as a stream running down hill except for the fact that the stone stays down while the water is repeatedly put back on top of the hill by the power of the sun. If we could belt the earth like a fly-wheel it would furnish an abundance of power, but where in heaven would we set the machine? If the world is too big to harness how about the molecules? They are also in perpetual motion and therefore endowed with kinetic energy. A hydrogen molecule is flying around with a speed of a mile a second. A molecule of oxygen flies only one-fourth as fast but since it weighs sixteen times as much its energy figures out the same. If we could slow down the molecules of any gas we could rob them of part of their motion energy. If we could bring them to a full stop we could get all of it. We can slow down the molecules by cooling the gas and we can stop them by freezing them up, that is by reducing them to absolute zero, which is 273 degrees on the centigrade scale below the freezing point of water. But we can only handle the molecules in mass. They are too small to catch as individuals. So the Second Law of Energetics, which is a statistical law, not applicable to individuals, prevents us from using the energy of the flying molecules except by cooling down the gas as a whole.

Sir Oliver Lodge says* that an enormous amount of energy exists in the ether, but Einstein says that there is no ether—so its internal energy is highly speculative. Under "chemical energy" in the table, I have mentioned only the heat produced by the union of oxygen with carbon and hydrogen, either or both, that is, common combustion. Any other chemical reaction likewise gives off heat,—for instance, the oxidation of iron—but the iron we find in the earth's crust is already oxidized and there is very little heat to be got out of any of the substances found in the earth except the carbon that has been deposited there comparatively recently. The spots on the sun set up magnetic disturbances on the earth sufficient sometimes to run a transcontinental telegraph line in place of a battery, but this is not a dependable source of power. So I think the nine sources of energy I have enumerated in the table are all we care to consider, especially since only four of these, namely food and fuel, wind and water, are at all practical at present.

We are indebted to the sun for all our energies, even those here classed as "non-solar," since the earth itself seceded from the sun in the course of one of its early revolutions. But that happened so long ago that we may ignore it. None of these non-solar sources of energy is of practical importance, tho one is of the highest theoretical interest.

The tidal waves induced by the moon need not be considered separately from those induced by the sun, since their effects are combined. One might suppose that this immense mass of water rising and falling twice a day would be a valuable source of power, but so far little use has been made of it. The old tide-mills that used to maintain water-wheels in inlets along the coast have been abandoned and the new and more extensive reservoir and turbine installation now projected have yet to be constructed. The engineering difficulties are immense and the profit doubtful. It seems a simple matter to impound the water at high tide by locks and let it out thru penstocks at low. But the head of water is variable, changing from zero to the maximum twice in twenty-four hours. The power of the full difference of level would be obtainable only at the moment of the turn of the tide and this would come at different times of the day—not usually when it was most needed, at the period of the peak load. Of course when the power was not needed it could be stored by pumping water to a higher reservoir or by electric batteries, but this is not convenient. To get the full advantage of the fall the water must be run out and in very quickly and the wheel would be relatively almost idle the rest of the time, tho there are turbines that will work with only three feet head of water. Various combinations of double and triple reservoirs have been devised to overcome these difficulties and doubtless some scheme for the use of tidal power will be worked out, but there are not many places where it can be profitably employed. A particularly promising site is the River Severn, where the water rises forty-seven feet at the highest tide of the year. If a dam is put across this estuary, energy could be produced at the rate of 500,000 horsepower for ten hours a day, according to the estimate of the British Ministry of Transport. [*Continued on page 390*




TAPPING THE EARTH'S HEAT

This diagram, drawn by Prof. T. O'Connor Sloane for "Science and Invention," shows the possibility, and some of the difficulties, of obtaining power from the heat in the center of the earth

## Sources of Energy

I. Non-Solar
  1. Tides, lunar
  2. Internal heat of the earth
  3. Internal energy of the atom

II. Solar
  1. Direct; solar engines
  2. Indirect
    A. Physical
      (1) Wind; sails, windmills
      (2) Waterfalls; waterwheels
      (3) Solar tides, waves
    B. Chemical; oxidation of carbon and hydrogen
      (1) Internal; food
      (2) External; fuel
        a. Gaseous; natural gas, acetylene, hydrogen
        b. Liquid; petroleum, gasoline, vegetable oils, alcohol
        c. Solid
          (a) Coal; ancient, limited
          (b) Wood; modern, continuous

* *Scientific American Monthly*, February, 1920; a valuable article from which I have borrowed liberally.

# Our Legacy From Luther

## By Junius B. Remensnyder

*Dr. Remensnyder is President of the General Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in the United States, and the foremost authority on Lutheran affairs today. He was ordained in the Lutheran ministry just at the close of the Civil War, in which he served for two years; his present pastorate at the St. James Lutheran Church in New York finds him completing his fifty-sixth year of preaching the Lutheran faith. Dr. Remensnyder is also the author of many books on philosophy and religion and he is President of the Peace Commission of the Churches in America*



Luther at Worms. "On one side, a mighty ecclesiastical organization unquestioned for a thousand years . . . and on the other, a single monk"



Martin Luther, whom the world is remembering this month on the four hundredth anniversary of the Diet of Worms

PERHAPS no uninspired scene in human annals appeals more powerfully to mankind, more transfixes the human imagination, than that of Luther at Worms, —a lone monk against the confederated world. The historian, James Freeman Clarke, calls it "the most momentous epoch in the modern history of man." Writes Carlyle, "The world's future, Europe and the Americas, all lay there; had Luther answered otherwise all had been different."

The 18th of April, 1921, will be the anniversary of this great event. It will be commemorated on that day all over the world. The largest preparations for its observance are being made everywhere. And naturally on this Quadricentennial, as the famous scene is recalled, the causes leading up to it, and the questions there raised, and the opposing principles confronting each other will be thoughtfully studied. And this the more because Protestantism and Catholicism are living antagonisms today, altho conducted more rationally and charitably in harmony with the enlightenment of the times.

The issues which Luther had raised, and which here came in conflict were these: The teaching of the Gospel that men were saved by faith alone, and not by masses, penances and satisfactions; that forgiveness of sins could alone be procured by repentance, and not by indulgences sold for the building of St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome; that religion was a spiritual thing, a change of heart, and not a performance of outward works; that a man's supreme tribunal was his own conscience, and not an external order; that one must intelligently and conscientiously study and interpret the Bible for himself, and not take the interpretation of a priestly caste; that liberty was a personal possession (shown in Luther's remarkable pamphlet, "The Freedom of a Christian Man"), and that no one could deprive him of this inalienable birthright; and above all, that Popes and Ecclesiastical Councils were not infallible and that their acts could be questioned. Such were the issues, essential to the liberties and welfare of the human race, for which Luther stood on that immortal day.

As Luther, obeying the imperial summons, journeyed to Worms, he was strengthened by the consciousness that the people were with him. His progress was a continual ovation. Everywhere thousands greeted him, streets were crowded, windows thronged and even the roofs packed with spectators. Pressed by friends not to put his life in the hands of his enemies, he uttered those defiant words which showed the quality of the man who headed the great spiritual revolution: "Tho there be as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs, yet will I go thither."

The scene was one of the grandest ever staged. The hall crowded with thousands, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the Papal Legate, Cardinals, Princes, Electors and Knights—it was truly a magnificent assemblage. Luther was led to the prepared platform on which lay a file of his books. These the Papal Legate asked him to repudiate. Luther's bearing was most modest and deferential. He said that as in his writings he had endeavored to set forth Scripture truth for the good of souls, he would not dare to repudiate them. Then, facing the Emperor and the imposing assemblage, he stated the principles which were at issue, characterized the prevalent errors and corruptions, and especially maintained that history showed that Popes and Councils had often erred, and that a Christian could not submit to them as infallible. Then, addressing directly the Emperor, he said: "Since His Imperial Majesty wants a plain answer, I shall give him an unmistakable one, 'Unless I am convinced by Scriptural testimonies, or by reasoned arguments, my conscience is bound. *I cannot and will not recant anything*, since it is wrong and dangerous to act against conscience.'" At this bold defiance, the Emperor rose to dissolve the Council, and a great din and confusion prevailed, in the midst of which Luther uttered so loudly as to be heard above the uproar, those immortal words: *"Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen."*

On one side, a mighty ecclesiastical organization, unquestioned for a thousand years, together with the great Empire that ruled Europe, and on the other a single monk! But that monk was Luther. And in his unique personality lay the outcome. His address was so reasonable, moderate and firm, that it captured the assembly. His bitterest detractors had to admit the purity [*Continued on page 387*

# A Dozen Sign Posts to Success

## Editor Harding's Newspaper Creed Applied to Everybody's Job

### By Edward Earle Purinton

EVERY young reporter who joins the staff of the Marion *Morning Star* is given a set of rules containing the philosophy and practice of newspaper work, as conceived by Mr. Harding, owner of the paper. This set of rules explains, in condensed form, the what, how and why of a reporter's job. It lays out the job and lines up the man, both at once. It offers a model for some creed and guide that everybody engaged in business ought to have constantly before him.

What you achieve is always the outcome of what you believe. Hence, to start with, you must have a permanent creed that is broad enough, big enough, deep and firm and sure enough to serve as a clean, solid base for your business structure.

How fast you achieve is the sum of how much you know and how well you do what you know. Hence, to keep you going straight and building right, you must have a daily guide that makes every move count, insures you against mistakes, provides a self-correcting viewpoint and a self-restoring purpose.

Such a newspaper creed and guide as Mr. Harding's holds good for every other kind of business. I will show how, taking the twelve items in President Harding's newspaper creed and applying them to everybody's work, thought and life.



© *Underwood & Underwood*

**The ideals that Mr. Harding had and stood for in the newspaper business are the sort big enough for the White House today—and big enough for any man in any business, if their full meaning is pressed from them**

### 1. Remember there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

Do this before you express an opinion or enter a dispute —you will save a lot of perfectly good words that might be used to better advantage.

In case of disagreement, assume that your opponent is right. If he isn't, your assumption will tend to make him so. If he is, the debate is off.

Remember that every man is born prejudiced. He naturally favors whatever and whomever he identifies with his class, clique, tribe, race, job, school, church, political party, social position or private pocketbook. If everybody could see both sides of every question, we should save billions of dollars a year in strikes, lockouts, lawsuits, printer's ink, politics and patent medicines. The habit of squinting, then side-stepping, merely holds us up while the fellow with his eyes open gets ahead.

Make a short list of your personal prejudices, antagonisms, or hobbies of dispute. Ask your employer, relatives or friends to aid you. Then figure out a good way to put a stop to the worst of them, and become sane thereby.

### 2. Be truthful. Get the facts.

The biggest corporations now pay hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to corps of trained scientists and publicists, whose job it is to get, prove and give the truth about the business. An editorial department is maintained by some concerns, to guarantee that nothing exaggerated, inaccurate, or otherwise misleading goes into print. Employees are urged to scan all advertising matter for possible errors; and when they find a doubtful or deceitful statement, they get a cash reward.

Further, reliable clerks and dealers no longer eulogize the goods they sell. They furnish to the customer a scientific, truthful description based on facts. When a blind cynic announces that Wanamaker, Heinz or Swift got rich by fooling the public you should politely answer, "It can't be done."

Opinions won't do. Guesses don't go. Theories aren't wanted.

When you repeat something about somebody, how do you first make sure it is true? When you state as a fact a mere personal opinion of yours, how do you label it so as to prevent misconception by the hearers? A valuable exercize would be this: For one whole day ask yourself, and invite your family and friends to ask you, whether you would swear in court to the accuracy of everything you say. You may be surprized to learn what a slave a supposedly truthful person is to the great American habit of loose talk on all subjects.

### 3. Mistakes are inevitable, but strive for accuracy. I would rather have one story exactly right than a hundred half wrong.

Mistakes are of three kinds—those of the head, those of the hand, those of the heart. Head and hand mistakes are excusable, heart mistakes are not. Every employer, every employee, every customer, should learn to distinguish, and treat mistakes accordingly.

When we make a mistake, we did not know a thing right, or we did not do it right, or we did not care to know and do it right. Which? Was the cause lack of knowledge, or of skill, or of will? And who was responsible—the employer, the employee, or both?

The man who would rather have one product exactly right than a hundred half wrong was elected President of the United States not by chance but by destiny—the destiny he ordained for himself by quality thought and work.

Is every product you sell, or job you finish, or service you render, of the highest possible character? Is it the best you can do? How do you know? What standards of merit do you maintain for yourself, and by them judge all your work?

### 4. Be decent, be fair, be generous.

It is the loser in the game who looks sour and acts mean. If you show a hateful spirit or wag a harsh tongue toward your fellows, anybody who knows human nature perceives by this confession that you are losing out. Don't give yourself away so easily.

When your associate in business gets a promotion or increase in pay that you imagine you ought to have, infer that he qualified in ways that you didn't—or that he won't last in the higher place. Don't waste words in running him down, or emotions in regarding him with jealousy or envy. Calm yourself, and learn how he did it. It is not necessary to thank your rival thus become [*Continued on page 383*

# Making Both Ends Meet

## Fifth Article in the Series on "Editing a Magazine"

## By Hamilton Holt

**"Wonder What an Editor Thinks About"**

**In this series of articles the Editor of the Independent invites the readers to come into his sanctum, to see for themselves the "inside stuff" that makes up modern journalism, and to share some of the secrets that he has learned in the past two decades while editing The Independent and keeping a watchful eye on the progress of his "esteemed contemporaries." Mr. Holt's first four articles were published in the issues of February 5, February 26, March 12, and March 26. Read what he says this week about the best way to get increased circulation—and avoid the fate of the Missouri editor whose valedictory went thus: "With grateful acknowledgment to my friends and benediction upon the profession, I take my hat—the savings of seventeen years in the newspaper field—and retire"**

MOST magazines have a department that corresponds to the news pages of a daily paper. It generally precedes or follows the editorial department. In *The Nation* this news department consists of short editorials on the noteworthy subjects of the day not treated by the leading editorials. In *The Outlook* these short notes are half news and half opinion. In The Independent we exclude opinion entirely and relate events only. One might suppose most people who would enjoy the Story of the Week in The Independent would have already become familiar with the news from reading the daily papers, but this is evidently not the case, for I have found that many of our readers consider this news department the most valuable feature in the magazine. Indeed our Chautauqua subscribers are *compelled* to read it as a part of their work for the Chautauqua degree.

It is not so easy a task as one might think to write an accurate and fairly comprehensive story of what is taking place in the world and compress it weekly into four or five thousand words. Nearly all the writing must be done in the last thirty-six hours before going to press. From the beginning of the week the daily journals must be carefully searched, for of course no weekly employs its own reporters. The dispatches and other news articles must be cut out from day to day and all of them classified as the end of the week draws near. It sometimes happens that but a single paragraph of a dozen lines in the week's record will result from more than fifty columns of collated clippings. Dealing with American news it is advisable to consult the newspapers of several cities as to questions of national politics. Local events of general interest are of course most fully reported by the papers published in and near the places where the events occur. In dealing with the foreign field, the task is easier, for the news is largely sifted and boiled down before it is cabled here. Of course in addition to the cable dispatches it is necessary to read several of the more important daily, weekly and monthly papers of Paris, London and Berlin to get the background. When the material is at last at hand and the time for writing has arrived a great part of the collected material cannot be used. Still it could not properly have been ignored or avoided, for in any special field of human activity the events of one day lead up to and explain the events of the following day and not until the end of the week can it be determined whether the record in that field will be needed for immediate use. And the chief value of the news department of the weekly periodical is that it puts current events into proper perspective and brings out their true meaning.

The monthly magazines, as a rule, do not review books, tho they occasionally take what they call "the book of the month" and dignify it with a leading article. Most of the weeklies, however, as well as the larger dailies conduct a more or less comprehensive and efficient book review department. In those dailies, weeklies and monthlies which attempt to weigh the merits of new books it is hardly to be expected that the average quality would be very high. The periodicals that seriously and critically appraise books can be counted pretty nearly on the fingers of two hands. The question will never be decided whether a literary review adds much to the sale of a book or not. Publishers, authors and book reviewers all differ on this question. I have heard those who ought to know declare that reviews have nothing to do with the sale of a book.

Publishers estimate that if they had 100 per cent efficiency in salesmanship they could not reach with an ordinary book, except a novel, an audience of over 40,000. Generally a book that reaches 20,000 is a very great success. Naturally the publishers ignore the fact that it is not the aim of the book reviewers to sell books. On the contrary it is often their duty to prevent the sale of books.

But the chief objection to literary criticism in the United States is that from one-half to two-thirds of the book columns are made up from paragraphs prepared by the publishers themselves. As a matter of fact something like one-half the book review clippings published in the United States are mere reproductions with minor variations of the literary note or ready-made reviews originally prepared and sent out by the publisher. This of course is merely surreptitious advertising and not literary criticism at all. Any man who has ever written a book and subscribed to a press clipping bureau will realize how little really competent criticism there is in the country. The truth is, as Emerson said in his Journal for October 23, 1836, "The literary man in this country has no critic," and the average man who passes himself off as a critic is thus described: "Commonly in the newspaper and frequently in periodicals of some literary pretensions, the writers of reviews are simply literary hacks, shallow, sentimental women or crude young persons full of indiscriminate enthusiasm for all printed matter." No wonder that the reviews published in this country have not the quality that we find in European journals of criticism.

Next to sound judgment, personality is the most important requisite for a good book review. Rosa Bonheur may draw a picture of a pig and sell it for $10,000, tho the pig itself may not be worth $10. It is her personality and not the pig's that is of value.

But the reviewing of books, Matthew Arnold to the contrary notwithstanding, is essentially a second-rate art. If red-corpuscled life itself is the one great throbbing reality, then literature is nothing but a description of life and book-reviewing a description of literature. A man who

lives and moves and has his being in a medium three degrees removed from life will never set the world on fire. This being the case it should be no cause for wonder that the literary department of most periodicals is diminishing in quantity as well as in quality and is ever being relegated to the more obscure portions of the paper.

Perhaps I should state that I have not been describing the practice of The Independent in what I have said about American deficiency in book reviewing. I cannot do better than to quote here part of an editorial written some years ago by my colleague, Dr. E. E. Slosson, our associate editor, who thus describes the purposes of our book review department:

"Of the 10,000 books a year that are published in this country, we pick out about 1000 and tell enough about them to enable the reader to decide whether he wants to make their further acquaintance. This Gideon's band of sifted books is only a small fraction of those published and includes only a part of those which publishers and authors are kind enough to send us. Our aim is to review all those which an intelligent reader would be apt to consider if he had the year's output spread on a counter before him, except technical and special books in which he has a personal interest. Of course we have to omit many fair and some very good books, but we rarely miss one of enduring importance.

"The object of each review is to give the following information:

1. That there is such a book.
2. What the author is trying to do.
3. How well he has succeeded.
4. What we think about it.

"It is not incompatible with the preceding requirements to make the review interesting and readable in itself. Nothing is easier than to write an amusing and satirical screed 'à la quarterly, so savage and tartily' about a worthless book. This is a common practice in some literary journals and it would undoubtedly enliven our columns to adopt it, but we do not for two reasons:

"1. It takes up space and so crowds out a good book.

"2. A man is not necessarily a criminal because he has written a poor book.

"Cover it with a mantle of silence and let it die a natural death.

"Our literary department is not run for our own amusement, nor as a supplement to the advertising columns, but as a reliable guide to the best reading for the benefit of our subscribers. Whether one begs, borrows, buys or steals books he needs to know how to collect them intelligently."

The four main departments that form the framework of a typical periodical of current events are the editorial, the contributions, the news and the book reviews. In addition to these almost all magazines have departments which are frequently edited by outside specialists and by members of the regular staff. Such departments usually are reserved for finance, insurance, science, archeology, motoring, sport, music, art, drama, games, puzzles, jokes, etc. I firmly believe that the only way to keep a department alive is to change editors with inexorable frequency. A department very soon becomes stale if not replenished with new ideas and enthusiasm. When a man writes continually and continuously on one topic he starts out bravely enough, but after he has once traversed the field he has either got to repeat or else spread out thin on the edge of his subject.

A department that with proper stimulation can always be made interesting in any periodical is the letters; and naturally, the more important the periodical, the more letters are sent in. It would surprize most people to learn how many of the letters that come to every editor's desk threaten and badger us. The average man who writes to a paper seems to think he is privileged to abuse editors in terms he would never think of using to anyone else. I recall a letter sent me some years ago from some gentleman in the South who signed himself with the suggestive psuedonym "hell-cat" and who swore that if I ever visited his section of Georgia he would take pleasure in organizing a lynching bee to remove me from this "vale of tears." And only recently a subscriber in staid Brookline, Massachusetts, was moved thus to write:

> No, I want no more Independent. Discontinue. I have had all I can stomach of its editors and their insane dreams. Your endorsing of the hell-cursed twaddle of that crook in the White House serves as the last straw.

On the other hand letters come to us couched in the loftiest terms of eulogy. Not only to these admirers are we paragons of righteousness, but we are papal in infallibility. The questions we are asked to answer range from "What is the best way to bake a cabinet pudding?" to the best way to make a President's Cabinet. A brother editor tells of receiving a very nice letter from a woman who said she was a housekeeper and had a great deal to do, but she wanted to keep up with the times and would he please tell her what Congress was. She had frequently heard it mentioned, but she did not have a very definite idea of what it was. My predecessor, Dr. William Hayes Ward, once saved for a while the wildest of the letters that were sent in to The Independent and then printed them for the amusement of our readers. But much to his surprize one of the authors turned the tables by sending in a bill.

I shall now pass from the editorial department of the magazine and its various problems to the circulation department.

Here let me say at once that the universal experience of all circulation managers is best expressed by the old *Massachuchusetts Magazine*, which sadly announced in its fourth volume, "Four years' experience has partly baffled the expectations of hope. The increase of subscriptions has unfortunately fallen below anticipation." I myself am always amused when [*Continued on page 386*

## *An Immigrant Woman*

### *By Rose Henderson*

*Thin, patient face, with scars of pain and care,*
*Brown, withered hands and slow, mis-shapen feet.*
*A faded, ugly cap; gray wisps of hair.*
*A worn black coat held fumblingly to meet*
*Across a flat old breast.*
*What courage and what fears*
*Had burned the sunken eyes too dead for tears!*

*She watched the Ellis Island movie show*
*Without a sign, but something in her face—*
*The blur of years, the haggard pinch of woe—*
*Marked the dull features with a tragic grace.*
*A broken, battered shell that flushed no more,*
*Tossed by the tide upon an alien shore.*

# Shall We Trade With Soviet Russia?

## By John Spargo

THE reply of Secretary of State Hughes to the proposal of the Soviet Government that steps be taken to resume trade relations between Russia and the United States, and to "regularize" the relations of the two countries, is highly gratifying to all friends of Russian democracy. It is a welcome breeze of wholesome air thru the poison fog of selfish intrigue and dishonest propaganda, a notable step in the direction of the resumption by America of the moral leadership of the nations. It will be welcomed and applauded by all American democrats and friends of progress. It will be gratefully hailed by Russian democrats.

Bolshevist diplomacy is *sui generis*. It is impossible to judge it by the ordinary canons. It is not yet apparent why the formal note of the Soviet Power "to the Congress of the United States and His Excellency, President Harding" should have been signed by Messrs. Kalinin and Zalutsky—President and Secretary, respectively, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—instead of by the responsible Soviet minister of foreign affairs, Tchcherin. Perhaps it was felt that the signature of the latter would recall to the memory of Americans the extraordinary insulting note which that cynical aristocrat addressed to the President of the United States on October 24, 1918. On the other hand, it may have been felt that by having the note sent in the name of the Central Executive Committee, which has only a nominal existence, as even Mr. Arthur Ransome admits, the carefully cultivated impression that Bolshevism has been transformed, that the Soviet leopard has cast off all its revolutionary and communistic spots, would be greatly strengthened thereby. What surer evidence of the "liberalization" of Bolshevism and the Soviet régime could there be than initiative upon such an important matter taken by a body whose innocuous desuetude has so long been the joke of the Kremlin?

The note was admirably timed. Neither the decision to send it nor the text of it emanated from the Central Executive Committee presided over by poor Mr. Kalinin—of that we may be certain. It would not be at all surprizing if the real initiative, the suggestion to send it, emanated not from Moscow at all, but from London. Queerer things have happened, and one wishes that the mirrors of the house in Downing Street could speak upon this matter. In any case, the reply of Secretary Hughes is certain to cause quite as much chagrin in Downing Street—or The Chequers, perhaps—as in the Kremlin.

Following the signing of the Krassin Trade Treaty by Great Britain and the silly and insincere flippancies of Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons—a characteristic parliamentary debater's *tour de force* in which he adumbrated the alleged conversion of Saul Lenin to a very Paul of democracy and reasonableness—it was expected that President Harding and his Cabinet would be stampeded into following the British lead. From Reval came the sensational dispatches of Captain McCullagh to the *New York Herald*, citing the speeches of Lenin at the Tenth Communist Congress to justify the romantic view of the British Premier. From Stockholm came stories of vast shipments of Soviet gold—surely a tempting bait for American manufacturers and traders in these days of restricted markets and bulging warehouses. When the text of the speeches cited by Captain McCullagh and hailed by Lloyd George were studied it was found that they were repetitions of speeches made at the Eighth Communist Congress, in April, 1919. At that time Lenin went quite as far as in the much talked of speeches at the recent congress. Then, too, he spoke of treating the peasants more generously, of permitting them greater freedom of trade. Then, too, he spoke fair words of promise to the coöperatives and pointed out the need of foreign capital. In the two years which have intervened the deeds of the Soviet Government have provided sufficient commentary upon Lenin's fair-seeming speech.

All this Lloyd George knew when he convulsed the House of Commons by his presentation of Lenin as a chastened and reformed radical come to conservatism, an example and a warning to such dangerous Labor Party leaders as J. R. Clynes, for example. Fortunately, our own Secretary of State knows it not less well. And Secretary Hughes knows as well as Lloyd George does that no trade agreements with the Soviet Power can be of the slightest benefit either to Russia or to the nation making such agreements. He wisely stresses, in his reply to Messrs. Kalinin and Zalutsky, the futility of such agreements. There can be no trade with Russia, of sufficient magnitude to be helpful to Russia or to the United States, "until the economic bases of production are securely established." And that cannot be until Bolshevism—as distinguished from Sovietism—is either swept away or voluntarily abandoned.

IN thus maintaining the broad principles of the policy set forth by Secretary Colby last August President Harding and his advisers have shown rare wisdom, coupled with firm friendship for the Russian nation. It would have been lamentable in the extreme if the response to the Soviet Central Executive Committee had shown the slightest disposition to compromise and to follow the selfish imperialistic policies of Lloyd George. For it cannot be too strongly stressed that in signing the Trade Agreement with Soviet Russia the British Government has been actuated by motives which are the reverse of friendly to Russia. Lloyd George has reverted to the worst phases of the evil imperial policy toward Russia inaugurated by Palmerston and maintained by Disraeli. That fear of a strong united Russia which led to the backing of Turkey, and all the evil consequences thereof, has obsessed Lloyd George for a long time past. He has pointed out that Disraeli "regarded a great, gigantic, colossal, growing Russia, rolling onwards like a glacier towards Persia and the borders of Afghanistan and India, as the greatest menace the British Empire could be confronted with." He has seized every opportunity afforded by Russia's weakness and disability to favor the partition and dismemberment of Russia, quite regardless of the fact that this inevitably lays the basis for future wars. In an editorial the London *Times*, on March 3, 1919, gave a significant interpretation of British policy towards Russia:

> It is to be remembered that doubt as to the future developments of Russian policy throws us back into the Asiatic politics of the mid-nineteenth century, and makes it doubly necessary that we should take special precautions against danger which here would fall first upon us. . . . As in Eastern Europe we hope to see a barrier of free states erected, so England, which has India to think of, wants to see a similar barrier erected in the middle East.

In these frank words we have a very clear interpretation of the tortuous course of British dealings with Russia since 1917. If there is any one thing which can be said with certainty it is that Lloyd George and his advisers fear the recovery of Russia and want to prevent it—at least to the extent of so weakening Russia politically, economically and militarily that she will never be in a position to menace British power in the East. Instead of relying upon the friendship of a strong Russian democracy, Lloyd George prefers the security which he fancies will

come from Russian weakness. There is more than a little reason for the conviction of the loyal Russians—reported by Mr. Brailsford—that Lloyd George did not want the democratic forces of Russia to win against the Bolsheviki. Lenin began as a tool of the German imperialists. He is continuing as a tool of the British imperialists.

Meantime, the attitude of the United States is reason for rejoicing. Our honor is not for sale.

## Proof of an Old Maxim

THOSE who doubt that the wind is tempered for the benefit of the shorn lamb should consider the fact that the winter and spring succeeding the short skirt fad were almost as warm as summer in most parts of the United States.

# Pointing the Gun at Random

### By Préston Slosson

WHY is a deadly weapon a menace in the hands of a small child, an idiot, a drunken man or a careless amateur huntsman? Because it is not controlled by a responsible owner; an owner who makes use of it as means to a certain definite end. The intelligent man does not flourish a loaded gun at the whole landscape; he points it only at a mark, whether that mark be a target, a wild bird or a personal enemy. If he kills you, you have at least the satisfaction of knowing that he did it on purpose.

What is true of personal armament is true of national armament. Armies and navies are too costly to be kept up for their own sake, or for the purpose of defying the universe at large. A wise nation equips itself with that kind and degree of force which meets its needs and policies. No nation does or can maintain sufficient force by land and sea and air to make itself invulnerable to all conceivable hostile alliances. No nation arms against another nation so distant or so unrelated to its interests that there is no real peril of collision. The Swiss army is not equipped with a view to a campaign in Bolivia, nor Costa Rica for a possible war with Siam. No nation arms against its own allies, unless the alliance be a mere veil to cover real hostility, as in the case of the Austro-Italian alliance prior to 1914. No nation adopts a type of armament without reference to its peculiar geographical position. The Czechoslovak republic does not aspire to the command of the sea; Spain does not imitate the Dutch plan of using dykes, canals and flooded lands to keep off the foe; the Danes do not train their troops in mountain warfare; the French do not guard their Spanish and Italian frontiers as elaborately as the more exposed frontier which faces Germany. Always and everywhere military policy, in a rightly ordered state, is merely the handmaid of diplomatic policy.

We arm against the dangers which do exist, not against the dangers which are too remote to be worth the cost of insuring against them.

These considerations are so obvious that it is strange to note how often they are overlooked in discussing the problem of armaments.

There is the man who may be called the Absolute Pacifist. He simply shouts "Disarm!" He argues that because our Canadian border is undefended with forts Belgium should not have built forts facing Germany; overlooking the fact that one neighbor may be much safer to have around than another. By an extension of his principle to civil life, all safes should be unlocked because most men are honest; all doors should swing open at night, because in some communities there are no burglars. Any theory which overlooks the difference between one man and another and between one government and another is doomed to futility.

At the opposite extreme is the Absolute Militarist. He believes in preparedness as an abstraction without reference to any particular peril. In the most peaceful country village he surrounds his home with burglar alarms and walks down Main Street with his hand on his revolver. He demands a navy which will dominate the world, without regard to such purely material considerations as the extent to which his nation is dependent on sea-borne commerce, how extensive and exposed are its overseas colonies and the like.

He demands a long-term universal service army. He wishes to fortify every frontier without regard to the weakness or friendliness of the nation on the other side. Questions of transportation mean nothing to him; an army of two million men on the other side of the world causes him as much worry as if that army lay a day's march from his capital.

A somewhat milder mania afflicts a third type; let us term him the Fashionable Militarist. He "goes in" for big battleships when they are the style; "the other fellow has them, so we must." When battleships are abandoned by the rival nation he invests in submarines, without regard to possible differences between the naval needs of his own nation and the needs of its neighbors. If universal service is needed in France, it must work well in the United States; the geographical position of the two nations being *so* similar!

If the Dutch should invent an armored canal boat, or the Finns an improved snowshoe, or the South Africans dark eyeglasses for campaigning in the fierce glare of the tropical desert, he would equip the American army in the same way. It never seems to occur to him that military science is not a social game of "follow your leader" or "keeping up with the Joneses," but the serious business of adjusting military means to diplomatic ends as adequately, cheaply, rapidly and efficiently as possible.

From this realistic point of view, geography and statescraft have the leading seats at the council of war. General Braddock's disciplined redcoats would have been very formidable against an eighteenth century French army on the level plains of Belgium; but they were out of place in marching against American Indians in ambuscade. The Boer cavalry force was very effective on the open grasslands of the Transvaal, but it could have done nothing in charging a barbed wire entrenchment defended with heavy artillery. The tank could not have been frequently employed in the Alpine warfare of Tirol. A small island republic in mid-Pacific might well invest all its military budget in a few submarines. If Tibet is ever a great military power it will be thru aircraft and light machine guns to guard mountain passes. England kept her great navy concentrated in the North Sea because she feared Germany. Had Germany been an ally and Japan a hostile rival a large part of the British fleet would have been kept in the Pacific.

It isn't polite to tell another nation that you are arming against it in particular, but it was an open secret that French military policy existed almost solely with reference to Germany; and that German military policy was adapted to attack on France and Russia, not on Austria or Sweden.

IF one were to examine the present military and naval needs of the United States from an impartial point of view of the broader strategy what would he conclude? Firstly, that on the basis of population, wealth and industrial capacity the United States could sustain whatever armament might be necessary. To maintain the largest army and navy might be undesirable for us, but not impossible, as it would be for Uruguay. Secondly, that we are better protected by nature than any other Great Power in that we have no large military force within many thousands of miles of our frontiers. Hence a large army is less necessary to us than to others. This point is already recognized by

Congress, which has reduced our army to a small fraction of the peace time establishment maintained by the other Powers. Thirdly, that no large force could reach us save by sea. Hence we must maintain an adequate navy. An adequate navy would be largely measured by the command of the Pacific, since our colonial empire is chiefly in the Pacific and since the naval position of our Atlantic competitors has been much weakened by the Great War. Fourthly, that the disappearance of three great, aggressive and autocratic Powers from the list of possible naval rivals has greatly simplified our military problems. Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary are temporarily eliminated so far as the United States is concerned. Fifthly, that our present navy is larger than that of any other except the British and that, in American waters, it might contend on even terms with the British. Sixthly, that we are self-sustaining agriculturally, whereas Great Britain must fetch her food overseas, so that the British stand the greater risk in a naval war. Seventhly, that the geographical position of Canada, the most valuable British colony, makes it unthinkable that Great Britain would risk the break-up of the Empire by war with the United States. Eighthly, that all of the present naval Powers (Britain, France, Italy, Japan) were our associates in the Great War and earnestly solicit our friendship. Ninthly, that the Anglo-Japanese alliance makes a special exception of a conflict with America; so that there is no danger of a war with the British arising from any event in the Pacific. Japan, acting alone, need not be considered, since a small and impoverished island nation with a navy inferior to ours could not conceivably defeat the United States. Tenthly, and lastly, that the United States intends no aggression and needs an army and navy only for (a) self-defense, (b) the minor task of policing some disorderly regions of the Caribbean, (c) voluntary participation, either thru the League or as an associate Power (as in the recent war) in the policing of the Old World.

These are the geographical and diplomatic factors which underlie any wise policy concerning American preparedness.

They do not point to any present *need* for an increase in the army or navy; tho, of course, we are free to build beyond our needs if we enjoy paying taxes. Disarmament agreements with other Powers or entrance into the League of Nations would enable us to reduce our armament far below the present establishment, but so long as we play a "lone hand" we should maintain, tho we do not need to increase, our present relative strength on land and sea and in the air.

## The Moral of the Plebiscite

THE fact that Germany made a better showing than was expected in all the regions where plebiscites have been taken under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles is evidence of three things: that there was some justice in the German contention that these borderline areas had become largely Germanized in sentiment even when the people retained their old speech; that the voters had confidence in the ultimate survival and economic stability of Germany in spite of the outcome of the Great War; and that the Allies conducted the elections honestly. Were the French and English the unscrupulous imperialists that propaganda represents them, nothing would have been easier than to have taken advantage of their control of the plebiscite zones to turn the election in favor of Germany's rivals.

As Mr. Dooley said, "I don't care who casts the votes, so long as I can do the counting." But it is evident that the Allied forces of occupation were more honest and impartial in their conduct of elections in a hostile country than some American politicians are in conducting an election in their own community.

## America's Loss

THE late Cardinal Gibbons was revered as a prince of the Church by all who shared his creed, and as a patriotic American by all who shared his citizenship. In him the loyalty to an ancient faith blended in perfect harmony with loyalty to the nation of his allegiance. Protestants as well as Catholics can take instruction from his career.

## President Wood

WE congratulate the University of Pennsylvania on its selection of General Wood for president. The fortunes of politics denied this great administrator the particular presidency which he coveted, but he will learn that the executive head of a great American university has tasks as absorbing and influence hardly less great than the man in the White House. We must not consider that Leonard Wood's public career is at an end; as a matter of fact it is opening to a wider field of influence than ever before. Tens of thousands of young men, future graduates of Pennsylvania, will carry the spirit of their chief with them to every part of the world.

# Political Wild Oats

DO not be alarmed if your son taps his chest and proclaims to the listening world "I'm a Bolshevist." Or, rather, be alarmed lest he become unduly conservative at sixty. To make a vigorous and effective Tory, catch a young man and cram him with revolutionary principles; then turn him loose on the world when his system begins to set up an internal reaction against this sort of diet. Suppose that you had told a Frenchman of a generation ago that France would be ruled by Clemenceau, Millerand and Briand just after the Great War. He would have said: "Oh dear, another Paris Commune! That atheist and revolutionary firebrand Clemenceau; that ardent party Socialist Millerand; that anarchistic young rebel Briand! Surely the guillotine will be again at work and the pikes drink deep of the blood of the bourgeoisie!" Suppose, to cross the Channel, that Disraeli had become Prime Minister in his Chartist days, when he was hardly admitted to respectable society; or Chamberlain when he was a Republican from the radical town of Birmingham; or Lloyd George when he was all for stripping the nobility of their land and aristocratic young ladies were hoping out loud that someone would assassinate "that little Welsh demagog!"

Yet Disraeli lived to become Lord Beaconsfield; Chamberlain to crush the independence of the Boer republics; Lloyd George to head a mainly conservative Coalition and to denounce the Labor Party as the greatest foe of England.

In our own country, we have seen the Populist Bryan fade into as tame and orthodox a Democracy as Cleveland's.

The principle works both ways. If you want a revolutionist, catch him from the ranks of the nobility—Tolstoy, Krapotkin, Lenin are illustrations of this principle. Every country has its "millionaire Socialists." Gladstone, the ripe product of British High Toryism, ended his political career with a gesture of menace to the House of Lords. Lord Robert Cecil, heir of the clan Cecil, the most aristocratic family in England, has recently passed over to the Liberal opposition. Professor Wilson, the young Princeton aristocrat, pushed into public life by Harvey and others in order to wean the Democratic Party away from Populistic doctrines, eventually adopted practically the whole Progressive Party program and appointed to office some of its most radical leaders. It is your orthodox youngster who will probably wag his grey beard among the reds, while your Bolshevist boy will be calling for the police to lock him up.

# The Link Between Two Leagues

## By Hayne Davis

**What Mr. Davis prophesied in the columns of The Independent in 1904 came to pass at the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 when the Covenant of the League of Nations was put into definite form and approved by the representatives of nations there. Now that the international union has been actually formed and has held its first General Assembly, with the United States still holding aloof, Mr. Davis is presenting in The Independent another series of articles, free from political bias, whose object is:**

**(1) To properly relate the Covenant of the League to the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States;**

**(2) to set forth the basis of any international union that can hope to endure;**

**(3) to indicate the true relation of national armament to national security, international law and justice;**

**(4) to point out some of the dangers in the path of any Association or League of Nations and the way of escape therefrom; and**

**(5) to show the orderly steps of progress from a union however imperfect to one that is more perfect and capable of establishing justice and peace, even as our own Union of States grew gradually into its present excellent form.**

**The first article in this series was published in The Independent of April 2; the others will follow regularly from week to week.**

IN last week's article it was shown how the Assembly of the League of Nations is the realization of the proposal made at The Hague Conference in 1907 by the American Delegation, with the sanction of President Roosevelt. The proposal failed to receive at that time the unanimous consent necessary to put it at once into operation. The nation which prevented its adoption in 1907—Russia—is not represented in the assembly owing to its internal convulsions, which prevent, up to now, its entering into proper external relations. The Assembly of the League is also an international counterpart to the Congress of the United States, as constituted by the Articles of Confederation, adopted and proclaimed in 1777, and in force till the present Constitution became operative, 1789.

A survey of the circumstances under which the Articles of Confederation and the Covenant of the League were evolved, and of the similarity and dissimilarity in the provisions of these two constitutions, for a union of previously independent states, is worth while at this time, because it will shed clear light on the path ahead, darkened as it is by the shadows of conflicting opinion and will, and also of misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

Because the states of the American Union are now united, it is commonly supposed they always were united. Prior to the Revolution, the thirteen colonies had no political connection with each other. They were like the fingers of a hand, of which Great Britain was the palm. They had no political connection with each other except thru London—as the fingers reach each other thru their connection with the hand.

In the days of agitation, which preceded the Declaration of Independence, there were conferences, it is true, between representatives from the several colonies, but they were without legal authority. These conferences served, however, to crystallize, and then to give expression to, the matured sense of the mind of that day. The outcome proves that even a debating society may be more potent than a lawfully constituted Assembly, when the debate brings into accord such men as were assembled at Philadelphia in 1776, in the face of dangers such as confronted them. In that year of grace the representative men of America came to be of one mind on the following resolution:

WHEREFORE, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name and by authority of the good People of these Colonies solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved: and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.

The adoption of this resolution by the convention at Philadelphia and its approval by each of the thirteen colonies dissolved their political connection with Great Britain.

It was Benjamin Franklin who said, after the adoption of this resolution, that they must now hang together or hang separately. It was a thin film, however, which these several fingers of the British hand wrapped around themselves at the outset. In fact the war of Revolution had been in progress for more than a year before the Articles of Confederation were adopted by the several states while in the midst of the conflict. The articles were in fact a war measure, representing the best judgment of the moment, when first consideration had to be given necessarily to the winning of the war.

Defective as these Articles are now admitted to have been, and discarded as they were a decade after their adoption, they were, at the time of their acceptance, a great strengthening of the bond that had previously bound the revolted colonies together. Furthermore, they sufficed to enable these colonies to become independent, as well as united, states. This accomplished, the states so united, had all the time that was left—eternity—in which to form a perfect union, a task in which they are still busily engaged.

In the same way, the Covenant of the League of Nations was evolved during the world war and was a war measure, growing as the Articles of Confederation did, out of a great and common danger. The principal thought of the responsible authorities of all the nations concerned, had to be given to the winning of the war—not to the forming of a union among the nations engaged in opposition to the German aggression.

The First Article of the Confederation gives the name to the union about to be formed and then Article II declares the fact that "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

The League is composed of sovereign powers and it is a necessary corollary from the very possession of sovereign power that the sovereign remains in possession of every power that he has not voluntarily delegated to others. The League is founded, therefore, on this same fact tho it is not stated in the Covenant.

The next Article (III) of the Confederation provides that *"The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other,* for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, *binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them,* on account of religion, sovereignty, trade or any other pretense whatever."

Article X of the League Covenant says:

*"The members of the League* [*Continued on page 384*

# The Story of the Week

## Hughes Opposes Russian Trade

SECRETARY of State Hughes has rejected the overtures of the Soviet Government for a special commercial agreement with the United States on lines similar to the recent commercial treaty with Great Britain. In a note transmitted to the Bolshevist authorities thru the American consul at Reval, Esthonia (for you cannot negotiate directly with a Government whose existence you do not recognize) Secretary Hughes declared:

> The government of the United States views with deep sympathy and grave concerns the plight of the people of Russia and desires to aid by every appropriate means in promoting proper opportunities thru which commerce can be established upon a sound basis.
>
> It is manifest to this government that in existing circumstances there is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs, and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate.
>
> It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the economic bases of production are securely established. Production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition of firm guaranties of private property, the sanctity of contract, and the rights of free labor.
>
> If fundamental changes are contemplated involving due regard for the protection of persons and property and the establishment of conditions essential to the maintenance of commerce, this government will be glad to have convincing evidence of the consummation of such changes, and until this evidence is supplied this government is unable to perceive that there is any proper basis for considering trade relations.




*Marcus in New York Times*

**"The flowers that bloom in the spring, tra-la, have nothing to do with the case!"**

The points to be borne in mind in connection with the Hughes note are, firstly, that it has the approval of President Harding and the entire Administration, including Secretary of Commerce Hoover; secondly, that it continues without a break the policy of ex-President Wilson and Secretary Colby in refusing all dealings with Soviet Russia, thus disproving the campaign legend of last year that a Republican Administration would reverse Wilson's policy and reopen trade relations with Russia; thirdly, that the American Government does not place as much faith as the British in the recent alleged "change of heart" of the Bolshevist leaders but awaits "convincing evidence of the consummation of such changes"; fourthly, that the note does not impose a "blockade" on Russia or forbid private American citizens from dealing with the Soviet Government at their own risk, but simply refuses to such traders official countenance and protection.

## The Bolshevist and the Peasant

ONE claim which the Bolsheviki are making for their admission to world trade is that they have abandoned for the time being their communistic program for rural Russia. The new program is thus set forth by one of the Soviet officials to a British newspaper correspondent:

> After the peasant has paid his small tax in kind to the Government he will be at liberty to dispose of his surplus. The cooperative societies will prove his readiest market. Foreign trade remains entirely in the hands of the Government, which will import everything the peasants need and advance to the cooperatives credits out of this imported merchandise. The cooperatives, in whom the peasants have still tremendous confidence, will then exchange these goods for the peasants' surplus.

Lenin himself is reported to have admitted with characteristic candor: "We must grant freer economic relations between workers and peasants. As a matter of fact, we hitherto have acted in a too military manner, and in some cases have gone too far in nationalizing trade." He said that "If some Communists thought that the organization of a socialistic state was possible in three years they were dreamers."

The present change of policy on the part of the Bolshevist Government is little more than a recognition of existing facts. The passive resistance of the hundred million Russian peasants has vanquished the communizing policy of the Soviet Government. This does not mean that the Bolsheviki have abandoned communism in the towns and cities of Russia, or that they have decided to admit the peasant population to a fair share in the political life of the Soviet Republic, or even that they have abandoned land nationalization as an ultimate ideal. They have simply, as a matter of sheer expediency, decided to let the peasant keep the land which he seized in the revolution or owned prior to it and to sell his grain at his own price; levying a tax in kind (that is, a proportion of the crop) instead of trying to nationalize and ration the whole harvest.

The relations between the revolution and the Russian peasantry are very interesting. Owing to the fact that the mass of the Russian peasantry during the nineteenth century, and for several hundred years before that, lived in village communities—the "mir"—in which was vested the ultimate ownership of peasant land, many Socialists jumped to the conclusion that the Russian peasant was "naturally" a communist. His collectivism was contrasted with the sturdy individualism of the peasant of western Europe. But later students of economics have concluded that the "mir" was not a racially Russian institution but an accidental historical survival. Says Mr. Hindus in his illuminating book on "The Russian Peasant and the Revolution": "As a matter of fact the mouzhik (peasant) has acquired a deep and keen sense of private property. His house, stock, implements, crops, are his personal possession. . . . Whenever and wherever an opportunity has presented itself, the peasant has gladly acquired property in land, all that he could afford and sometimes more." This tendency toward peasant proprietorship in the place of communism was

accelerated by the policy of the Russian statesman Stolypin, who aimed to counteract the revolutionary movement by creating a class of conservative peasant freeholders with land to defend. To this end he secured the passage of a law permitting any peasant who wished to separate himself from the "mir" and establish a homestead in his own right; just as the United States Government offers to the American Indian the choice between remaining on the reservation as a ward of the nation and abandoning tribal ties to become an ordinary citizen and farmer. Only relatively few Russian peasants, however, were able to find land enough to live on either as freeholders or as members of the "mir" and rural Russia remained as revolutionary as ever.




*Kirby in New York World*

"Well—you may keep part of your food, Ivan"

When the Bolsheviki came into power they practically bribed the peasants to remain quiet and not hinder the establishment of the Soviet régime by allowing them to plunder the landlords' estates and confiscate the landlords' acres. Thus the peasants were able to enlarge their very inadequate landholdings; and it is probable that many of them have actually benefitted from the revolution in spite of all the bloodshed and disorder which it brought. But the Bolsheviki had no real sympathy with the peasantry. They were townsmen, industrial "proletarians" with leaders drawn from the professional classes, and they so contrived their new constitution as to leave the peasants without adequate representation. They sent out "poverty committees" and plundering expeditions to raid the richer peasants and force them to turn over their surplus crops to feed the towns. The peasant would not sell to the towns because he could not get from them the goods he needed or "real" money to buy those goods. He accepted the political, social and religious (or anti-religious) innovations of Bolshevism meekly enough; he did not object to the Bolshevist foreign policy of a separate peace with Germany; he was willing to fight against the counter-revolution on behalf of the Soviet Republic because he believed that if the old régime were restored he might have to give back the land he took during the revolution. But the talk of nationalizing land and rationing food annoyed him and he resented the raids of the poverty committees. He wanted "free trade," not in our sense of the word of foreign trade without tariffs but the right to sell and buy at will within Russia. Communistic theories stood in the way of this free trade and the theories have had to stand aside.

## British Labor Rejects Bolshevism

LLOYD George's accusation of the Labor Party in Great Britain as Bolshevistic seems to have been a bit over-hasty. The Independent Labor Party, which is the radical or "left" wing of British Labor and many members of which were strongly pacifist during the Great War, has rejected the proposal to affiliate with the Third International. At the recent party convention fifteen local branches supported a motion to unite with the Third International and accept the preliminary conditions laid down by Lenin. This was the issue which split the Socialist parties of France and Italy into mutually hostile Bolshevist and anti-Bolshevist sections. The motion was rejected by the Labor Party delegates by the decisive majority of 521 to 97. The pro-Bolshevist minority will join the tiny little Communist party. The vote of the Independent Labor Party proves once more, what has been so often shown before, that next to the United States Great Britain is freer than any other large nation from revolutionary menace. A few well-to-do "intellectuals" express a theoretical sympathy with Bolshevism, without any real intention that the system should be applied to England, but these would-be officers of the revolution have no army to lead; organized labor in Great Britain, even that part of it which inclines to Socialism, is devoted to political methods and democratic institutions.

## The German Civil War

BOLSHEVISM has once more broken out in Germany; tho the present attempt seems as tragically futile as any of the earlier outbreaks. The present disturbance extends to almost all the industrial towns and may have been instigated by Russia; tho it would be strange for the Russian Bolsheviki to encourage a rebellion in a foreign country at the very time they were assuring the world that they would abandon the weapon of external propaganda. At all events, the German rebels seem to be members of the German Communist party and their party organ "The Red Flag" openly advocated insurrection on the eve of the outbreak. The fact that the flag of rebellion was raised simultaneously in many widely separated towns proves that a definite conspiracy lies behind the uprising and that it was not a mere upheaval of discontent due to high prices or to the measures of coercion taken by the Allies along the Rhine.

On March 23 Communists seized the public buildings and shipyards in Hamburg and on the same day there were numerous dynamite outrages in central Germany more than two hundred miles away. Eisleben and Halle in the Prussian province of Saxony were special centers of disorder, but Leipzig, Dresden and many towns of the old Kingdom of Saxony were also visited by outrages. Several trains were robbed or wrecked and town halls and court buildings destroyed.

The Communists attempted to summon the workers to a general strike thruout Germany, but in this they were opposed by the Socialist Party, the more radical Independent Socialists, and the more substantial trades union organizations. The Government, altho apparently completely taken by surprize, acted vigorously and sent "security police" to the disaffected regions. In Hamburg there was a riot in which scores of people were killed and hundreds wounded. In central Germany the situation was even more serious. The Communists, many of them veterans of the Great War, organized regiments, entrenched and fortified their positions, seized factories and brought small arms and machine guns out of hiding. They apparently had large supplies of explosives ready for use. In some towns they took hostages from among the "bourgeoisie" and sent around recruiting bands to force young men into the revolutionary ranks without regard to their political convictions. For about a week conditions of civil war prevailed thruout the industrial areas of Saxony, Prussian Saxony and Thuringia. Town after town was recaptured by the security police, often after bloody fighting on the barricades; but as soon as one town was taken another would rise in insurrection. The Communists held out most obstinately at the great nitrogen plant of Leuna, where a thousand prisoners were taken by the police.

The German authorities were careful to use the police instead of the regular army where possible. This is because

the army is still suspected by the German workingmen of reactionary and monarchist tendencies, and many Socialists who stood aloof from the Communist insurrection would have joined it at once if the army had been used against their fellow-workers.

While the embers of revolt were being trodden out in central Germany, the Communists attempted to bring about sympathetic uprisings in Berlin and in Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia. There was a serious riot at Essen and a state of siege was proclaimed in many of the industrial towns of the Ruhr valley. Even the zone occupied by the Allied armies was visited by industrial troubles. Near Coblenz the American military police helped put down a small Communist outbreak; acting within its duty to preserve order. The incident was of slight importance in itself, but it is significant as the first contact of the American army with Bolshevism in Germany.

The official German theory of the present crisis is that it is due to Russian intrigue. Herr Severing, Prussian Minister of the Interior, stated:

> We base our belief on unimpeachable circumstantial evidence in our possession, and also point to the public utterances of accredited Communistic leaders here and elsewhere, who openly designate the present period, when Germany is sorely tried with problems growing out of the Entente's invasion in the west and the Upper Silesian situation, as the most opportune moment for a revolt. The German Communist party takes its orders from Moscow, and one need only follow the manifestos daily appearing in its official organs to locate the fountain head of this iniquity.

Bolshevism first raised its head in Germany during the Great War under the name of the Spartacan movement, headed by Liebknecht. Aside from a few strikes and naval mutinies —quickly suppressed and hushed up—it won no success until after the republic had been established and the armistice signed.

In Berlin the majority Socialists and bourgeois republicans put down a Spartacan insurrection with promptness and vigor, but in Bavaria a Communist régime was set up which endured for several weeks. The Kapp insurrection of 1920 caused a second epidemic of Bolshevist outbreaks. Kapp and his followers desired to restore the old monarchy, but it was impossible to weaken the authority of the republic in one direction without also weakening it in the other, and the failure of the reactionary plot exposed Germany to the opposite peril of revolutionary radicalism. Now, a year later, a third Bolshevist movement is under way. In a general way it may be said that the Bolshevist outbreak of the spring of 1919 centered in Berlin and Munich; the outbreak of the spring of 1920 in the Ruhr valley towns; the outbreak of the spring of 1921 in the densely peopled industrial region around Halle.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**The same old prisoner captured again**

## Japanese Naval Policy

THE naval policy of Japan is a topic of most vital interest to Americans because of our far-flung empire in the Pacific Ocean. As everyone knows, the recent increase in Japanese naval armaments has been viewed with some apprehension in the United States and very largely conditions the size of our own naval establishment; what is not so generally recognized is the opposition that it has encountered in Japan. In February the Kokumin-to (national) party and some members of the opposition party, the Kensei-kai, voted for a reduction of the naval estimates on the ground of national economy. The Government was able to carry its program thru, but it was placed on the defensive with respect to both foreign and domestic critics. Admiral Kato, Minister of Marine, therefore gave out an interview to the Associated Press explaining Japanese naval policy.

Admiral Kato declared that the Japanese naval policy was not a new one, but merely the carrying out of old plans which had been postponed for financial reasons. It was not directed against any particular power. The framers of the naval building program "merely considered our finances and decided we could afford to maintain such a navy, by which the island empire could be defended against any emergencies arising in the Far East alone." The naval budget was much larger, but this was mainly due to the increased cost of building ships at modern prices. There was no intention of competing with or outbuilding the American navy; "nothing could be more preposterous and absurd." As a Member State of the League of Nations Japan "supported the principle of the reduction of armaments." He would be glad of any "dependable international agreement" whereby all nations would agree to restrict naval construction, but "taking into consideration the real international situation and the present status of the naval Powers I do not believe our relatively inferior navy should lead the way in reducing, nor that we should curtail our established plan." In short, the policy of the Japanese Government is: disarmament by international agreement but not otherwise.

The Japanese Foreign Office tries to reassure the world on another point. The island of Yap is not to be a military or naval base; and would have very little importance if it were, according to the Japanese statement, since it is



*International*

THAT'S WHERE THE MONEY GOES

**Our newest super dreadnaught, the "Colorado," launched on March 22, is the first of the big ships completed under the naval program we adopted in 1916. It is of enormous size: 624 feet 6 inches long, with a displacement of 33,600 tons. Its main battery will be eight 16-inch guns. The "Colorado" follows the latest battleship style of using electrically driven propellers, capable of 28,000 horse power. The cost of a ship like this ranges around $20,000,000**

smaller than the neighboring American island of Guam, has very inferior harbor accommodations and, except for its cable facilities, is a "worthless pieces of barren soil in mid-ocean." (But since those cable facilities are just the point at issue, the Japanese contention hardly answers the American). The Japanese statement declares that the acquisition of Yap and the other former German islands no more gives Japan command of the Pacific than the acquisition of the Virgin Islands gave the United States command of the Atlantic.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**A cartoon that needs no caption**

## The Anatolian War

THE one real foreign war which exists at present is that between Greece and the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal; all the other "wars" of which we hear are either purely civil wars, such as the Irish rebellion and the Bolshevist outbreaks in Germany, or borderland raids and nationalist riots, such as occur along the Polish frontier toward Lithuania and toward Germany. But in Asia Minor organized armies of regular troops are facing each other with definite military objectives. For a time, the overthrow of Venizelos, the return of Constantine and the negotiations for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres caused Greece to halt her hostilities against the rebel Turks (Greece was not and is not at war with the "regular" Turkish Goverment at Constantinople). But when it was learned that the Allies had determined to punish Greece and conciliate Turkey by a revision of Treaty terms, the Greek delegate Kalogeropoulos declared:

> All the treaties, but particularly that of Sèvres, have given freedom to people who have heavily and brutally suffered under the foreigner's yoke. Are you now to deny this freedom to the Greeks and Armenians in Asia Minor? Is darkness again to close down upon them? Greece cannot become a partner to such an abomination. Greece stands or falls by the Treaty of Sèvres. She has absolute confidence in her ability to make it respected by Turkey.

In other words, Greece will coerce Turkey even without the material or moral support of her Allies. To this end, the Greek army in Asia Minor is advancing on Angora, the chief center of the Turkish Nationalist rule. It has compelled the Turks to fall back beyond the railroad junction of Eski-Shehr, leaving a considerable portion of the Bagdad railway in Greek hands. If the Greek enterprize should fail, the Allied program of revising the Sèvres treaty will doubtless be put into effect; if, indeed, the victorious Turks do not demand even further concessions. Should the Greeks succeed, they will put the Allies in a very embarrassing dilemma. Public opinion in Britain and France would not sanction the coercion of Greece to compel the restoration of Turkish rule over Christian populations; but it would be a diplomatic defeat of the first order to permit one little nation to dictate the whole Near Eastern settlement in defiance of the declared policies of the Great Powers.

## The Wounded Veteran

PRESIDENT Harding has ordered an inquiry into the administration of the War Risk Bureau, the Board of Vocational Training and other agencies which have been entrusted with the care of the interests of wounded veterans of the Great War.

For some time past, it has been widely charged in the press that owing to "red-tape," overlapping of various Federal agencies and bureaucratic insensibility full justice has not been done to some of the wounded soldiers and that there were many cases of such men turning to private charity to save their families from the consequences of public neglect. In order to find out the whole truth of the matter the President has appointed a committee of eleven under the chairmanship of Charles G. Dawes of Chicago, who served as Brigadier-General in France and whose vigorous defense of the military administration before a Congressional investigating committee provoked so much comment a few weeks ago. Associated with Mr. Dawes are Franklin Galbraith, head of the American Legion; Mrs. Douglas Robinson, a sister of the late Theodore Roosevelt; Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; T. V. O'Connor, head of the Longshoremen's Union; John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America; Franklin D'Olier of Philadelphia; Mrs. Henry R. Rea of Pittsburgh; Milton J. Foreman of Chicago; Henry S. Berry of Tennessee; Thomas W. Miller of Delaware, Alien Property Custodian. Such a committee is certain to be unsparing in its desire to have full justice done to the American soldier.

## The New York Transit Bill

THE passage of the Knight-Adler bill by the New York legislature has plunged New York City into a political contest of the first magnitude. Readers of The Independent who live in New York City or its suburbs need not be told how greatly the rapid transit system of the metropolis had




*Kirby in New York World*

**The Bronco Buster**

degenerated when the high cost of labor and materials on the elevated, subway and surface railways made it unprofitable to carry on traffic at the legal rate of five cents for a fare. Readers who live in other cities with local transportation systems can understand the situation in New York by reference to their own transit difficulties; for the causes which brought about a deficit in the New York transportation services are nation-wide and in most cities have been met by an increase of fares. New Yorkers, however, have resisted the increase of fares with unusual obstinacy and preferred, as a rule, to endure the evils of overcrowded cars and inefficient service than to add to their personal expenses a twice-daily payment to the transit companies.

Suddenly and unexpectedly Governor Nathan L. Miller, elected by the Republican party last November, intervened to take the whole question out of the hands of the municipal authorities and to seek a solution by state law and state administration. In January he sent a special message to the legislature in which he pointed out that there was at present divided authority between the Public Service Commission, the Transit Construction Commissioner and the municipal Board of Estimate and Apportionment; declared that the city's transportation system had broken down utterly and that under present conditions private capital would not invest and the city was too near the limit of its borrowing capacity to increase its own share of investment for new construction; insisted that "transportation is a public function and the regulation of it is within the police power of the State"; declared that all transit lines should be brought into a unified system with a single fare and that "ultimately such a system must be municipally owned"; pointed out that "if the subway bonds were maintained out of operation as they should be" the burden on the city's finances would be lessened so that taxes and rents would go down and schools could be built, and then outlined a plan which he thought would remedy existing conditions.




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

**The packing-house workers' protest: If you must cut off the wages, leave us the eight hour day!**

This plan was embodied in the Knight-Adler bill. By this bill a general Public Service Commission of five members was created for the entire state, to be appointed by the Governor for fifteen years and to have jurisdiction over public service corporations thruout the state with the exception of railways and bus lines operating in New York City. To study and reorganize the transportation system in the city a special Transit Commission was created, to be appointed by the Governor for five years, consisting of three members who must be residents of the city. No increase of fare is provided for in the bill, but the municipal authorities would not have the power to veto such increases or to interfere in any other way with the reorganization of the city's transportation system, except as to the pledging of the city's credit or granting consent to the location of new traction routes.

The New York City press joined in a chorus of denunciation of the new plan; for not only did it threaten a possible increase of fare but it wholly deprived the proud city of "home rule" regarding its own transit system. The municipal administration raised the cry of "the five cent fare in danger" and Mayor Hylan invited Senator Hiram Johnson of California to come east as legal adviser to aid in the attack on Governor Miller's plan. Tammany Hall and the Hearst press at one end of the scale of municipal politics and the Citizens' Union at the other were for once united in a common opposition to the state administration. Perhaps the fairest and best statement of the case against the proposed law was that of the Citizens' Union:

> The bill is not drawn on the theory that the new Transit Commission is to be an intermediary and umpire between the city and the companies, each of whom is to retain equal rights in the settlement. Under the bill the commission is *to be* the city and to stand in its place, regardless of the wish of the city itself. . . . Assuming the sovereign power of the state to interfere in the city's traction situation, the problem is yet clearly in essence one of local concern. Not only is it the people of the city who are chiefly interested in adequate traction service at reasonable charge, but it is the city's $300,000,000 that has been expended or pledged for subway construction. The present proposal marks the most radical retrogression of two generations in its deprivation of local power over a matter principally of local concern.

Many prominent Republican politicians in New York openly revolted against Governor Miller's leadership; either because they shared in the common resentment against taking control of New York's transportation out of the hands of the city, or because they feared that Governor Miller's action, whether justified or not in itself, would give Tammany ammunition for the municipal campaign of the coming autumn. By posing as the "people's champion" against the "corporations" and "up-state domination" Mayor Hylan might secure reëlection, whereas on his own record of municipal administration he would probably be defeated.

Heated debates took place at Albany where the legislature was considering the bill. On March 16 it passed the Senate by 33 votes to 18. All the Democrats and the one Socialist voted against it, also several New York City Republicans. It was carried by the up-state Republican majority, together with a part of the Republican delegation from the city. In the Assembly the bill passed on March 22 by 91 votes to 56. Nineteen out of the thirty-three Republican Assemblymen from New York City voted against the measure, also a few Republicans from up-state cities and all of the Democrats and Socialists.

## The Packers' Armistice

THE proposals of the meat packers to reduce wages and increase hours of labor in the stockyards very nearly caused a general shutdown of the industry. Chicago workmen by a majority of 21,482 to 207 (a unanimity of opinion rarely obtained on a strike ballot) voted to leave their work if the eight hour basic workday were abandoned. In the meantime the labor leaders agreed to await the result of a conference with the Secretaries of Commerce, Agriculture and Labor.

After a few days of negotiation the packers and their employees agreed to a compromize which should preserve peace for half a year. Regarding wage scales, the packers won their point, all three Secretaries agreeing that with present conditions in the meat market wages must come down. The wage cuts allowed are limited to 8 cents an hour for time workers and 12½ per cent for piece workers; any further reductions must be submitted to arbitration.

The basic eight hour day, with extra payment for overtime labor, is restored; thus granting the chief contention of the labor unions. The wartime agreement, which the packers claimed to have become outlawed by the cessation of hostilities and which the labor unions held to continue until after the formal declaration of peace with Germany, "shall remain in effect until September 15, 1921, at which time the agreement and all awards thereunder and supplements and renewals thereof and understandings connected therewith shall absolutely terminate." Next September, therefore, the whole question of hours and wages will come up again and a strike in the stockyards and packing houses may be possible unless conditions in the industry improve sufficiently so that the packers will not think it necessary to increase hours or decrease wages at that time. The packing industry has had an "armistice" rather than a conclusive peace. Judge Alschuler is to retain his authority as administrator and arbitrator until the expiration of the agreement.

President Harding was delighted at the successful intervention of the Federal Government in preventing a shutdown of the packing plants. He spoke to representatives of the employers and the employees in terms of warm appreciation for their willingness to reach a compromize:

> Please know, those of you who speak for labor and those of you who speak for management, that the Administration does not want to intrude unduly on any occasion, but we always want to be helpful in the cause of justice and the harmonizing of these two elements of American activity. Please go away assured of the appreciation of the executive that you have brought about a solution of the controversy in the great packing industry. I am grateful to you for myself, and I know the American people will be pleased.

## The National Postman

IN a recent address to a mass meeting of postal employees, Postmaster-General Will Hays announced the future policy of the Department. He said:

> There is not room in this government for a pampered class or a pampered official, but due diligence is entitled to due consideration and that is what the workers in the Postoffice Department are to get. The department is the biggest enterprise of the government, with 300,000 employees, serving 100,000,000 customers, touching every family in the land and affecting every individual, and we are determined that every possible step shall be taken to humanize the industry. We propose to make every one connected with it partner in the effort for success. It is impossible to put the matter more succinctly than the President did himself the other day when he said work for the government means an opportunity for service and accomplishment, all of us together.
>
> My purposes are: First, to make such rectification as in all decency and fairness must be made to assure a square deal; secondly, to strengthen and broaden the civil service at every point wherever possible, to the end that merit may govern; third, with absolute fidelity to put the entire department upon a purely business basis, so sound and so serviceable that no political party will ever again dare attempt to ignore or evade it.

## What Income Is

THE same Supreme Court which decided a few months ago that "stock dividends" were not taxable as income has now decided that profits derived from the sale of capital assets are income and therefore lawfully subject to Federal taxation. The earlier decision deprived the Federal Government of a large sum of expected revenue; but the decision of March 28, 1921, saves to the Government tax yield estimated at $100,000,000. Three cases involving the principle of the law were brought before the Supreme Court as tests. The most important was an appeal brought from the estate of Arthur Ryerson of Chicago. As part of the estate, stock valued at $561,000 in March, 1913, was so sold in 1917 for $1,280,000. The Collector of Internal Revenue collected a tax on the difference between the values of the stock as stated and as later sold; claiming that this increase in value, when realized by sale, was "income."

Justice Clarke delivered the unanimous decision of the Court. He referred to a previous judicial definition of "income" as "a gain derived from capital, from labor, or from both combined, provided it be understood to include profit gained thru sale or conversion of capital assets." He added, "It is obvious that unless this definition be modified, it rules the case at bar, and notwithstanding the arguments heard in this case we continue entirely satisfied with that definition." He ruled out the argument that "income" does not include the gain from capital realized by an isolated sale of property but only the profits realized from sales by one engaged in buying and selling as a business.

## Viviani Pays a Call

FORMER Premier Viviani of France arrived in the United States on a special diplomatic mission on March 28. He does not come to displace Ambassador Jusserand, whose regular diplomatic duties will continue as before, but he is the bearer of a special direct message from the French Government to President Harding, the nature of which has yet to be disclosed. This is not the first time he has been on such a mission. In 1917, the year of our entrance into the Great War, he headed the French War Mission to the United States and did much to promote good will between the two countries and to emphasize the necessity of placing an American army in France at the earliest possible moment.

It is probable that M. Viviani's mission is related to the question of the League of Nations. The French Government desires the United States to enter the League; to ratify the Treaty of Versailles (thus proving to the Germans that the solidarity of the "Allied and Associated Powers" still exists), and, if possible, to ratify the special defensive agreement with Great Britain and France to secure France against any renewed invasion. M. Viviani is not expected, however, to urge the French point of view on the United States, but rather to "sound out" President Harding and Secretary Hughes in private conference so that he may be able to inform his own Government what is the American point of view. Dr. Knecht, personal representative of M. Viviani, described his chief as a "listener and observer."




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Now, then, all together, that good old song—E-con-o-mee!**

# Obedience to the Law of God

## Brings Wisdom, True Riches and Spiritual Power, With Which God Endowed Man

By AUGUSTA E. STETSON, C. S. D.

*In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon, . . . and God said, ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said . . . Thou hast made Thy servant king instead of David my father, and I am but a little child. I know not how to go out or come in. . . . Give therefore Thy servant an understanding heart to judge Thy people, that I may discern between good and bad, for who is able to judge this Thy so great a people? . . . And God said unto him, because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself, nor hast asked for thyself long life, neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies . . . Behold I have done according to thy words; lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart . . . and I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches, and honor, so that there shall not be any . . . like unto thee.—I Kings iii., 5-13.*

*Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?*—CHRIST JESUS.—*Matthew vi., 28-30.*

*Let us raise a standard, to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hands of God.*—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*This nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.*—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*The history of our country, like all history, illustrates the might of Mind, and shows human power to be proportionate to its embodiment of right thinking.*

*A higher and more practical Christianity, demonstrating justice and meeting the needs of mortals in sickness and in health, stands at the door of this age, knocking for admission.*—MARY BAKER EDDY, *Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, and Author of its Text Book, "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures."*

**Mary Baker Eddy, when she sent Mrs. Stetson to New York, said to her, "I want you to establish the Christianity of Christian Science in New York City." Mrs. Stetson, with her students, built First Church of Christ, Scientist, on the corner of 96th Street and Central Park West, at a cost of $1,250,000, and dedicated it free of debt as soon as completed.**

THE history of Solomon and his wonderful achievements, his wealth and power, his marvellous temple and his unparalleled wisdom and understanding—all his glory—has been for ages accepted by humanity as a veritable historic fact. In all epochs mortals have commented upon Solomon's limitless power and resources in bringing together, from all the earth, her stores of gold, silver and precious stones, horses and chariots, and thousands of men to do his bidding. Solomon's temple has been the wonder of the world. Mortals have vainly aspired to Solomon's wealth, only to fall far short of its realization.

Sacred history has given to the world the secret with which Solomon unlocked the hidden treasures of the universe and brought out from her inexhaustible storehouse the beauty, wealth and power which he utilized. Yet generations have passed through this human existence, working, toiling, sacrificing liberty and human life, in the acquisition of wealth or fame, utterly refusing to use the wisdom, which Solomon exercised, and which he left as a legacy to humanity. He attributed all his power, peace, and plenty to God, and bequeathed to us these words, the key to his knowledge: "O Lord, . . . I am but a little child; I know not how to go out or come in . . . Give therefore Thy servant an understanding heart."

Solomon realized the demand that would be made to maintain the regal splendor of the king—the retinue of servants, the horses and chariots that should herald him as a mighty ruler. His first thought was for the good of the people, and he asked for wisdom, justice, and equity with which to govern them. The weakness of his own knowledge appeared to him, hence his call upon God to direct him and give him an understanding heart. Personal self was set aside. Solomon took his human knowledge and opinions out of God's way, and the light of divine wisdom illumined his consciousness and revealed all things to his understanding. He loved God, good, and in Gibeon—the hill, or elevation of holy aspirations, the desire for the good and pure—the Principle of being appeared to him. The voice of God was heard, saying: "Ask what I shall give thee," and Solomon said, "Give therefore Thy servant an understanding heart to judge Thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this Thy so great a people?"

Solomon was conscious of his weak human knowledge and fallible judgment, and this was apparent in his childlike humility. But a boy, of perhaps fourteen years, he had not learned the ways of the *material* world, nor filled his thought with self-knowledge, personal ambition, personal pride and arrogance, and he turned to God, as the sunflower turns to the sun to glow into bloom and beauty beneath its warmth and radiance.

Solomon's first step was a lesson to humanity, but humanity has not heeded it. Our Saviour taught the same lesson. He said: "Except ye . . . become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." A little child does not argue. He has no foresight, no calculating prudence, no malice. He knows no disguise. A child expresses love without restraint or pretense and is not conscious of self. Innocence, peace, and trusting confidence in the parents who love and protect them are the portion of happy children, and they leave all care to those who love them. Even so in *spiritual* childhood; no one truly enters into the things of God —into His intelligence, His wisdom, His love, joy, and peace—save through a childlike spirit—a feeling of God's great all-presence, all-power, all-might, and all-love for His children. Realizing the weakness of human concepts, Solomon

said, "I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in." The Christian Scientist voices the same plea, "I cannot go alone."

"Keep Thou my feet! I do not ask to see
The distant scene—one step enough for me."

Ceasing to depend upon personal self, and depending entirely upon the divine Mind, God's wisdom and intelligence stills the activity of human thought—that ceaseless whirl of false reasoning and false arguing, with which mortals become confounded and bewildered—and God fills the thought with the one Mind—Himself, Life, Love, and Truth.

Solomon leaned upon God. Let us learn whence came his marvellous dominion over man and the treasures of the earth. His fabulous wealth and *seeming* material prosperity, would hardly appear consistent with Jesus' injunction, "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." Yet God provided all these seeming material things; and as He clothes the lilies of the field, who neither toil nor spin, so He clothed Solomon, who in all his glory was not arrayed like them.

Did Solomon take thought for his body, or his resources in order to provide for regal splendor—purple and fine linen, a retinue of attaches, servants, horses, and chariots—which should herald him as a king? Where was the wealth which must be produced to build the house of the Lord, which David, his father, had conceived but could not erect, and left for his son to bring forth? Solomon did not hesitate when God said to him, "Ask what I shall give thee," but answered, "Give me an understanding heart," and God granted it, and added riches and honor and long life. Was there any *material* wisdom and understanding out of which he could build the house of God? No! Spiritual sense alone gives wisdom. Was *understanding* equivalent to capital, to bonds and stocks, to bills of exchange, to gold and silver, which he would require to build the temple, or house of the Lord? Was it understanding, which Peter used as a power to raise the helpless paralytic, when he said, "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee"? He gave the paralytic *strength* to run and leap for joy, and this was accomplished through *understanding*, spiritual thought. Solomon and Peter both had learned the hidden mystery of God, and both used their "dominion" (spiritual thought-force—understanding) over the world and its resources.

What is understanding? Are the treasures of the universe therein? How can we gain it, and is it available at all times and in all places and equal to all emergencies? Since Solomon proved the power of wisdom and understanding, why have not the people followed his example, and instead of unremitting toil and ceaseless anxiety for what they shall eat, and what they shall drink, and wherewithal they shall be clothed, why have they not, like Solomon, asked for understanding and wisdom? God is no respecter of persons, and will give to all fully of His riches. Solomon, Jesus, and Mary Baker Eddy have left to the world this legacy—the riches of understanding—by which they accomplished their mighty works. Jesus the Christ illumined the world with the transcendent power of Mind, and utilized it to prove the utter nothingness of disease and death. Paul declared that death was "the wages of sin"; that it was the effect of erroneous thought, the lie, or false mentality, the belief of life and intelligence in matter, the illusion of material sense, a dream, which seemeth to be, but is not real.

The world has refused to accept the doctrine our Master gave to humanity, which he declared showed "the way" to eternal life and the power of God. He said, "My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me." (John vii., 16.) Mortals have turned their faces toward darkness. They have walked in the valley and shadow of sin, sickness, and death. They have been sailing on the ever-agitated sea of so-called mortal thought, without chart or compass, drifting on its hidden reefs and tossed by its tempests of fear and disease. They have been haunted by the mirages of "hope deferred." They are weary of its illusive pleasures, which they chase as a child chases a butterfly, only to see it far beyond, or, if haply he seize it, in his joy of capture he opens his hand to find the beautiful wings crushed, the life fluttering, and the creature, which was a thing of beauty, becomes a lifeless mockery of his pursuit.

Over this tempestuous sea of mortal thought, birds of false hope are ever singing of a haven of rest, which is never reached, and the song misleads, till mortals are lured into the quicksands of disease. Wrecked and helpless they are swept away, lost in the maelstrom of belief of life and intelligence in matter. We have *dreamed* in the darkness of material sense, and only now are awaking to our reality, and are apprehending that this matter-dream is but an illusion which avails nothing. We have bowed to strange gods. Mortal thought, or belief, with its testimony of life, substance, and intelligence in matter, has been accepted, and humanity has not exercised the dominion of Mind, the Christ-mind power over the carnal senses, truth over error, good over evil, life over death, and love over fear.

The Quaker poet says:

"The riddle of the world is understood
Only by him who feels that God is good,
As only he can feel who makes his love
The ladder of his faith, and climbs
From sense to soul, and draws no line
Between mere human goodness and divine,
And judging God by what in man is best,
With a child's trust, leans on a father's breast."

Solomon, with childlike trust, asked God for wisdom and understanding. The divine Mind is understanding, intelligence, wisdom, the creator, the Principle of being, in which are all conceptions of beauty and utility.

In the beginning was the "Word," the divine Mind, supreme intelligence, or creative force, God, good, who created the heavens and the earth. He spoke all things into existence. He said, "Let there be light; and there was light." He commanded, Let there be beasts, birds, fish, and fowl, and they appeared. He said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, . . . whose seed is in itself," and it was expressed,—phenomena appeared. The seed is the creative power of Mind. "The tree and herb do not yield fruit because of any propagating power of their own," says Mrs. Eddy, in *Science and Health*, page 507, "but because they reflect the Mind which includes all." Infinite Mind expresses and controls all ideas composing the universe. From the limitless, inexhaustible resources of Mind, Spirit, or understanding, all phenomena of earth and heaven proceed and are manifest. Mind's ideas see, feel, hear, taste, and smell. The Psalmist says, "O taste and see that the Lord [Mind, God] is good." Trust in Mind, not in matter. Be led by God, Mind, Spirit, the creative Principle, Life, Truth, Love, and lean not to belief in a so-called mortal mind.

Solomon said to his son:

> In all thy ways acknowledge Him [God], and He shall direct thy paths. So shall thy barns be filled with plenty . . . Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. . . . She is more precious than rubies; and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her; and happy is every one that retaineth her. . . . keep sound wisdom and discretion. . . . Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely, and thy foot shall not stumble.

"Thy foot shall not stumble." What a promise! It is equivalent to saying, All that thou dost undertake thou shalt accomplish. In the understanding of the power of the Christ-mind, governed by Life, Truth, and Love, our ways are pleasant, and our paths are peace. There is length of days in the Life thought, and longevity is increased by the reflection of Truth and Love, the eternal Principle of being. From the real, the divine Principle,

Life, Love, and Truth, the Christ-mind, Solomon brought forth the treasures of wisdom and understanding. The expression of harmonious intelligence and its creations was variously manifested in silver and gold, wood and stone, brass and iron. His barns were indeed filled with plenty.

He proved that "no good thing does God withhold from them that walk uprightly"—love Him—trust Him. David, his father, had prepared much of the way for his son, but it required peace and not conflict to build for God. During the war of the material senses David had conquered many enemies, doubts and fears, self-love, self-will, and self-righteousness. He had not recognized his pride of human knowledge and limited human resources, till God's wisdom and power shone into his consciousness and he perceived the inexhaustible wealth of divine Mind. Visions of the universe and its treasures, which in the tumult of victory over the material senses he had not been able to utilize, dawned upon him and he left the work to Solomon upon condition that he should walk in the statutes of God. So long as Solomon obeyed the spiritual divine guidance, he continued to increase in wisdom and riches, peace, plenty, honor, and power.

Infinite Mind governs all ideas which compose the spiritual universe, and there is no other real universe, for God and all that He created was pronounced "good." Jesus said, "The kingdom of God is within you." Mind evolves mental pictures, from the landscape of living green to the mountains towering against the sky of purest blue, over which float pearly clouds. Thought evolves the tint of pink, purple, silver, pearl, etc., together with the setting of the sun in red and amber. Thought is expressed in flowers—in their multitudinous form, color, and perfume. All that we have called nature is but Mind manifest in objects, from the infinitesimal to the infinite. "The seed is in itself only as the divine Mind is All," (*Science and Health*, p. 508) and produces all phenomena. Human belief reverses all things.

Mrs. Eddy declares, "Mind is the multiplier, and Mind's infinite idea, man and the universe, is the product. The only intelligence or substance of a thought, a seed, or a flower is God, the creator of it." (*Science and Health*, p. 508.) Mind had brought to Solomon all his eye witnessed. At times he had risen to the pinnacle of his human receptivity of Truth. Another step had to be taken toward his spiritual dominion under the law of God, which required more humility. Personal sense, pride of acquisition and vanity of his marvelous possessions had dazzled him, and he turned from his reliance upon God to material sense, which prevented the greater illumination of Mind and its possibilities. Divine Love, represented in the Scripture as the Queen of Sheba, came to his consciousness to reveal her infinite riches and power, beyond all that Solomon had heretofore conceived. But, weighed in the balance, Solomon was found wanting and She vanished from his presence. He was tempted by pride of place and power and dropped back into the world of material sense. Divine wisdom fled, leaving him with his material carnal senses to create their false illusive phenomena, which should turn to dust and ashes at his touch. The so-called carnal mind is composed of fears, a spectral band—of doubts, anxiety, sickness, sorrow, and death. All its conceptions are phantoms, unreal and fleeting. Humanity must turn from the mortal sense of life in *matter*, to the understanding of life in Mind and there abide, if it would continue to receive God's blessings. If cause is right the right effect will follow. Mortals must discontinue false thinking, which evolves discord and death. These are dreams which, as mortals awake to Truth, wisdom and understanding destroy.

At first, Solomon asked for wisdom to judge between good and bad, and God governed his thought. A harmonious cause produces a harmonious effect. Thought is force. Spiritual thought is a dynamic force carrying life and love into human hearts. Mind is the creative Principle, the supreme, divine intelligence. There is but one Mind, or cause, God. This is the fountain of eternal Life.

Wisdom and understanding proceed from the Christ-mind, and spiritual man is a reflection of God, made in His own image and likeness, with dominion over all things. Jesus the Christ realized his oneness with the Father, and said of his disciples that "they may be one, [with the Father] as we are." He exercised his God thought and knew that there was no intelligence, life, or power in matter. He took dominion over the lie, and destroyed the works of error—sin, sickness, and death.

As wisdom or spiritual thought appeared to Solomon with her riches of infinite beauty, power, and glory, which were diviner conceptions than had yet been revealed to him, so she appeared to Jesus, and he testified, "The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it." (Matt. xii., 42.) Paul wrote: "For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent . . . hath not God made foolish the wisdom of *this* world?"

Divine wisdom, Christian Science, has revealed to the nineteenth century her riches of Life, Love, and Truth—her treasures of beauty, joy, and peace—and is condemning material knowledge, mortal conceptions, and the material universe, as the creations of false sense, altogether unreliable and fallacious. They are without life, substance or intelligence, and are of such substance only as dreams create.

Science reverses the testimony of the material senses and declares that man is spiritual, not material. In spiritual thought all is harmony. "Chaos and old night," discord and disease, sorrow and so-called death, are produced by the carnal mind, the belief of life in matter. Let us refuse longer to believe the suggestions of the so-called material senses. God reigns and there is none beside Him. All is Life, Love, and Truth. Adam is a myth. In the Adam-thought all die. In the Christ-mind all are made alive. "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." (I Corinthians xvi., 22.)

Knowing the difference between the material concepts and the spiritual thought-force, shall we continue creating hallucinations? Wisdom condemns mortal sense and declares of matter, "It is illusion, loss but seems, pleasure and pain are only dreams." Wisdom cries in the streets to-day, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead." She comes to us with her train of camels, strong enduring thoughts of life in the infinite Life. They carry us through the desert of personal sense, where mirages of fear and disease—ghosts of old beliefs—arise to terrify as we journey from sense to Soul, from the unreal and temporal, to the real and eternal verities of being.

The ancients worshipped gods of wood and stone. Moderns worship matter. Scholastic theology has taught for centuries that Adam is the real man, with life and intelligence. Materia medica has vainly striven to preserve that belief of life in matter, and to treat non-intelligent matter, only to yield to inevitable defeat and death.

Since time began, mortals have been experimenting with Adam, and the world has lavished its resources upon material theology and materia medica, to aid them in solving the problem of life in matter. Adam has been studied under the keenest microscope of mental and physical analysis and the verdict is the same as in the days of prophets and apostles. "In Adam all die." Illusions are not permanent. They come and go like the wind which "bloweth where it listeth, and thou . . . . canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth." So are the creations of the Adam-dream.

There is no life in the shadow, which vanishes in the light. It is now that we are listening to the voice of wisdom. "A crown of glory shall she deliver to thee . . . Take fast hold of instruction . . . for she is thy life." (Proverbs iv., 9, 13.) We are now learning the power of Mind and that thoughts are things and things are thoughts. Now we are learning the *cause* of sickness, discord, and death. The Christ-mind is wisdom and understanding—it is health and harmony. The carnal mind is the lie, and from it proceed envy, jealousy, pride, ambition, lust, hatred, deception, and fear, which cause disease and death, all of which are beliefs—nothingness.

Christ Jesus said of the carnal mind: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." (John viii., 44.)

These forces, if believed and yielded to, evolve a discordant body and a discordant universe.

At first Solomon asked to be controlled by the Christ-mind, and the result was harmony in all his undertakings. When building his house upon Mount Zion, and the house of the Lord upon Mount Moriah, the way was covered through which he walked in going from one to the other. Under the protection of wisdom, or leaning upon the strong arm of the Infinite, divine Love covers us with her feathers. Spiritual sense is a repelling force to the fleshly mind. Enveloped in a halo of light and love, evil cannot reach us. As the light of the sun dispels the darkness, so does the God-thought, Life, Love, and Truth, destroy sin, sickness, and death, the illusions of corporeal sense.

Through the understanding that Mind is the creative power, and that God is our Life, we are uncovering the false belief of life in matter which has so long deceived us. It is now

that we pray to be governed by divine Mind or wisdom, and we are demonstrating the power of spiritual thought-force over the belief of evil. We now *understand* the *cause* of disease in the body, discord in the home, chaos in business, tidal waves and fires in the universe, and all the phenomena which are caused by the mortal belief in two powers, good and evil.

Evil thoughts are destructive forces. They have been hidden till wisdom threw the light of Truth upon the lie. We now know that spiritual love nullifies their claim to power—"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" —good.

Edison, in an article upon the danger of electricity, says: "Insulated wires are not safe if put underground. They are more dangerous on account of the gases which will force themselves into houses through any opening, and they are only safe when exposed. Then they lose their death-dealing power." How true of evil! Christian Science, the understanding of the supremacy of the Christ-mind, has exposed the cause of sickness and death, and found it to be carnal mind, the lie which has deceived the whole world. Truth uncovers error in this age, and the lie, *exposed*, has lost its destructive power. "There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed."

When man learns his mental spiritual dominion, how buoyant will become his step! When he realizes that he has been holding in his thought vipers, which have stung him, and has borne the burden of disease and discord in his body, in his business, in the universe, working out the problems of fear and uncertainty, only to terminate in death—when, I say, he awakes from his Adam-dream and learns that the cause of all his suffering was a false sense, he will turn to his Christ-mind and redeem his health, joy, and peace, a harmonious body and a harmonious universe. We have been taught to submit to all things, good or bad, as sent from God as reward or discipline. To-day the fettered mind is freeing itself and the *Te Deum* ascends from the emancipated. We shall no longer live as slaves. We were free-born.

Let us stand guard at the portal of thought. To the approaching mental messenger let us demand, "Who comes there?" If it be Christ, Truth, we will open the door to the angel visitant, Life and Love. If it be the belief of sensation in matter, with its various illusions of pain or pleasure, its falsities and evil thoughts, fears, malice and the carnal forces that create discord and disease, we will bid them depart. We will assert our freedom, our Christ-mind power, and prove the supremacy of our God-thought.

Why should humanity yield to sickness more than to sin? Why should death be the "king of terrors" when it is admitted to be "the wages of sin"? If one does not take poison, one does not suffer from its effects. If one does not commit a crime, one need not fear the prison. If one ceases to sin, one does not meet sin's penalty. When will humanity cease sinning, or believing that there is life in matter? When will humanity understand that life is in the Christ-mind? Finally, God will be understood as governing man, and from wisdom we shall evolve health, harmony, riches, honor, for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof," and the Scripture declares, "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine." We must realize that *now* we are spiritual, that *now* we are in eternity and that *now* God will reveal His life, His love, His truth, His wisdom, His marvellous riches, His ever-presence and power, for God is All, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent.

Like light illuminating a room filled with costly treasures, which in the darkness, we had not seen, so the light of understanding, God's intelligence, will work through human consciousness, revealing the treasures of earth, air, and sea. Mind creates. Wisdom and understanding brought forth Solomon's riches, honor, and glory. Turning from Mind, or God, to matter, or sin, he brought forth sorrow, discord, disease, and death—the effects of mortal belief of life in matter.

Wisdom puts forth her voice today: "Unto you, O man, I call; . . . O ye simple, understand wisdom." I am Truth, I am Mind. "For wisdom is better than rubies; . . . By me kings reign, . . . Riches and honor are with me; yea, durable riches and righteousness. . . . That I may cause those that love me to inherit substance; and I will fill their treasures." (Proverbs viii.) The understanding of the supremacy of Mind and the allness of God is wisdom. It is understanding to know and realize that matter has no life, substance, nor intelligence, and that a false sense, which is expressed in seeming sin, is illusion, sickness, and death. Let us choose Mind, and permit God to govern our thought. Let us accept the riches of His universe as a sequence, thanking Him for His loving protection and manifold blessings. Let us praise Him as the lilies of the field praise Him, and as the heavens and the earth declare His goodness.

Let us guard the portal of our thought as we guard our material treasures. Bolts, bars, and watchmen protect the bank and the warehouse. Gold and silver, stocks and bonds find a receptacle behind the massive iron door of the safe, whose intricate combination lock resists the midnight robber. The mansion in which are man's dearest treasures is made impervious to thieves and supplied with electric burglar alarms. The greater the riches, the more uneasy lies the head. Ah! mankind has sought out many inventions to protect the mortal body and material possessions, but has left the portal of thought wide open for error to enter and govern his house.

A man's "foes shall be they of his own household." Fear, doubt, envy, jealousy, pride, licentiousness, self-love, and personal ambition are the false forces that are included in the belief of life in matter. They pursue him till they bind the strong man and cast him into prison, or the helplessness of disease, until he has paid the uttermost farthing. Evil thoughts are held in consciousness, which are as fatal as the dagger, the midnight assassin, or the poison of the serpent.

Wisdom uncovers error. Christian Scientists are expelling mental enemies from human thought, and are barring their mental doors against the subtle claims of evil. Wisdom is condemning this generation and is revealing the hidden mysteries of God. Truth is uncovering error and showing its illusion.

"Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God [divine Mind] made foolish the wisdom of this world?" Human wisdom has labored for naught, and must yield to the divine. To-day Christian Science is operating in human thought as leaven operates in meal. Mortals, by the force of Truth are today unconsciously shaping their creed at the forge of thought.

"Truth's mighty arguments shall roll down
From inland mountain to seaboard town."

The altar is only awaiting the hour when all men shall know God, be one royal brotherhood, and one Church made free by Love, which is the law of God. Material thought is being destroyed by Christian Science, that the temple of God—spiritual consciousness —may be revealed. Each in his or her consciousness is gradually overcoming false sense.

It is said by some that Christian Scientists are doing nothing. When the hour strikes, and the shout of victory goes up, the walls of Jericho will fall. Truth is a silent, disintegrating force. It is eating into old theories and traditional dogmas, and is casting error to the surface, that it may be destroyed. Error resists Truth, as Truth's potent presence threatens to overthrow error's strongholds. The cry of the unbeliever attracts the ear.

"Hate and malice and self-love mar
The notes of triumph with painful jar."

To-day genuine Christian Scientists, those who follow the teachings and emulate the example of Christ Jesus and Mary Baker Eddy, behold the bow of fruition. They are realizing "the peace of God for the world's annoy." "Beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." (Isaiah lxi., 3.)

"All the foregleams of wisdom in santon
and sage,
In prophet and priest, are our true heritage."

Like children, let us look to our loving Father-Mother God, to lead us in the way of wisdom and understanding, which reveals a perfect Principle and a perfect universe, composed of infinite ideas, all governed by eternal Life, Love, and Truth.

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The following books by Augusta E. Stetson, C. S. D., may be obtained from the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2 W. 45th St., New York; "Reminiscences, Sermons, and Correspondence" ($5); "Vital Issues in Christian Science" ($2.50); "Poems" ($2.00); "My Spiritual Aeroplane" ($1.50); also "A Tribute of Love and Gratitude to Our Faithful Teacher, Augusta E. Stetson, C. S. D." ($2.50); "Christ's Offspring or Spiritual Generation," by Sibyl Marvin Huse ($2.00); "America Triumphant Under God and His Christ," by Kitty Cheatham ($2.00).

*Advertisement.*

# A Dozen Sign Posts to Success

(*Continued from page 366*)

your teacher, but it is necessary to look on him as a teacher instead of as a rival.

**5. Boost—don't knock.**

All depressing words or thought tend to paralyze effort. Optimism creates and releases energy, while pessimism cramps, cripples and benumbs the man who yields to it.

Never talk of business troubles, hard times, bad collections, mean customers, nasty jobs, gloomy cares, vexing problems, harrowing griefs or disappointing failures. These things are all a part of the game of life.

The habit of boosting others boosts the man who formed it.

**6. There's good in everybody. Bring out the good in everybody and never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody.**

Appreciation is to people what sunlight is to plants—it brings out the best in them. But condemnation is frost to the soul, and misunderstanding is blight.

Official records of the United States Government show that some of the bravest American soldiers in the war had been ex-prisoners, condemned criminals before the call to arms. A hero is a common man brought to himself by an uncommon crisis.

Some of the "worst" boys in the East Side gang district of New York were made official members of a juvenile police force, and assigned the job of cleaning up the town. They had official titles, and badges, and everything. What happened? These tough kids reclaimed themselves by virtue of the responsibility and authority vested in them.

**7. In reporting a political gathering give the facts, tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it. Treat all parties alike.**

Nearly every gathering is "political" in the sense of being personal and partial. The rarest, perhaps the highest, human trait is the capacity of impartiality.

A partial glimpse of truth makes all the worry and discontent of the human race. If we could see the continuity, the entirety, of all circumstances and events, we should be anxious over nothing.

**8. If there's any politics to be played, we will play it in our editorial columns.**

Editorials are signed—news items are not. When a person voices an opinion, he should personally stand for it. The identification of a man with his message means a great deal in business concerns as well as in newspaper offices.

Most men want the freedom of authority but not the restraint of responsibility. The high officials of any organization are the few men in it who esteem and exercize responsibility more than authority. Only as they have proved themselves always reliable can they sign their names to orders and opinions.

**9. Treat all religious matter reverently.**

The supreme danger of America lies in the materialism, lawlessness and selfishness produced by irreverence. China, India, Japan, are ages ahead of us in the vision that reverence imparts, and the respect for law that a reverential attitude toward life tends to establish.

A movement is under way to prevent the cartooning or lampooning of ministers of the gospel, whether in comic papers, motion pictures, novels, plays, or jokes. Many preachers deserve to be made fun of—but the calling they have chosen is too sacred to permit us to ridicule its messengers.

**10. If it can possibly be avoided, never bring ignominy to an innocent man or child in telling of the misdeed or misfortunes of a relative.**

If only we were of sane, fair minds, the tenth rule of President Harding's creed might well have been omitted.

We pity "our folks" in trouble or pain because they are our folks.

But remember that misfortunes are always the fruits of misdeeds. Whoever is reaping misfortunes must have sowed misdeeds. The fact that he is your friend or relative should not make you soft-hearted and soft-headed.

**11. Don't wait to be asked, but do it without asking.**

The world wants thousands of things done that nobody has yet dreamed of doing. The world pays best the man who fills an old need in a new way.

Three deadly fears cripple and retard the average employee; the fear of doing somebody else's work, the fear of doing more than he is paid for doing, and the fear of striking out into new fields of thought and action.

Your work is doing anything and everything your employer wants done—after that looking around for things to be done that he doesn't know about. He pays you not just to work for him, but to see for him, hear for him, think for him, plan for him, fight for him. Your job is to outgrow your job.

**12. Above all, be clean and never let a dirty word or suggestive story get into type. I want this paper so conducted that it can go into any home, without destroying the innocence of any child.**

The owner of this newspaper considers it the duty of a newspaper to combat ignorance but protect innocence. And this also is the duty of a business, a college, a church, a home. Knowledge never degrades. But the channel for the knowledge must be clean.

When, finally, just before the millennium, we make our children our teachers, we may look back to this day with pride that we elected as President of the United States a man who, toiling in the rush, grime and din of a common newspaper plant, remembered his ideal to keep children child-like. The fathers and mothers of the world can trust him. No finer tribute was ever paid the ruler of a nation.

*New York*

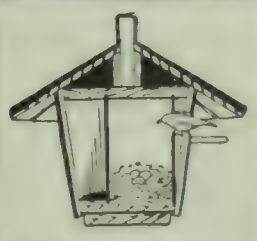

# THE LAND OF ORANGES

"Westward the Star of Empire Takes its flight,"
Was written in the dim and misty past.
That same star shines in Dixie Land tonight.
The South has come into its own, at last.
The famed discoverers of long ago
Came and were pleased, and passed on to the west;
Thousands of men, sheep-like, have followed them,
Leaving unto the last the land that's best.
DeLeon came and found Fair Florida.
De Soto came and marched away again.
Since their demise, historians declare
Decidedly, they'd better been detained.
De Leon lost the fountain, and his youth.
De Soto found the Mississippi shore;
But could they both come back—to tell the truth
They'd never wander westward any more.
I've never pined to pioneer, out West;
Nor yearned to swing upon the "Golden Gate."
I know the Land of Flowers is far the best
For those who have to labor and to wait.
The soil and rain and sunshine here conspire
To help the poor man make his daily bread,
And he can have some honey on it too,
If he'll contrive to use his hands and head.
There's fish and fowl, and many kinds of game;
There's sports afield as well as sports astream;
A million jeweled lakes without a name.
A chance to make a home to fit your dream.
Here is a smiling landscape, full of cheer;
If tickled with a plow, 'twill surely laugh.
'Twill yield for you four golden crops a year,
And health and happiness in your behalf.
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# The Link Between Two Leagues

(*Continued from page 372*)

*undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.*"

Article IV of the Confederation guarantees to the free inhabitants of all the states in the Union ingress and regress to and from many of the states, and also all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof.

Article 23 of the Covenant provides, among other things, that the members of the League will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all the members of the League.

These similar articles in the first Constitution of the Union of the States of America and of the Nations of the World, are the foundation stones of these unions. And on these similar if not identical foundations two remarkably similar superstructures were erected. The Articles of the Confederation and the Covenant of the League are alike, in what they exclude as well as in what they include.

Neither the Articles of Confederation nor the Covenant of the League made any provision for a President or other chief executive of the Union formed by their adoption; nor for any army or navy of the Union; nor for any exercize of the power of taxation by the Union. What then did they provide for?

Both documents provided for a Congress, or Assembly, composed of Representatives from each constituent member of the Union, to convene periodically, the Assembly of the League at its own discretion, the Congress of the Confederation at least once each year, with a prohibition against adjourning for a longer time than six months. The voting in each assembly was by states, each state having one vote. Each state was to be represented in the Congress of the American Confederation by not less than two nor more than seven persons, whereas, in the Assembly of the League each state can be represented by not more than three persons.

In the Congress of the Confederation the affirmative vote of nine of the thirteen States was necessary for adopting any proposal on the more important of the matters entrusted to the United States in Congress assembled. In the Assembly of the League, unanimous vote is the general rule for matters other than questions of procedure, in which a majority rules.

The representatives of each constituent state in both these assemblies were to be appointed and maintained by the state represented, and were subject to instructions from their home or local government.

The Articles provided for freedom of speech and debate in Congress, which could not be questioned in any Court or place outside of Congress, and exempted the members from arrest or imprisonment, while attending the sessions, and while journeying to and from Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The Covenant contents itself with providing that representatives of the states composing the League and officers of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and that the buildings or property occupied by the League, its officials or representatives of the constituent states attending the League sessions, shall be inviolable.

Both documents provided for a smaller body than the Assembly or Congress, as described above. The Articles provided for a "Committee of the States" to be appointed by the Congress and to remain in session between the sessions of Congress, and to exercize such authority as the Congress might delegate. But the Congress was forbidden to delegate to the Committee of the States any matter for decision of which the vote of nine states was required. The Committee of the States was to consist of thirteen members—one representative from each state in the Confederation. A Council of nine members is provided for by the Covenant of the League—one to be appointed by each of the "Big Five" (Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States), and one to be appointed by each of four other nations, selected from time to time by the General Assembly of the League. Provision is made in the Covenant for increasing the permanent and also the temporary members of the Council by concurrent action of the Assembly and the Council as now constituted.

The Committee of the States and the Council of the League are therefore about the same in size, but very different in character. The Committee of the States was appointed by, and was inferior to, the Congress provided for by the Articles of Confederation. The Council of the League is not the creature of the Assembly, but of the Covenant itself, and is vested with all the authority that has been granted to the Assembly, and also with much more. Indeed the political center of gravity was vested in the Congress of the Confederation, where all members of the Union were equally represented, whereas the center of gravity of the League is in the small Council, in which the so-called Big Powers are given a permanent majority, but where the negative vote of any one nation represented can veto the will of all the others.

In both unions the constituent states are forbidden to make war (except when invaded), the States of the Confederation absolutely, the States of the League conditionally. No member of the League can go to war lawfully against another member of the League without first proposing or permitting an arbitration or investigation of the dispute, and then waiting for three months after the publication of the finding or award in the case; and even then it is unlawful for one of the parties to go to war over the question, if the opposing nation accepts and obeys the award or the finding.

The same principle applies to nations not members of the League, if they consent to accept the responsibilities and also the rights of membership for the moment, when a dispute arises.

All members of the League and also of the Confederation are required in certain circumstances to go to war. This is not the place to dissect these provisions. It may be broadly stated however, that this duty is imposed by the Covenant whenever the territory or independence of any member of the League is violated by aggression from without—whether by another member of the League or by an outside nation; and whenever any nation, inside or outside of the League, goes to war without first permitting arbitration or investigation of the dispute, or without waiting three months after the award, or at all, in case the other nation accepts and follows the findings of the investigators, or the award of the arbitrators.

The Articles of Confederation provided also for compulsory warfare by the constituent states of the Union against external aggression upon any one of them; and they were all obliged to join when the United States in Congress assembled declared war for any cause. There is no power in the Council of the League or in the Assembly to declare war. When war is required by the terms of the Covenant it is in consequence of *the fact* that the *Covenant is violated*, not by reason of any vote by the Council or Assembly of the League.

Provision for carrying on war, once it is declared, is made in both documents. The Council is to recommend what economic military or naval measures are requisite when war has been required on the part of nations in the League by external aggression upon the territory or independence of a member of the League, or when war has been begun, or declared, contrary to the terms of the Covenant. But each nation, acting thru its duly authorized agency, is the judge of whether the alleged action requiring war, to vindicate the terms of the Covenant has taken place, what military or naval action is needed on its part, when sufficient effort has been put forth to comply with the requirements of the Covenant and the exigencies of the situation. Under the Articles, the Congress of the Confederation was the judge of all these things, and the cost of the war was to be borne from a common treasury, supplied by each constituent state in proportion to the value of its land, as ap-

praised by the Congress of the Confederation. The *taxes* for *furnishing this quota, however, were to be levied by the several State Legislatures, not by act of the Congress.*

Each member of the League bears the cost of its own contribution of power for waging war, just as each decides when the facts call for war, under the terms of the Covenant.

Both documents provide for some limitation of armaments. Under the Articles each state in the Confederation was forbidden to maintain armament in time of peace in excess of what the United States in Congress Assembled deemed proper, and each state was required to keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, and to have on hand sufficient arms, ammunition, etc.

Under the Covenant, the Council is to appoint a Commission on Armament, so as to arrive, by discussion and agreement, at a state of armament for every nation in the League, which is deemed adequate by all, and accepted as sufficient by each nation. This cannot be exceeded in time of peace, after it is once fixed by agreement, without the consent of the Council of the League. The limitations thus agreed upon are subject to revision every ten years.

Neither document actually established any courts of justice, but both provided ways in which courts could be instituted. The Articles provided that the Congress should be the judge in all controversies between the states of the Union, this judgment to be exercised thru the appointment by Congress, when necessary, of three persons from each state, names from this list to be stricken out, until the number was reduced to thirteen, and from these, seven or nine chosen by lot to try the case. Their judgment was to be final.

The Covenant prescribes that the Council shall submit to the members of the League a plan for an International Court of Justice. Such a plan has already been formulated and will be passed upon by the nations of the League at an early date.

The Covenant of the League may be amended by the concurrent action of all the states composing the Council, and a majority of the states represented in the Assembly, each state acting as its constitution provides.

Any state in the League may thereupon signify its dissent from the amendment so adopted by the League, and in such case the dissenting state would cease to be a member of the League. It is provided that any nation may withdraw by giving two years' notice of such intention, and that the Council can expel a nation from the League for violation of the terms of the Covenant.

Article XIII of the Confederation says, "The Union shall be perpetual," and again in the proclamation declaring the adoption of the Articles, we find these words:

And whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectfully repre-


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sent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, know ye that we . . . do by these presents . . . fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union. . . . The Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and the Union shall be perpetual.

Was it a mistake to adopt these Articles in 1777, if it was proper to discard them in 1787, and to substitute therefore the present Constitution? Certainly not. The present Constitution could not have been adopted in 1777. It could not have been formulated then. It came very near failing of adoption when it was proposed ten years later. The Providence in which our forefathers had faith demanded progress, by taking each day the steps that were proper for that day, leaving as sufficient for the morrow both the evil and the good thereof. We can do likewise. And that we may do likewise we should carefully consider the present Constitution, in its relation to the Articles of Confederation which it replaced, and to the Covenant of the League with which we are now confronted as a fact.

# Making Both Ends Meet

(*Continued from page 368*)

some enthusiast tells me that if I print his article or put in a permanent department devoted to his fad that 10,000 new subscribers will result. I admit that one new subscriber might follow, two or three possibly, but five or more never. In fact I can say without exception that about every circulation campaign I know anything about, including those I have myself originated and enthusiasticaly stood sponsor for, has always fallen below my expectations.

The usual methods of increasing the circulation of a magazine are contests, premiums, cutting the rates, advertising, and getting your subscribers to recommend the paper to their friends. Each has its special advantages. The contest and premium policies have built up many a circulation. The trouble is you never can tell what contests or premiums will appeal to the public at a given time. The circulation of The Independent in the olden days was built up on Webster's Dictionary and Singer sewing machines. One of the most successful of our circulation schemes was offering in the seventies as premiums for new subscribers those two famous steel engravings of President Lincoln and his Cabinet, and the Authors of America, conspicuous among whom were Irving, Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell and Poe. They had to double the office force in those halcyon days to open the envelopes containing the subscriptions brought in by these premiums. I wonder how many extra girls we would have to employ today to handle the rush of new subscribers if we offered a large steel engraving of President Harding surrounded by his Cabinet, or a group picture of Modern Authors, consisting of Harold Bell Wright, Edgar Lee Masters, Gertrude Atherton, Thomas Dixon, Jr., Upton Sinclair and Robert W. Chambers. The trouble with premiums is that the reader often takes the paper solely for the premium and when the time comes for renewal you have to offer him another prize. According to F. A. Ball of the New York *Tribune* two-thirds of the newspapers of standing in the United States use premiums, over half believe in contests, and nearly all papers cut prices in one way or another. The danger in a premium campaign lies in not figuring the cost for its inauguration and in employing crooked agents and giving away stuff on which you get insufficient return in money or influence. The danger in a contest lies in the methods employed by the managers. A contest is a good thing provided the publisher is a good enough business man to invest the proceeds wisely and not spend the whole income immediately and forget the paper and ink bills that will fall due before the subscription expires.

Getting subscriptions by cutting rates is almost universal in the magazine business. A great many periodicals send in a bill at the regular rate when the subscription expires and then if after a certain interval they get no response they send a follow-up offer at a lower rate. This progressive reduction cannot be carried on indefinitely because the postal laws prohibit a periodical from taking subscriptions for less than half the advertised price. Some periodicals have hit upon the plan of putting their subscription rate nearly twice as high as the amount they have to get and then cutting it in two. This seems to please both the dear public, which always loves a bargain, and the publisher, who then gets his essential price.

One would think that magazines above all other institutions would advertize to increase their circulation, for every one of them employs several uncannily skilled men whose sole duty it is to urge everybody everywhere always to advertize. Nevertheless, the Curtis publications, *Collier's*, the *Literary Digest*, the *Pictorial Review* and the *Delineator* are in the comparatively small group of magazines that consistently and persistently advertize outside their own columns.

The Independent has been able to get more subscriptions in the last few years by the coöperation of our present subscribers than in any other way. The man who pays for a magazine presumably likes it, and he is sure to have friends who would also like it. Our subscribers are generally glad to say a good word for us and they seem quite willing to pass along our various suggestions to their friends and acquaintances. Some of them present The Independent as gifts to their friends—especially at Christmas time. A gift

that comes fifty-two times a year and gives the recipient the same pleasurable stimulus that at the same time it gives the sender has many advantages over the ephemeral box of cigars or candy or even the captivating cravat or pair of diaphanous silk stockings.

The best way to get circulation is to hustle and get it. Even then it will not come to you very rapidly, for the average man does not feel any great need of any additional reading matter. You will have to go out and fight for it and then fight some more to retain it. The best way to retain it is first to get a good list which has been secured by honest methods and then keep that list interested. There is no use hoping to make a successful magazine until you get the circulation that your kind of periodical requires. It may be necessary to adopt any method or all methods to get circulation until you get over the hill. Otherwise you may suffer the fate of the Missouri editor whose valedictory read thus:

With grateful acknowledgment to my friends and benediction upon the profession, I take my hat—the savings of seventeen years in the newspaper field—and retire.

It will never be decided, I suppose, whether a paper should be stopped at the expiration of the subscription or not. Most papers are continually experimenting along these lines, but they never seem to come to a final conclusion on the subject. Some papers stop when a subscription expires, some wait three weeks, some three months, some continue a year and some never stop, hoping that, by frequent dunning, they can eventually get the subscription. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages. The *Ladies' Book* once announced, "All accounts not settled during the year will be taxed an additional 50 cents at the end of it. If we must wait, we must be paid for it. By Jupiter this shall not be revoked." It has been stated by more than one authority that the want of due punctuality in paying subscriptions has wrecked more magazines than anything else. Each subscription being small, the individual subscriber is but too apt to suppose it a matter of great indifference whether he pays his quota at the time appointed or six or seven months after. It is further to be observed that the expense of dunning twice or thrice or, as is often the case, four times for the amount of the subscription, is no small proportion of the sum received.

## Our Legacy From Luther

(*Continued from page 365*)

of his life, his wondrous penetration into the core of Christ's Gospel, and the sovereign power of his will. So, altho he was immediately condemned and outlawed, he left Worms the conqueror.

Even Roman Catholics, like Erasmus, praised his pure piety. The great Roman bishop, Bossuet, says of him: "He is the lightning which has roused the world from its lethargy."

*New York*




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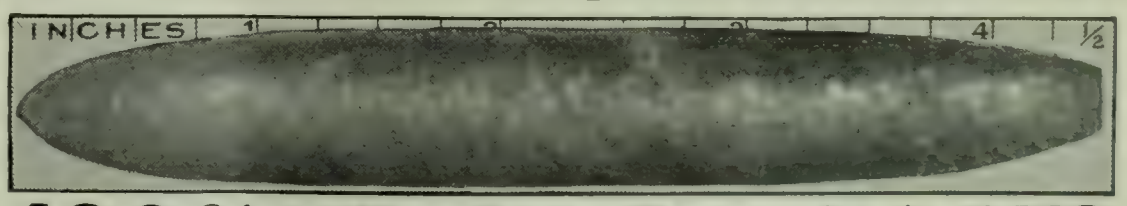
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# Here Are Books—and Books

## The Red Republic

The number of enterprizing American and British journalists, authors and social theorists who have managed somehow to smuggle themselves into Soviet Russia and out again must be considerable to judge from the number of books of their adventures, observations and conclusions which are now being unloaded on the reading public. Probably the two recent books of this sort which will have the greatest popular appeal are Clare Sheridan's diary of adventures from *Mayfair to Moscow* and *Russia in the Shadows*, by H. G. Wells. Both books combine a racy, readable style with first-hand studies of the leaders of Bolshevism. Clare Sheridan is a sculptor of genius who did busts of the chief dignitaries of the new régime in Russia. Her point of view is the detached outlook of the artist; as she says "it is the psychology of people that interests me, not their politics." She found Lenin, Trotzky and the other Bolshevist chiefs very human beings after all, very glad of a chat with a pretty young sculptress and as ready to talk about art as about the sacred revolution. H. G. Wells is almost as impartial an observer as Clare Sheridan, and, like her, sees the comedy as well as the tragedy in Bolshevism. The solemn dogmas of orthodox Socialism about the "proletariat" and the "bourgeoisie" move him to outbursts of amused impatience, in one of which he threatened to shave the great, bushy beard from the face of Karl Marx! He ridicules the Bolshevist theories and confesses that in practice Bolshevism has reduced urban Russia to starvation; but none the less he concludes that "The only possible Government that can stave off a final collapse of Russia now is the present Bolshevik Government." He believes that the energy, honesty and idealism of the communist dictatorship, tho blended with much cruelty and inefficiency, is the one force which can get the Russian giant on his feet again. It is not that he loves Bolshevism more but that he loves the counter-revolution less.

Henry Noel Brailsford in *The Russian Workers' Republic* takes practically the same point of view as H. G. Wells, tho with a shade more sympathy for the communistic ideal. He admits, and regrets, that there is neither liberty nor democracy in Soviet Russia. As a liberal idealist and pacifist he has no liking for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the reign of terror. But he is much encouraged by the educational experiments of the Soviet Government, which he describes interestingly and with enthusiasm. Moreover he is animated, to an even greater degree than Mr. Wells, with partizanship for the townsman against the peasant. He even goes so far as to contend in his final chapter that democracy would be undesirable in Russia because it would mean the rule of the peasant and the peasant is unfit for



*Wide World*

**Clare Sheridan's bust of Lenin, one of her Russian impressions in sculptured form**

self-government! Thus the most radical Socialists swing full circle and adopt the arguments of aristocracy; praising Bolshevism because it is the rule of an enlightened minority over the common mass. *Bolshevism at Work*, by William T. Goode, and *What I Saw in Russia*, by George Lansbury, resemble Brailsford's book in their concentration on the constructive side of Soviet rule, the fostering of education and art and the zealous, tho only partly successful, attempts to fight famine and disease. But they are enthusiastic almost without reservation for what they saw in Russia and lack the moments of doubt that one comes across in Wells and Brailsford. *"Barbarous Soviet Russia,"* by Isaac McBride, *The Crisis in Russia* and *Russia in 1919*, both by Arthur Ransome, and *Sketches of Soviet Russia*, by John Varney, are somewhat slighter descriptive studies of contemporary Russia, also with a strong pro-Bolshevist slant. R. W. Postgate analyzes *The Bolshevik Theory* and expounds the reasons why the Bolsheviki reject democracy and insist on a class dictatorship.

*Mayfair to Moscow*, by Clare Sheridan. Boni & Liveright. *Russia in the Shadows*, by H. G. Wells. Geo. H. Doran. *The Russian Workers' Republic*, by Henry Noel Brailsford. Harper Bros. *Bolshevism at Work*, by William T. Goode. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. *What I Saw in Russia*, by George Lansbury. Boni & Liveright. *"Barbarous Soviet Russia,"* by Isaac McBride. Thomas Seltzer. *Russia in 1919*, by Arthur Ransome. B. W. Huebsch. *The Crisis in Russia*, by Arthur Ransome. B. W. Huebsch. *Sketches of Soviet Russia*, by John Varney. N. L. Brown. *The Bolshevik Theory*, by R. W. Postgate. Dodd, Mead & Co.

## Critics of Bolshevism

The defenders and apologists of Bolshevism do not monopolize the book market. There are also critics who are more or less out of sympathy with the Soviet régime and in this country (tho not in Russia) they can make themselves heard. The best written and most interesting attack on Bolshevism comes from an unexpected quarter. *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice*, by Bertrand Russell, is the work of a radical pacifist with leanings toward anarchist syndicalism; a man far more "to the left" in his personal creed than Wells, Brailsford, Robins, Hard, Ransome, Goode or even Lansbury. Yet he is somehow more deeply offended than these men by the harshness and tyranny of Bolshevist rule; he is as anxious to sympathize with the builders of Soviet Russia as any other liberal visitor to the red republic, but he cannot quite manage it. The very reluctance with which he condemns the Bolsheviki adds immensely to the effect of his condemnation. *Sovietism*, by William English Walling, has none of the delicate half-tones of Mr. Russell's book. It is a vigorous and uncompromizing attack on Bolshevism as the antithesis of democracy by a Socialist with a robust faith in the political methods and liberal institutions which the Bolsheviki repudiate. *The Groping Giant*, by William Adams Brown, is particularly valuable for the inside glimpses it gives of life among the anti-Bolshevist circles of Russia, both monarchist and republican, and the pathetic lot of the "intelligentzia" who overthrew the old despotism on behalf of the Russian people only to be repudiated in their turn by the people as "bourgeois." *The Bolshevik Adventure*, by John Pollock, is a rather crude depiction of Bolshevism as nothing but "malice, ignorance and brutal force" enthroned by German intrigue. *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, by George Gustav Telberg and Robert Wilton, is a heavily documented account of all that is known of the execution of the Czar Nicholas and his family.

Both Mr. Pollock and Mr. Wilton tend to exaggerate the Jewish element in Bolshevism. Mr. Pollock numbers Lenin among the Jews (p. xxii) and Mr. Wilton commits the even more ridiculous error of conceding that Lenin is a Russian, but asserting that he is a mere "screen" for the real Jewish rulers of Russia (p. 393). The absurdity of all this is well shown in *The Jew and American Ideals*, by John Spargo, where evidence is given that of the seventeen members of the Council of People's Commissars, the real ruling force in Soviet Russia, one member only is a Jew. The persecution of the Jews under the old régime is recounted in Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, and the persecution which they have endured in the present revolutionary epoch in Heifetz's *The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919;* a terrible series of massacres costing over 30,000 lives.

*The Russian Peasant and the Revolution*, by Maurice G. Hindus, is a scholarly book on a neglected subject; deservedly praised by Professor Ross as "honest, sober and wise." The author concedes the utter degradation of the Russian peasant of the past and present and shows that his standard of living has been on the Asiatic rather than the European or American level; yet he sees in him the hope of Russia's future, since the backwardness of the rural Russian is due to historical

causes rather than to innate inferiority.

*Bolshevism: Theory and Practice*, by Bertrand Russell. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. *Sovietism*, by William English Walling. E. P. Dutton Co. *The Groping Giant*, by William Adams Brown. Yale University Press. *The Bolshevik Adventure*, by John Pollock. E. P. Dutton Co. *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, by George Gustav Telberg and Robert Wilton. Geo. H. Doran. *The Jew and American Ideals*, by John Spargo. Harper Bros. *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, by S. M. Dubnow. 2 vols. Jewish Publication Society. *The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919*, by Elias Heifetz. Thomas Seltzer. *The Russian Peasant and the Revolution*, by Maurice G. Hindus. Henry Holt Co.

## One Hundred Per Cent

This Americanization movement in literature is gaining an alarming hold. The Great American Novel is no longer simply an average good novel accidentally written and published in America; it must be America herself, packed between covers. There has come to be a standard recipe: take chaos, strife, an emergent people, the urge of vast inchoate forces—put all that into a book, and there you have America.

*The Dark Mother*, by Waldo Frank, is one of these, a novel from which the reader emerges battered, bruised and blind. But the chaos is of clumsy words and confused idea and extravagantly indiscriminate material—all precipitated about two or three simple and ancient ideas that have been the property of every race since time began. A young man goes to the great city to seek his fortune; he does a little work on the side, falls in and out of love a half dozen times, and the book ends with him on his way to marriage. Why be thick and dark and turbulent about that?

It is not playing with paradox to say that the picture of formlessness and turmoil may be drawn with spare, clean lines. Read *Poor White*, by Sherwood Anderson. Its form as a novel is rather awkwardly haphazard; Mr. Anderson has more power over the sketch-sequence form of his earlier book, "Winesburg, Ohio." But detach the characters and let them stand alone. These are really Americans, sprung straight from their local Middle Western stock and soil, shaped by the occupations and society of a Middle Western small town. And whether it is Hugh McVey, the dumb and obscure dreamer, or Clara, ignorant, restless, shrewdly groping—or anyone else in the book—the curious, interesting fact is that Mr. Anderson has inadvertently followed the 100 per cent recipe more faithfully than Mr. Frank or any of his self-conscious kind—and then produced a book that for human picture and characterization is as simple and lucid and unforced as a child's bedtime story.

*The Dark Mother*, by Waldo Frank. Boni & Liveright. *Poor White*, by Sherwood Anderson. B. W. Huebsch.

## A Row of Story Books

THE LIGHTER SIDE OF SCHOOL LIFE, by Ian Hay (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). A new edition of Major Beith's delightfully humorous sketches of English schoolboy life.

JOANNA BUILDS A NEST, by Juliet Wilbur Tompkins (Bobbs-Merrill). Joanna is a bright, personable girl whose story of making the ideal home out of a farmhouse is told with consid-


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erable humor. A good book for a convalescent friend.

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CHILDREN OF STORM, by I. A. R. Wylie (John Lane Co.). A story of England, of the married life of a man and woman of different social classes. Some deft and truthful character drawing curiously imposed on a great deal of awkward and undistinguished crudity.

ALEX THE GREAT, by H. C. Witwer (Small, Maynard & Co.). Not many people are funny when they set out to be, but the author of *From Baseball to Boches* often is. He is in this magnificently slangy story of how Alex from Vermont came to New York, found it a "rube town" and proceeded to show it a thing or two, beginning on his first day by landing a ten thousand dollar job as automobile salesman altho he didn't know the hood of a car from the magneto.

# This Changing World

(*Continued from page 364*)

The utilization of wave motion is still more problematical. When we see the surf pounding the rocks on a coastal cliff and especially when it bowls us over on the beach we are struck with the force of the wasted power. But the waves are too irregular in time, strength and direction to be conveniently harnessed to machinery. Inventors have contrived floats with ratchets that would turn a wheel or pistons that would compress air, but nothing has come of them. So far, about the only work that has been got out of the wild waves is the ringing of a bell, the blowing of a horn or the display of a light, and even these duties are unreliably performed.

While we are chopping wood to make our fires and digging coal to raise our steam, there is only a few miles away from any of us an inexhaustible reservoir of heat. We are in fact living over a furnace hotter than a Bessemer converter. Enough of this heat leaks up thru the earth's stony crust to melt a layer of ice four inches thick over the entire world every year. This is sufficient to supply five horsepower to every acre, but the radiation is too slow and the rise of temperature too slight to be utilized.

But why not dig a hole far enough in the ground and tap this subterranean region of eternal fire? This is perhaps not an impossible project. It is a plain engineering proposition tho probably beyond our present power to accomplish. Sir Charles Parsons, one of the most eminent of English engineers, argued for its practicability before the British Association in 1904 and again in 1919.* The deepest boring so far made is less than a mile and a half. At this depth the temperature is found to be about 187 degrees Fahr. If the bore could be carried further the boiling point of water might be reached and beyond that one would get superheated steam. Water run down a pipe to the hot rock level would come up another pipe as high pressure steam for running turbines in the power-house at the top; a fuelless boiler run by wageless stokers for endless time. Sir Charles Parsons figured out in 1904 that a shaft could be sunk to a depth of twelve miles at a cost of $25,000,000 in the course of eighty-five years. The objection was raised that at such a depth the pressure would be so great that the rocks would flow in and close up the shaft. But since then the experiments of Professor Adams of McGill University, Montreal, have proved that limestone might stand the pressure of a depth of fifteen miles and granite thirty miles without collapsing. The plan is to start with a wide shaft and reduce the diameter at intervals whenever it becomes impossible to carry that size any deeper. But the difficulties of relieving the heat and air pressure sufficiently at the bottom become so enormous at great depths that no such ambitious project is likely soon to be undertaken. A twelve-mile shaft would afford very valuable information to the geologists but it could not be expected to pay, for the rocks might not conduct heat fast enough to raise any great quantity of water to the boiling point. But in volcanic regions where underground heat comes near the surface some use might be made of it. In fact some use is made of it at Lardarello, Italy, where 10,000 horse-power is generated by turbines from high-pressure steam obtained from bore-holes.

The next source on our list, the internal energy of the atom, must also be ruled out as impracticable. Yet we must pause a moment to consider it because it is so tantalizing. The man who had "acres of diamonds" right at home was not so well off as every one of us, for we all have at hand potential wealth enough to make us multi-millionaires. No man, no horse, need labor any longer if we could draw upon the energy of the motion of the minuter bodies that make up the atom. The atom used to be considered the ultimate unit of the universe, the simplest possible substance, the smallest possible particle. That is how it got its name in Greek, *a-tom*, the "undividable." Now that the atom has proved dividable it should drop its negative prefix and be called "tom" for short.

I suppose most of us used to think about atoms—those of us who thought about them at all—as solid shiny spheres like marbles with several hooks sticking out by which other atoms could be attached. Now we must drop this old-fashioned image of the atom and try to conceive of it as a sort of solar system, mostly empty space but with a few infinitesimal corpuscles circling in orbits about a central nucleus with almost the speed of light. Almost all of the weight of the atom is concentrated in the nucleus which is charged with positive electricity. This positive nucleus is, in the larger atoms, closely encompassed by a number of negative electrons, perhaps sticking to it like tacks to a magnet. Outside the nucleus at a great distance—if we can call anything great that is so exceedingly small—are one or more electrons —that is, corpuscles of negative electricity revolving around the positive center like the earth around the sun but with nearly the speed of light. In the hydrogen atom, the lightest of all, there is only one electron satellite. In the helium atom, the next lightest, there are two electrons which as they revolve around the nucleus keep on opposite sides of it, just as far away from each other as they can. In the electrical world, you know, old maxims are reversed, for "like hates like" and "birds of a feather never flock together" if they can help themselves. In the uranium atom, the heaviest of all the elements, there are thought to be ninety-two negative electrons, and you may imagine what a hard job it is to keep such a lot together and properly balanced, since the unlike particles have an attraction and the like an antipathy for one another. In fact uranium cannot control its unruly members. Once in a while one of the positive particles breaks loose from the nucleus and flies off with a speed that would carry it from New York to London in a quarter of a second. Its energy of motion is a million times as great as that of a rifle bullet of the same weight. When the ejected particle quiets down it turns out to be an atom of helium, one of the most inert of gases. Two other positive particles follow the example of the first emigrant and then what is left of the uranium is a new element, radium.

Radium is even more unstable than its parent uranium. It fires off five positive particles in succession like a Roman candle its fire balls, and then settles down to a perpetually peaceful existence as lead.

Whenever a helium atom carrying two charges of positive electricity is ejected, two negative electrons have to follow it sooner or later, otherwise the electrical balance of the atomic system would be destroyed. The positive particles are heavier, 7200 times heavier, than the negative electrons, but the latter are livelier; they fly ten or fifteen times as fast.

But since both of them are moving with such tremendous speeds when they fly away from the atom, they produce enormous amounts of heat for their size when they collide with the atoms of the air or of the containing vessel. If they strike the skin they burn and blister it. If you look at the luminous dial of your watch with a high power microscope in the dark you can see the flashes of light as the electrons strike the zinc paint.

The heat evolved spontaneously and continuously from these radio-active

---

* Those who have not access to the Association reports will find interesting popular expositions of the scheme in *Science and Invention*, November, 1920, and in *Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1921.

metals is vastly greater than the heat we can obtain from combustion. Radium gives off 330,000 times as much heat in the course of its life of 1590 years more or less as could be obtained by burning the same weight of coal. If you use fifteen tons of coal in the course of the year you might replace it by 200 pounds of radium—tho I do not advise this, since radium costs about $45,000,000 a pound and to go down cellar to tend the radium furnace would be like taking a bath in the "mustard gas" that blistered our poor boys in France. But if it were not for these objections radium would be fine for heating, since at the end of the year you would have only used up an ounce and a half of your radium whereas all your fifteen tons of coal would have gone off in smoke.

Radium, then, comes as nearly as possible to the perpetual fire sought by the alchemists. It always manages to be a little hotter than its surroundings whether it be immersed in liquefied air or put into a blast furnace. Nothing we can do to it alters its habits. Without haste and without rest it radiates at an even rate. If we could only find a way to speed it up when we wanted to use its heat and to shut it off when we did not need it we might make use of its power. But the key that unlocks the atom has not been found.

Since all the atoms are composed of similar rotating systems, any of the elements, especially the heavy ones, might provide us with energy to run our machinery if we knew how to set it loose. Radium, uranium and a few others are decomposing spontaneously but the rest seem to be quite stable. If they, too, are disintegrating, however slowly, we should have to face the fact that the whole world would ultimately slough off and dissolve into helium and hydrogen gases.

It has recently been found possible to smash up a peaceable atom by projectiles from one of its belligerent neighbors. For instance, in this way hydrogen has been chipped off from the nitrogen atom. But it requires more energy to break up an ordinary atom than can be got out of it. This is fortunate, for if it were otherwise some chemist might hit upon the right vibration to smash up the atom and the shock of this would set off the others like grains of gunpowder, and so the earth would vanish in one big explosion—a disquieting thought.

Like the cup at the lips of Tantalus, these unimaginable riches lie literally within our grasp, yet for each of them we perish in poverty. Of all the ninety-two elements only a few release the energy they contain and we cannot even control their released radiation. So far, all the use we have made of it is to burn out cancers and to illuminate watch dials and keyholes.

But dreams of an Atomic Age to follow the Age of Steam are profitless since we do not know that man may ever gain access to this store of energy.

Next month we shall consider the utilization of the energy received from the sun in the form of light waves.


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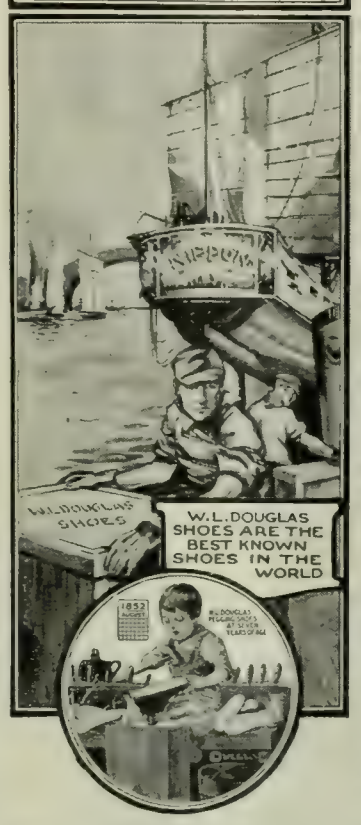
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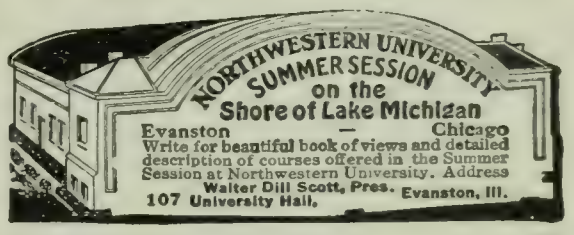
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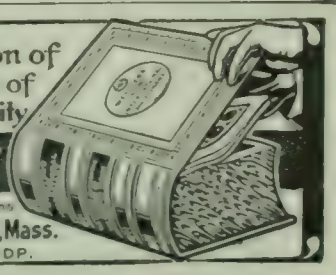
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A quarterly dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Friday, April 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Friday, March 18, 1921.

On account of the Annual Meeting, the transfer books will be closed from Saturday, March 19, to Tuesday, March 29, 1921, both days included.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

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The regular quarterly dividend of One and Three-quarters Per Cent. (1¾%) on the Common Shares and One and One-half Per Cent. (1½%) on the Preferred Shares of this Company will be paid May 2, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business April 22, 1921. Transfer books will not close. PIERRE J. SMITH, Treasurer.

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| Cash Capital - - | $3,000,000.00 |
| Total Cash Assets - | $23,629,510.99 |
| Surplus to Policy-Holders | $11,974,420.56 |
| Total Losses Paid since Organization of Company - - | $100,013,201.76 |

Edward Milligan, Pres.
Geo. M. Lovejoy, Vice-Pres. — John B. Knox, Sec'y.
Thomas C. Temple, Sec'y. — Geo. C. Long, Jr., Sec'y.
Henry P. Whitman, Ass't Sec'y. — Fred. C. Gustetter, Ass't Sec'y.
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. Making Both Ends Meet.**

1. Explain the three different methods employed by magazines for presenting news.
2. Which of the methods is best for a school weekly paper? Which is best for a school monthly? Which is best for a school annual? Give a full reason for every answer.
3. Select an important recent event in your school. Write three articles concerning that event, writing every article in accordance with a different method.
4. What values are to be gained from the reading of such news as is printed in The Independent?
5. Explain the method of preparing news articles for publication in The Independent. How much of this method can you apply to the writing of school compositions?
6. Explain what is meant by saying that a weekly publication "puts current events into proper perspective."
7. What English classics studied in high schools were written as book reviews?
8. Prepare a report concerning the work of Matthew Arnold as a literary critic. Consult any good encyclopedia, or any history of English literature.
9. What is the usual purpose of a book review?
10. What are some of the methods of increasing the circulation of a magazine? Is it possible to apply any of these methods to increasing the circulation of a school publication?

**II. An Immigrant Woman.**

1. The first stanza presents a striking picture. Prove that the picture has been made striking because of the naming of many details and the use of suggestive adjectives.
2. Prove that the words, "A tragic grace," sum up the entire poem.
3. Explain in full the metaphors that occur in the last two lines.

**III. This Changing World.**

1. Write an appropriate sub-title for every important division of the article.
2. Draw from the article material for an argument against waste.
3. Write a highly imaginative short story in which you tell of events that may occur in the future "when the stringency begins to get severe."
4. Explain the play of words in the sentence, "The earth itself seceded from the sun in the course of one of its early revolutions." What puns can you find in any of Shakespeare's plays?
5. Why does the author print an outline of "The Sources of Energy"? What advantages does an outline give?
6. Write a highly imaginative story in which you tell of the results of boring many miles into the earth.
7. Explain the allusion in the expression, "Like the cup at the lips of Tantalus."
8. What methods of exposition does the author employ in the course of the article?

**IV. The Link Between Two Leagues.**

1. What is the purpose of the first sentence of the article? Explain various means that can be used for accomplishing the same purpose.
2. Explain how the author makes use of the method of giving proof by comparison. What is the advantage of that method? What are the disadvantages?
3. Write a complete brief of the article.

**V. Here Are Books—and Books.**

1. Explain the following expressions: "A racy, readable style"; "Impressionistic, journalistic sketches"; "Informal, entertaining accounts"; "Vivid sketches"; "Awkward and undistinguished crudity."

**VI. The Story of the Week.**

1. Prove the affirmative or the negative of the following statement: "The article, 'Shall We Trade with Soviet Russia?' is well introduced; logically developed, and strongly concluded."
2. Write a paragraph in which you summarize the principal facts in the German civil war.
3. Explain the effectiveness of the six titles that you think most attractive.
4. Select three important subjects suitable for school debates.
5. Which introductory, or first, sentence is best in power to awaken interest, and in clearness of statement? Is the sentence loose, balanced, antithetical, or periodic?

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. Bolshevism—Shall We Trade with Soviet Russia? Hughes Opposes Russian Trade. British Labor Rejects Bolshevism. The Bolshevist and the Peasant. The German Civil War. Book Reviews.**

1. On what grounds does Secretary Hughes object to entering into a trade agreement with Soviet Russia? How does his policy differ from that of Premier Lloyd George?
2. Explain historically the reference in Mr. Spargo's article to the "evil imperial policy toward Russia inaugurated by Palmerston and maintained by Disraeli." What reasons can you find on the map for British fear of Russian expansion?
3. Prepare a brief for either side of a debate on the topic of entering into trade relations with Soviet Russia.
4. What change of policy does Lenin announce with respect to agricultural Russia?
5. Why has Bolshevism been a movement of the town proletariat rather than of the poor peasants?
6. Why does Bolshevism make slower headway in England than in continental Europe? England is an industrial nation, with few independent farmers and a very large body of organized labor; "off-hand" one might expect it to be the first nation to turn Socialist. Can you think of any good reasons why it doesn't?
7. Compare the present revolutionary outbreaks in Germany with the Paris Commune of 1871.
8. See if you can widen your knowledge of Bolshevism by getting hold of any of the books on the subject mentioned in this number of The Independent which "sound interesting" to you in the reviews. The public libraries should have some of them.

**II. The League of Nations—The Link Between Two Leagues. Viviani Pays a Call.**

1. Explain Mr. Davis's comparison of the origin and provisions of the Articles of Confederation of the United States and of the Covenant of the League of Nations.
2. What important differences do you note between the Articles of Confederation and the Covenant?
3. What important differences do you note between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States? How does a "confederation" differ from a true national "federation"? Why was the League of Nations built on the looser confederate plan instead of the more closely organized federal system? In your opinion is the world ready as yet to take the next step, from a confederated "League of Nations" to a true world-state within which the nations would be federated like the States in our present Union?
4. Why is M. Viviani coming as special envoy to America? Make a list of topics of common interest to France and the United States which might naturally be considered at the present time.

**III. Protestantism—Our Legacy From Luther.**

1. What event happened just four hundred years ago this April? Why was it called "the most momentous epoch in the modern history of man"?
2. Tell what you can about the causes of the Protestant Reformation and its historical course during the lifetime of Luther.

**IV. Municipal Transportation—The New York Transit Bill.**

1. What are Governor Miller's proposals for state regulation of the transportation lines in New York City? What objections have been raised? What is "municipal home rule"?
2. For further discussion of the general subject of public utilities refer back to Mr. Wilcox's article on "The Five Cent Fare" in The Independent of January 29, 1921, and Mr. Sweet's article "Is This Good Business" in The Independent of November 27, 1920.

**V. Disarmament—Pointing the Gun at Random. Japanese Naval Policy.**

1. State in your own words the argument of the editorial. What conditions determine the kind and amount of armed preparedness that a nation requires? Why is the navy especially important to the United States? Do you agree that our present navy is large enough for our present needs?
2. What is the declared naval policy of Japan?

# The Independent

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## "I Am the—"

*The skittish effervescent spring has come, and it is fitting that the voice of Youth should be heard in the land:*

### I Am the Youth

I am the future.

There will be no tomorrow if I perish today.

For me the schools and colleges of the land exist.

For the upbuilding of my character, professors and instructors spend their lives within the four walls of the classroom. Because of their faith in me they turn their backs on the pursuit of Mammon, and existing on a pittance, pour their life blood into my arteries.

For my help the minister delivers many a timely sermon, prays many an earnest prayer.

The whole wide world waits on me, for it knows that its present deeds, which it considers great, will die with the doers, if I do not commemorate them when I come to the throne.

But in spite of the fact that the orators orate, the preachers preach, and the writers write upon "the immeasurable possibilities of the youth," "the inescapable fact that the boy of today is the man of tomorrow," yet in the next breath or with the next penful of ink, they will lift the warning hand, and shout:

"Youth is callow!"

"Youth is dangerous!"

"Youth is not to be depended upon!"

"Give Youth a millimeter and he will grab a kilometer!"

"Brethren and sistern, we must hang like leeches to our jobs, for Youth is abroad in the land!"

"Don't let Youth be anything more than office boy, for if you do he will want to be president of the whole shebang, and chairman of the board of directors!"

"Hammer it into Youth that it took us fifty years to climb, and he needn't think he can find a short cut and make the grade in forty-nine!"

"Don't let Youth get his nose in the tent or he will want to be the whole circus, announcer, acrobat, clown and peanut hawker!"

"Hold him down, sit on him, step on him, keep him out of the inside circle, don't let him in on the secrets of the trade, or we'll hit the shelf!"

Yes, I am Youth, the hope of the future, the bane of the present.

Tomorrow I will be the cock-of-the-roost. Today I am the goat of the barnyard.

I am Youth!

ALONZO L. BAKER

Mountain View, California

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## Remarkable Remarks

HENRY FORD—My life is devoted to peace.

JOHN DRINKWATER—Lonely is the man who understands.

MARY GARDEN—I take no exercize except for breathing.

QUEEN MARIE—I would like to see a motion picture laboratory.

LADY DECIES—Peeresses are now wearing heels four inches high.

DEAN MACKENZIE—The university professor has no equal for pettiness.

WARREN G. HARDING—Prayer is a dominant factor for a successful life.

MARGARET PECKHAM—And sweet, hot smells came from the daisy and the buttercup.

EDWARD W. LOWRY—Like all Ohio statesmen, Mr. Harding wears his trousers too long.

DR. GEORGE T. HARDING—No man except me ever lived to see his son elected to the Presidency.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I never understand people placing themselves before a camera.

J. B. CRANFILL—Both the horse and the cow will see the day when Henry Ford is done away with.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—There are some instances when it is hard to practice the Golden Rule.

CONGRESSWOMAN ALICE ROBERTSON—If our getting drunk and cutting up hurts our neighbors we will stop.

DR. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON—The naked tribes of East Africa are the most moral people in the world.

DON MARQUIS—Every night before I go to bed I ask myself, "Have I been cosmic in my contact today or have I failed?"

B. F. RED, M.D.—If one gets near the man who wears a monocle he will detect the very disagreeable odor of snobbery.

THOMAS A. EDISON—If a man retires from active business after he is seventy the chances are he will die in three years.

S. FUGII—It was a miracle that Lafcadio Hearn, who was blind in one eye and whose other eye was so short-sighted, could have four children.

BERNARD SHAW—When the working people get the government into their hands, the one crime they will punish with death will be the crime of habitual idleness.

W. L. GEORGE—I do not know about this question as much as I should like, but if things are what they seem, America is a virtuous country, tho things never are what they seem.

ANNE MCCORMICK—New York is young and friendly, London is sentimental and sociable, Rome is wakeful and talkative, Brussels is gay and gorgeous, Paris is indifferent and self-contained.



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The Independent
April 16, 1921

# Big Ideas From Big Business

## Try Them Out for Yourself!

### By Edward Earle Purinton

AMONG the nations of the earth today America stands for one idea: *Business*. National opprobrium? National opportunity. For in this fact lies, potentially, the salvation of the world.

Thru business, properly conceived, managed and conducted, the human race is finally to be redeemed. How and why a man works foretells what he will do, think, have, give and be. And real salvation is in doing, thinking, having, giving and being—not in sermonizing and theorizing.

I shall base the facts of this article on the personal tours and minute examinations I have recently made of twelve of the world's largest business plants: U. S. Steel Corporation, International Harvester Company, Swift & Company, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, National City Bank, National Cash Register Company, Western Electric Company, Sears, Roebuck & Company, H. J. Heinz Company, Peabody Coal Company, Statler Hotels, Wanamaker Stores.

These organizations are typical, foremost representatives of the commercial group of interests loosely termed "Big Business." A close view of these corporations would reveal to any trained, unprejudiced observer a new conception of modern business activities. Let me draw a few general conclusions regarding the best type of business house and business man.

What is the finest game? Business. The soundest science? Business. The truest art? Business. The fullest education? Business. The fairest opportunity? Business. The cleanest philanthropy? Business. The sanest religion? Business.

You may not agree. That is because you judge business by the crude, mean, stupid, false imitation of business that happens to be located near you.

The finest game is business. The rewards are for everybody, and all can win. There are no favorites—Providence always crowns the career of the man who is worthy. And in this game there is no "luck"—you have the fun of taking chances but the sobriety of guaranteeing certainties. The speed and size of your winnings are for you alone to determine; you needn't wait for the other fellow in the game—it is always your move. And your slogan is not "Down the Other Fellow!" but rather "Beat Your Own Record!" or "Do It Better Today!" or "Make Every Job a Masterpiece!" The great sportsmen of the world are the great business men.

The soundest science is business. All investigation is reduced to action, and by action proved or disproved. The idealistic motive animates the materialistic method. Hearts as well as minds are open to the truth. Capital is furnished for the researches of "pure science"; yet pure science is not regarded pure until practical. Competent scientists are suitably rewarded—as they are not in the scientific schools.

The truest art is business. The art is so fine, so exquisite, that you do not think of it as art. Language, color, form, line, music, drama, discovery, adventure—all the components of art must be used in business to make it of superior character.

The fullest education is business. A proper blend of study, work and life is essential to advancement. The whole man is educated. Human nature itself is the open book that all business men study; and the mastery of a page of this educates you more than the memorizing of a dusty tome from a library shelf. In the school of business, moreover, you teach yourself and learn most from your own mistakes. What you learn here you live out, the only real test.

The fairest opportunity is business. You can find more, better, quicker chances to get ahead in a large business house than anywhere else on earth. The biographies of champion business men show how they climbed, and how you can climb. Recognition of better work, of keener and quicker thought, of deeper and finer feeling, is gladly offered by the men higher up, with early promotion the rule for the man who justifies it. There is, and can be, no such thing as buried talent in a modern business organization.

The cleanest philanthropy is business. By "clean" philanthropy I mean that devoid of graft, inefficiency and professionalism, also of condolence, hysterics and paternalism. Nearly everything that goes by the name of Charity was born a triplet, the other two members of the trio being Frailty and Cruelty. Not so in the welfare departments of leading corporations. Savings and loan funds; pension and insurance provisions; health precautions, instructions and safeguards; medical attention and hospital care; libraries, lectures and classes; musical, athletic and social features of all kinds; recreational facilities and financial opportunities—these types of "charitable institutions" for employees add to the worker's self-respect, self-knowledge and self-improvement, by making him an active partner in the welfare program, a producer of benefits for his employer and associates quite as much as a recipient of bounty from the company. I wish every "charity" organization would send its officials to school to the heads of the welfare departments of the big corporations; the charity would mostly be transformed into capability, and the minimum of irreducible charity left would not be called by that name.

The sanest religion is business. Any relationship that forces a man to follow the Golden Rule rightfully belongs amid the ceremonials of the church. A great business enterprise includes and presupposes this relationship. I have

seen more Christianity to the square inch as a regular part of the office equipment of famous corporation presidents than may ordinarily be found on Sunday in a verbalized but not vitalized church congregation. A man is not wholly religious until he is better on week-days than he is on Sunday. The only ripened fruits of creeds are deeds. You can fool your preacher with a sickly sprout or a wormy semblance of character, but you can't fool your employer. I would make every business house a consultation bureau for the guidance of the church whose members were employees of the house.

I am aware that some of the preceding statements will be challenged by many readers. I should not myself have made them, or believed them, twenty years ago, when I was a pitiful specimen of a callow youth and cocksure professional man combined. A thoro knowledge of business has implanted a deep respect for business and real business men.

The future work of the business man is to teach the teacher, preach to the preacher, admonish the parent, advise the doctor, justify the lawyer, superintend the statesman, fructify the farmer, stabilize the banker, harness the dreamer, and reform the reformer. Do all these needy persons wish to have these many kind things done to them by the business man? Alas, no. They rather look down upon him, or askance at him, regarding him as a mental and social inferior—unless he has money or fame enough to tilt their glance upward.

A large variety of everyday lessons of popular interest may be gleaned from a tour of the world's greatest business plants and a study of the lives of their founders. We suggest a few.

1. *The biggest thing about a big success is the price.* It takes a big man to pay the price. You can measure in advance the size of your success by how much you are willing to pay for it. I do not refer to money. I refer to the time, thought, energy, economy, purpose, devotion, study, sacrifice, patience, care, that a man must give to his life work before he can make it amount to anything.

The business world is full of born crusaders. Many of the leaders would be called martyrs if they weren't rich. The founders of the vast corporations have been, so far as I know them, fired with zeal that is supposed to belong only to missionaries.

Of all the uncompromizing, untiring, unsparing idealists in the world today, none surpass the founders and heads of the business institutions that have made character the cornerstone. The costliest thing on earth is idealism.

2. *Great men are silent about themselves.* Conversely, the more a man talks about his personality, his family, his property, his position, his past, present or future achievements, the less he usually amounts to or will ever become.

We had to spend weeks of hard work to obtain personal interviews with the heads of the International Harvester Company.

They prefer the forge to the limelight. They do not want free "publicity." And they refuse to make oral statements, that might be misquoted or misunderstood; they insist that all facts and figures for publication be checked with utmost care, sometimes thru a dozen departments, to prevent the least inaccuracy.

The publicity director of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company was disturbed, on reading our monograph prior to publication, because he felt we had praised the company too highly! He explained that part of his job was to avoid appearance of exaggeration; and tho we stated facts, he detected a slight sound of praise. The president of the National City Bank hasn't had a photograph of himself taken for over ten years, even to give to his friends and relatives. He accorded us a delightful interview, but requested us not to quote him directly or mention his name at all in preparing our essay on the bank.

3. *The best way to keep customers is to make friends.* Of all the assets of a business concern the chief is good will. To gain this, you can afford to spend as much as to manufacture or sell your product.

Now a fundamental rule in creating good will is to benefit the customer in a way he does not look for, does not pay for. The Western Electric Company offers to teach any woman the principles of household efficiency, mailing on request literature without charge. The science of managing a home indicates the use of electrical appliances, but the company wants to teach the science whether it sells the goods or not. This is "good business" because genuine service.

The Peabody Coal Company gladly tells the customer how to save coal. A short-sighted man would infer that the company lost sales in doing this, because the customer, using less coal, would buy less. On the other hand, the customer who follows Peabody rules of trade will buy more regularly, pay more promptly, and coöperate with the company in ways quite as important as the chance of purchasing a few more tons of coal on a single deal.

4. *Only common experiences will unite the laborer and the capitalist.* Each must get the viewpoint of the other by sharing the work, duties and responsibilities of the other. The sons of the families of Swift, McCormick, Wanamaker, Heinz, du Pont, have learned the business from the ground up; they know the trials, difficulties and needs of workers because they *are* workers; and they don't have to settle agitations and strikes because there aren't any.

Further, by councils and committees of employees, management courses for department heads and foremen, plans of referendum and appeal, offers of stock and voting power to workers, employee representation on the board of directors, and other means of sharing authority and responsibility, owners of a business now give the manual workers a chance to think and feel in unison with themselves. All enmity is between strangers. Those who really know each other cannot fight.

5. *Every business needs a woman counselor.* Better, a woman's advisory board. Nearly all manufacturing and merchandizing relates somehow to the interests of womankind.

Before E. M. Statler built the latest hotel in his big chain of hostelries, he consulted the housekeeper and matron of his masterpiece house, Hotel Pennsylvania, the world's largest inn. He wanted to know the precise arrangement, equipment and service that women guests valued most. He knew that no man could tell him.

There could be written a book of business revelations that would astonish the world. Over and over, at critical times in the development of national corporations, the hidden hand of a woman has held the huge concern at balance, or swung it in the right direction. You can no more run a business without a woman's intuition than you can run a boat without a keel.

6. *The great new field for professional men is corporation work.* Teachers, doctors, lawyers, editors, psychologists, chemists, bankers, engineers, even philosophers and ministers, now find pleasant, permanent, lucrative employment as heads of departments in famous business houses.

On my tour of the establishment of Swift & Company, I met a former editor of a big Chicago paper, a former professor and noted economist of one of our largest universities, a former engineer and [*Continued on page 412*

## *Mr. Purinton Says:*

*John H. Patterson was of middle age before he started the National Cash Register Company. He had no experience in the business either, having been a country storekeeper without personal knowledge of engineering or manufacturing. But he got a purpose—and forgot everything else. Whoever does that is young till he dies. It is never too late to make a fresh start in life*



"I have fished some mighty streams," says Mr. Smith, "but forever commend me to the whimsical, meandering, purling trout-brook in early spring"

# Goin' Fishin'

## By O. Warren Smith

### Author of "Trout Lore" and "Casting Tackle and Methods"

EVERY angler knows the flower named after his favorite sport, the "trout lily," or "yellow adder's tongue." It is rightly named, for when the trout season opens the fisherman finds the tiny yellow blossom nodding him a welcome close down by the edge of the brook. I had almost as soon miss opening day as to observe it and miss the trout lily. The flower is almost as necessary to me as rod, reel, creel or speckled beauties. And when I have finished my first day a-stream I like to top off the basket of freshly drawn and carefully packed fish with a bunch of newly plucked trout lilies. Sentiment? All right, we will let it go at that.

Is there a sport, a recreation —better re-creation—that compares to early spring trout fishing? Oh, I know all about the joys of fighting the doughty black bass and doing battle with the mighty great pike and muskalonge—is not my "Pike Book" to appear next spring?—but for pure, unalloyed pleasure, forever commend me to the whimsical, meandering, purling trout-brook in early spring. You may talk all you please about the big trout of the Nipigon along in August, or the "lakers" of the North Shore of Superior, and I know something about them too, but in the spring when the trout lily blooms, I hie me to the tiny meadow brooklet or woodland creek, with its inconsequential rapids, miniature falls, and quiet "swims." Somehow those streams are companionable, slip in under an angler's thoughts and juggle with his fancy. One falls in love with the little brooklet; he respects the mighty trout stream.

In the North Country, where my cottage stands hard by the rock-ribbed shores of Gitchee Gumee almost at the mouth of a stream that tumbles down hill all the way from the Hight of Land, working itself into a very smother of foam and anger, I do my fishing in July and August, treading the bed of the stream with care—for only the righteous may stand at all upon its slippery floor. It is dangerous fishing, even in midsummer. Did I not find my Bishop lying amid the rocks with broken and crushed leg one bright August day? No, one never falls in love with the mighty trout waters from which leviathan may be drawn with a hook, for the stream shouts at the foot of every tumultuous rapid and mighty fall, "Beware! Take care! You approach at your peril!" Upon the other hand, the trout lily creeks whisper, gentle and low, "Draw near. Play with me. I will do thee good." While, the Red Gods willing, I shall go North with August, I wish here to confess that the little brooks take first place in my affections.

I would not have the inexperienced reader think for one instant that good fish are not taken from the little creeklets; they are there, waiting for the understanding and expert angler. It takes more skill to be a successful fisher of small streams than it does to fill a basket on more imposing waters. I sometimes think the brook angler is born, not educated, tho he must be wise in the ways of trout in brooklets. Three elements enter into the make-up of the expert brook angler — good tackle, stream acquaintanceship and trout knowledge. And it does not appear which is of paramount importance. A man must be possessed of patience plus to circumvent successfully the sly denizens of the cold creeks. I have come to attribute almost human intelligence to brook trout, and the more reasoning power I accord them, comporting myself accordingly, the more fish I take. I creep along the bank like an Indian, dropping my fly or worm only after due consideration and reflection. People call me a "lucky fisherman," tho there is no such thing as luck in all the universe—the prizes, ichthyic or what not, going to the one who knows.

Some of you have noticed I said "worm," and before you raise the cry of "no sportsman," driving me into the outer darkness, I wish to make my defense. I am a fly-fisherman, with considerable skill with the fuzzy-wuzzy lures; I think I can say that without a smack of conceit. But when fishing some of the tiny woodland creeklets that call me early, one must resort to garden hackle if he is to fish them at all, since casting a fly is absolutely out of the question. Then, when the streams are turbid and turgid as they sometimes are "when the law is off," what use casting a fly? Why the pother over the question any way? Sportsmanship is not a matter of tackle or bait, it hinges on the spirit of the man. Sportsmanship is the love of fair play raised to the *n*th place. A true sportsman will not take an undersized fish from the water, gives every hooked trout a chance for its life, and plays fair. A true sportsman will be a sportsman whatever the tackle, and a Leonard rod and Halford flies will not change the other sort. Tackle does not make the man, any more than fine linen and broadcloth can disguise a churl.

I want the lightest and most delicate of tackle for all trout fishing, having reached the place when I never employ anything heavier than a three-ounce delicate cementing of split-bamboo. No, I am not recommending such a tool to the rank and file, for a rod of that ilk costs good money, and I would not be held responsible for the smash that may occur at any moment. Will you believe it when I say that for the last three years I have never employed a rod in trout fishing that weighed over two and one-half ounces? Well, I do not care whether you credit the statement or not, but it is the veriest truth; I have caught three and four pound rainbow, yet never has the rod broken. Do you say it is in the "know how"? Partly, probably—but rather I think it lies in thinking more of the rod than the fish. Right there is one argument for expensive light tackle; you will give the rod the benefit of the doubt.

So my reel is light, as light as [*Continued on page 418*

# Ye Ad and Ye Ed

## Sixth Article in the Series on "Editing a Magazine"

## By Hamilton Holt

**In this series of articles the Editor of The Independent invites the readers to come into his sanctum, to see for themselves the "inside stuff" that makes up modern journalism, and to share some of the secrets that he has learned in the past two decades while editing The Independent and keeping a watchful eye on the progress of his "esteemed contemporaries." Mr. Holt's first five articles were published in the issues of February 5, February 26, March 12, March 26 and April 9**

I now invite your attention to the department in the magazine devoted to getting the advertizements which, as has been remarked, "are the main objective in a modern magazine." The stupendous development of modern journalism, by which it has outstripped its old rivals, the pulpit and the platform, and has thus become the chief ally of public opinion, would have been impossible without advertizing. The fact is the modern magazine is run by automobiles and fed by breakfast foods. In the olden times advertizements were almost always declined. Robert Bonner, who edited *The Ledger* a generation ago when it was the most successful paper published in the United States, did not accept a single advertizement. But now it almost seems as tho more brains are devoted to the getting of advertizements than to anything else in the publishing business. The advertizer, like the subscriber, is a shy bird. He can be caught only after much coaxing. But once a few are trapped, others very easily put their heads in the noose. It is almost impossible to get the first bank to advertize. It is easy enough to get the hundred and first. Generally when an advertizer goes in a paper he intends to stay in, even if the rates be increased. For instance if an automobile firm has been advertizing in a magazine and paying for its space at the rate of $1 a line, and the circulation goes up from 100,000 to 125,000 and the rate is increased to $1.25 a line, the advertizer will almost certainly pay the additional 25 cents without a murmur. And yet you could not persuade him to go in a magazine of 25,000 circulation that charged only 25 cents a line. He would think it not important enough to bother about.

In an address delivered in 1909 before the University of California, entitled "Commercialism and Journalism," I went rather fully into the question of what role advertizing plays in a modern periodical, especially the effect of it on the independence of editors. I will not discuss this very interesting and important phase of journalism here, but I may say that honesty and accuracy in advertizing were never on such a high plane as today. You can now order your goods from the advertizing pages of any reputable publication about as safely as over the counter of a store. The danger of advertizements is not that they misrepresent the goods, but that the terms upon which they are solicited tend to commercialize the whole tone of the periodical. Many papers now guarantee their advertizements and offer themselves to refund the reader's money if satisfaction is not given. The New York *Tribune* recently went so far as to establish a department for giving publicity with names and dates to the good deeds of honest advertizers and the bad deeds of dishonest advertizers. Why this department was stopped I do not know. Two hundred Kansas editors in 1914, according to statistics gathered by the University of Kansas, threw out of their publications $120,000 worth of undesirable advertizing. The University of Kansas School of Journalism recently embarked on a state-wide movement to standardize advertizing and the Kansas Legislature granted them $10,000 a year for the experiment. It is probably true that the easiest way to get good advertising is to throw out bad advertising. When Richard H. Waldo was publisher of *Harper's Bazar* a few years ago he refused, he said, $98,000 worth of bad advertizing in one year and gained thereby $210,000 worth of good advertizing.

But still you have here the most inexact of businesses. No one can say accurately what will be the result of any advertizing campaign. A Kansas newspaper man a little while ago tried to find out how many people read or answered advertizements. His worst suspicions were confirmed. Answering the question, "Do you read advertizements?" less than one-half of the people seen, men and women living in good neighborhoods, answered "Yes." Of these barely 20 per cent were able to remember that they had ever bought anything because it was advertized. Many of the others said, "Of course not. You just get cheated." And the Kansas newspaper man goes on to say, "If you and I were running a business in which it could be shown that out of every 100,000 people visiting our store 50,000 went away without looking at the goods and 80,000 without buying anything how long would we expect to continue?"

But advertizers as a whole are certainly not wasting their money. Experts in big businesses know almost exactly how much a certain advertizing space is worth to them and they accordingly calculate how to spend their money with almost as much exactness as any other department of their business. I sometimes think that if an advertizer spends only $10,000 he loses it all, but if he casts $100,000 on the waters it may return to him in $1,000,000 worth of profits.

I have now briefly covered the various departments that go to make up the average magazine of general circulation. I conclude this series of papers with a few words on Schools of Journalism.

In a recent issue of that undergraduate humorous publication, the *Columbia Jester*, I find the following colloquy:

Doctor: Madam, your son is a defective.

Mother: My God!

Doctor: Never mind, when he grows up he can teach journalism.

Now whether this slur is [*Continued on page 414*

## *Evening Rain in Spring*

### *By Margaret Peckham*

*Far hills are faintly filmed with rain,*
*Dim, draining skies, translucent grey,*
*Show thru the shining black of trees that dripping sway,*
*Lifting their budding tips to drink and drink again.*
*The sopping grass is soaked a vivid green,*
*The trickling drops run down the waterspout*
*To splash along the house edge, washing pebbles clean*
*And thudding on the gutter running out.*
*Fresh, sweet, damp-earth smells coolly rise,*
*While gusts of scented cherry petals hurry by,*
*The robins wetly whistle twilight lullabies*
*And rain and night are fast dissolving in the sky.*

# Kansas Freedom

## By Edwin E. Slosson

SOME seventy years ago a new crusade was preached, a call for eastern emigrants to go to Kansas and make that a free state. The Independent is proud of having taken a leading part in this, the greatest moral movement of the nineteenth century. The most eloquent advocate of Kansas freedom, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, was one of the editors of The Independent. Henry C. Bowen, the publisher of the periodical, grandfather of the present editor, sacrificed his fortune to support the cause.

As the appeal rang forth from press and pulpit, brave young men left their work and homes and rushed to the rescue of bleeding Kansas. My father was one of them. Their marching song was Whittier's:

> We cross the prairies as of old
> Our fathers crossed the sea
> To make the West as they the East
> The homestead of the free.

In those days Kansas was tyrannized over by mobs of pro-slavery men who tolerated no opposition to their opinions. They forged tickets and stole ballot boxes. The Free State party was suppressed. Its meetings were broken up. Its literature was confiscated. Its printing presses were smashed and the type scattered. Those who dared to speak for freedom were tarred and feathered and ridden on a rail. Many of them were run out of the territory by the Border Ruffians. Some were shot on their own homesteads.

But they never faltered in their long struggle to make the country safe for democracy. The conflict spread until the whole nation was involved. After four years of warfare the foes of freedom were defeated and those who had fought the good fight believed that they had won and that Kansas would be forever a free state.

They were mistaken. They died deluded by a fond hope. Kansas is not a free state. I read in the papers that on March 13 ex-Senator Burton and Professor Wilson were driven from Great Bend because they were speaking for the Non-Partizan League and that J. O. Stevic, State Organizer, and A. A. Parsons, State Secretary, were stripped and tarred at night by a mob which included many American Legion men. The sheriff is said to have connived at the outrage in the same way as the pro-slavery sheriffs used to.

I do not know what these speakers were advocating. I have read but little of the Non-Partizan literature and that little I did not like. But in such a case as this it is not necessary to inquire which side is right, for we know which side is wrong. The side that attempts to suppress free speech by violence is always in the wrong no matter what the side that suffers may stand for.

I do not know what sort of men composed the mob. I hope that they were new-comers unfamiliar with the history of their state, which became famed thruout the world for its suffering and heroism in the cause of freedom.

It seems strange to hear of ex-service men in such a gang; that men who three years ago enlisted in the army to fight for the extension of democracy abroad should now join mobs to demolish democracy at home. I read of such disturbances of the peace in various parts of the country, of legionaries who break up meetings on the ground that they are pro-German, pro-Irish, pro-Russian, pro-Socialist, or something else they do not like and consider disloyal. If these meetings are illegal they should be suppressed by law. If they are lawful, those who disturb them are lawbreakers. There can be no two ways of thinking about that for a true American, however much he may disapprove of such propaganda.

The men who take part in such infractions of constitutional rights do not belong in the American Legion. They belong in the Foreign Legion. They have deserted their flag and gone over to the enemy. Their principles are Prussian and their practice is Bolshevist.

If I did not voice a protest against this violation of our hard-won liberties, I should not be the son of my father. And Hamilton Holt would not be the grandson of his grandfather if he did not publish it.

## It Must Not Be

THE attempt of the former Emperor Charles to climb back on the Hungarian throne should meet with a prompt veto from the Allies and from America. One of the chief benefits of the Great War was the elimination of the evil tradition of monarchy from central Europe and we, as one of the principal belligerents and the chief champion of the democratic principle the world around, have a right to forbid our defeated foes to bring crowns back into fashion.

## Sub-Normalcy

THE appointment of George Harvey as United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James is President Harding's first big blunder. It will almost certainly rise to plague him during the remainder of his term of office. The frequently genial Colonel has many fetching and admirable points, but by no stretch of the imagination can he hope to fill the phantom shoes of Monroe, Van Buren, Adams, Everett, Bancroft, Motley, Lowell, Hay, Choate, Page, or Davis.

# A "Fare" Proposition

## By Talcott Williams

THE New York City subways and gas works are giving a resounding example of the claims Public Utility capital makes on the public.

All other capital stands the hazards of business. If an investment is made, outside of a Public Utility, the owners of the capital take their chances. If the enterprize profits, the capital invested pays. If the enterprize fails, the capital is lost. The shares go first, the bonds go next; but even the bonds are a loss, if the property cannot be sold for enough to meet capital and accrued interest.

Public Utility capital (railroad city transit, gas works, electric light plants) claims the right and expects the Government to use the power to raise transportation rates, trolley or subway fares, the price of gas per thousand feet or electric light per voltage to secure a profit, even when all other capital has to put up with a loss. The shares may go. The bonds must have their interest and federal courts order and enforce the demand for increased fares and rates which shall protect the interest on the bonds. The federal courts are doing this for the New York gas works. Governor Miller and the state legislature of New York have passed an act under which the rates on the subways can be advanced to protect the capital involved from loss by shifting the loss on the passenger in increased fares.

This is justified on two grounds. First, Public Utilities cannot shut down as factories can. Second, the State regulates Public Utility profits. It reduces their rates, if profits promise to be too large and is in justice bound to raise rates if the yield is too low to meet all the interest on bonds and fair returns on shares.

This works pretty well when average conditions exist and average returns can be made. Ought capital in Public Utilities to get all the advantages and command all the profits when unusual conditions come? Other enterprizes suffer a loss. Why not these?

The New York subways offer a conspicuous example to the country of interference by the State to protect the profits and revenue of capital in a Public Utility costing in all $493,000,000 with 600 miles of subway and elevated lines, by far the largest system in the world. The city built the subways; private capital equips and manages them.

When the contract was signed, March 11, 1913, prices had been falling and city transit fares had been reduced in many places. The private capital invested feared a reduction in New York and insisted on a contract under which fares were to be unchanged. A proposition that they be revised periodically was rejected. New York City bonds were sold to provide subway funds at a heavy discount, lower than previous issues earlier placed on the market. The entire contract was drawn to protect the private capital invested. The city needed the subways and had not the money to build them. It yielded.

In eight years the whole situation was changed. City transit fares rose, instead of falling. The prices of labor and all commodities grew instead of shrinking. With all the fall in prices now in progress, prices still remain about 40 per cent above the level in 1913. Had prices fallen instead of rising, the profits of the private capital invested would have risen. No one believes fares would then have been reduced. The subway contracts would have stood unchanged. Riders would have continued paying five cents.

The private capital in this Public Utility, instead, stood to lose and the New York legislature changed the contract and opened the way to an advance of fares. Such an advance is a heavy tax on the great multitude for the benefit of the few. Whether this is lawful or not, the courts must decide. Morally, it is clear that such a change violates a contract and shakes public confidence in legislatures and courts. The entire city was opposed to this legislation. Governor Miller of New York has dealt a very serious blow to public confidence in the working of our institutions, a blow far more serious than a "socialist" could deal. Nothing suffers more from this condition than capital.

Manifestly the attitude of the law toward capital in a Public Utility should be changed. It is plainly unjust that the profits of capital in a Public Utility should be preserved at any cost to the population served.

Some way should exist by which losses or profits due to changes in the situation should be apportioned between the owners of private capital invested in a Public Utility, who are few, and those who use the Public Utility, who are many. A contract which would have been unchanged if the cost of operation had fallen, should not be changed when this cost rises.

The situation has been made worse for the two operating companies, New York Interborough and Brooklyn Rapid Transit, because there are old charters in these cities drawing a rental for public services they do not render, which charters were leased by the New York Interborough or Brooklyn Rapid Transit and the rental absorbs revenue. These old street-car lines hold rights that are no longer a Public Utility and ought to lapse. The competition of the automobile is lowering the earning value of all forms of transit, railroad, elevated, surface and subway. The aeroplane is not far distant. Canals and stage-lines were scrapped eighty years ago by rail lines in cities and between them. The rail lines will lose in value in their turn.

Nothing can change this. The whole field of law governing transit needs to recognize that all transport is transitory and will be superseded by better. Instead of fighting these changes at the cost of heavy and disastrous loss and collapse in the end, constitutions and statutes should provide a sliding scale under which the loss should be apportioned and distributed between capital and traffic.

No capital should be treated as free from the general principle that no right or ownership can justly remain or wisely endure which does not bear its share of falling profits and changed conditions as these come.

## John Burroughs

HE will ever be held in grateful remembrance as the man who prevented America from falling a victim to that disease of blindness to nature which threatens such industrial and commercial civilizations as our own. Not in our time can we estimate how great a debt this busy country owes and will owe to this gracious prophet of the wholesome life.

## Peonage in Georgia

THE fact that Georgia waited for the horrible scandal of repeated murders on a single farm before taking effective measures to abolish the peonage evil, simply shows that Georgia is like the rest of us in not locking the stable door till the horse is stolen. It is the American way never to pass—or enforce—a needed law until some sensational outrage or scandal makes its necessity all too plain. We have not the right to condemn Georgia unless she *now* fails to take steps which will render forever impossible the recurrence of such atrocities.

## Culture in Main Street

ISN'T the ignorance of the American public a little exaggerated by uplifters? The bill of fare set before the reader by the American daily newspaper may be superficial, but it is at least catholic. The Lasker-Capablanca chess match is as regularly chronicled as the pugilistic exploits of Carpentier. Einstein received as much attention from the reporters as if he had been a movie star. When the New York Board of Aldermen tendered him the freedom of the city, only one alderman ventured to ask, "Who *is* this Einstein fellow, anyhow?" and the rest laughed him down. When culture descends as low as the New York Board of Aldermen it may be said to be practically universal.

# Einstein's Reception

## By Edwin E. Slosson

TO the student of mass psychology, such as all of us are, there is nothing more interesting than to observe the popular reaction toward a new idea. Emerson says: "Beware when God lets loose a thinker on this planet," or something of the sort. I am not sure of the wording for I am writing in a railway station and, not being a Bostonian, I have not taken Emerson along in my suitcase.

Einstein is undeniably a thinker. Whether he is a right thinker or a wrong thinker remains to be proved. That does not matter to the social psychologist who is only interested in the effect produced by dropping a new thought into an ocean of old ones. It is like dropping a crystal into a solution of some salt. Sometimes the crystal is dissolved in the liquid and disappears. Sometimes it sets the whole mass to crystallizing in its own image. Sometimes it lies on the bottom inert, neither dissolving itself nor solidifying the solution. Whether the crystal is absorbed or rejected or produces an immediate reaction depends upon when it is dropped in. Likewise the effect of a new idea on the world of thought depends upon its coming at the psychological moment.

Einstein's idea was a war-baby. While the cannon were booming, his brain was laboring and during the noisy years of 1915-1917 his generalized theory of relativity was brought forth.

But at that time the wires were down between this country and Germany. Most Americans thought it did not matter much because they read repeatedly in the papers that German science was a fraud and that all the really important discoveries had originated in other countries, altho it was admitted that the Germans had an uncanny

knack of stealing these ideas and putting them to profit. It was almost impossible for an American scientist or an American editor to get a German publication. In one of the states a bill was introduced into the legislature requiring the universities to burn all their German books.

THE British did not adopt this ostrich-like policy. They kept their eyes open on all that was doing in enemy countries, whether scientific, technological or political. British editors were kept supplied with German periodicals and for the benefit of those who could not read German the British War Office published very complete and impartial abstracts of the enemy press. While the war was at its hight British astronomers were studying Einstein's work and preparing expeditions to be sent to Africa and South America to test his predictions at the next eclipse. Professor Eddington of Cambridge published a thoro report on the relativity theory of gravitation in 1918, and the photographs he took of the eclipse of May 29, 1919, confirmed the calculations of Einstein.

But at that time many American scientists were still in the dark as to what had been done in Germany during the war and had not yet got access to Einstein's later papers. So when the reporters came around to interview them on what Einstein's theory of relativity was and how the eclipse observations confirmed it, some of them were puzzled to reply since they knew only of the special theory of relativity which Einstein had put forth in 1905 and which had nothing to do with gravitation.

The French like the British kept up with the progress of German science during the war, altho unlike the British they took no stock in Einstein. Alphonse Berget in *Larousse mensuel* of 1917 makes fun of the Germans for taking to relativity. He says that they are fond of drawing the long bow and have "forgotten that common sense is the necessary basis of science."

True science is above all barriers of nation, race or sect. Einstein himself, altho he is an ardent nationalist and comes to America as an advocate of Zionism, is nevertheless a sincere internationalist and welcomes all efforts to reëstablish the world commonwealth of science. He expresses this hope in his letter to President Butler for the Barnard medal which Columbia University has awarded to him and in his letter to the London *Times* of December 13, 1919, he makes a witty reference to the present tendency to discriminate between men of science on the ground of nationality:

> The description of me and my circumstances in *The Times* shows an amusing feat of imagination on the part of the writer. By an application of the theory of relativity to the taste of readers, today in Germany I am called a German man of science and in England I am represented as a Swiss Jew. If I come to be regarded as a *bête noire*, the description will be reversed and I shall become a Swiss Jew for the Germans and a German man of science for the English.

And so indeed it has turned out since.

It is unfortunate that Einstein should make his first appearance in America as a Zionist instead of a scientist. He would have done more for Judaism in general and for Zionism in particular if he had come to America, like Bergson, as one of the great thinkers of the modern world whom all America delighted to honor rather than as a leader in a separatist movement of a race. But so long as there are some who hold the Jews as a whole responsible for those of their race who have itching palms or dirty finger-nails, we must expect them to show in return a disposition to monopolize their men of genius. Since the Jews have more men of genius in proportion to their numbers than any other race since the ancient Greeks, they could afford to be generous with them. It is to be hoped that Einstein's theories will be judged objectively on their merits, without prejudice in their favor or against on the ground of race.

The United States owes peculiar gratitude to Professor Einstein, for he has answered two American conundrums. Simon Newcomb, the American astronomer, pointed out in 1895 that Newton's law of gravitation failed to account for the shifting of the orbit of Neptune. It was Abraham Michelson, the American physicist, who in 1887 proved that no evidence of ether-drift thru matter could be detected. Einstein's theory accounts for both these puzzles besides giving the clue to several others.

The application of Einstein's theory of relativity to astronomy and physics is as revolutionary as the theories of Copernicus and Newton. What will be the result of its application to chemistry and biology we cannot yet imagine, but evidently the effect will be still more fundamental. For Einstein's laws of motion do not differ appreciably from those of Newton except at extremely high speeds approaching the speed of light. This is far beyond the possible speed limit of any body that the astronomer or physicist has to deal with. But the unit of the chemist, the atom, is now believed to consist of a nucleus of positive electricity around which revolve one or more negative electrons with a speed almost that of light. Sometimes they fly off on a tangent as in the case of radium. These same swift electrons are also supposed to play a part in the processes of life. For instance, one theory of the growth of plants is that the shorter light-waves from the sun shake loose the electrons from the chlorophyll in the green leaf and this provides the energy for the building up of protoplasm. So both chemical and biological reactions may come within the realm where Einstein's laws rule instead of Newton's. And Einstein's laws of motion are extremely upsetting to our ordinary notions! If chemists and biologists have to take up four-dimensional mathematics we may expect an exodus from those sciences into sociology and psychology where as yet nothing more than arithmetic is required.

In their reaction toward a novel idea people may be divided into two classes, the neophiles and the neophobes, those who are drawn to it because it is new and those who are repelled by it for the same reason. Then there are always some who say it is true but not new, and others who say it is new but not true. Of course the humorists, who always stand as sharpshooters on the outer ramparts of conservatism, direct the arrows of their wit against any stranger seen approaching. Einstein is received with the same chorus of laughter as greeted Galileo when he said the earth moved; Darwin when he talked of evolution; Columbus when he proposed to get east by going west; Stephenson when he asserted that his locomotive might catch up with a cow; and the hero who first dared carry an umbrella in the London street. Wit is a defensive mechanism for society as well as for the individual and serves a good purpose on the whole since for one worthy man who has suffered like these a hundred cranks and pretenders have been laughed out of court.

But it does not matter, one way or the other, what the popular reception of Einstein's ideas may be, for they will be weighed in the balance by the few who are competent to pass upon their value. They are now the chief topic of discussion in the field of physics and new ways of testing them are being devised.

## Two Evils

THERE is the evil of the hyphen in politics; giving a man a domestic office because of his race or his views on foreign affairs.

There is the opposite evil of the spoils system in the foreign service; giving a man an ambassadorship because of his attitude on domestic politics.

A man may be a good alderman or state treasurer even if he has quite erroneous views on the Irish question; he may be a good consul in Paraguay or ambassador to Great Britain even if he has bolted the party ticket. But with an

Alice-in-Wonderland sort of logic we Americans pick a man for local office because his name is O'Toole or Costello or Rosenbaum, and we make him a representative of the nation abroad because of the excellent work he did in drumming up votes for the party in the Fifth ward.

Of two opposite evils we choose both.

# When Our Union Was Young

## By Hayne Davis

**What Mr. Davis prophesied in the columns of The Independent in 1904 came to pass at the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 when the Covenant of the League of Nations was put into definite form and approved by the representatives of nations there. Now that the international union has been actually formed and has held its first General Assembly, with the United States still holding aloof, Mr. Davis is presenting in The Independent another series of articles, free from political bias, whose object is:**

**(1) To properly relate the Covenant of the League to the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States;**

**(2) to set forth the basis of any international union that can hope to endure;**

**(3) to indicate the true relation of national armament to national security, international law and justice;**

**(4) to point out some of the dangers in the path of any Association or League of Nations and the way of escape therefrom; and**

**(5) to show the orderly steps of progress from a union however imperfect to one that is more perfect and capable of establishing justice and peace, even as our own Union of States grew gradually into its present excellent form.**

**The first article in this series was published in The Independent of April 2, and the second April 9; the others will follow regularly from week to week.**

THE striking similarity between the Articles of the American Confederation and the Covenant of the League of Nations, in the substance of these historic documents as well as in the circumstances surrounding the men who evolved them, in the midst of the war of Revolution in America and the war of Aggression thruout the world, was pointed out in detail in my article last week.

It was in 1777 that the Articles of Confederation were proclaimed as constituting a *perpetual Union* of the thirteen Independent States of America. This proclamation shows that the framers of this document thought they and the states so united were acting under Divine guidance in the establishment of this Union of States. In 1787 we find them assembled again at Philadelphia for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation or substituting therefor a new Constitution. The advocates of a new Constitution won, and in due time after prolonged and devout deliberation, the convention submitted to the States of the Confederation a new Constitution, adoption of which would dissolve the existing and create a new Union.

The last article of the proposed Constitution was as follows:

> The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

From this it is plain that the framers of the new Constitution deemed a Union of nine of the states, in this form, preferable to a Union of all of them in the form of the Articles of the Confederation.

The first Congress held under the Constitution met in New York City in April, 1789, and on the thirtieth of that month George Washington was sworn in as first President of the United States, while two of the original members of the Confederation, North Carolina and Rhode Island, had not approved the new Constitution and were therefore not included in the Union thus created. So that in the spring of 1789, the Union that was declared to be perpetual in 1777 had been dissolved, and a new Union had been launched with eleven states on board and two states left to their own choice, either to come into the new Union or to go it alone, as free and independent states.

North Carolina's reluctance to enter the proposed new Union was due to the absence of some provisions, deemed by her leading statesmen to be essential to the preservation of the liberties of her people. Several states that had approved the Constitution coupled with their ratification a request that the Constitution be amended. The first Congress held under the Constitution in April, 1789, submitted to the states twelve proposed amendments, embodying proposals which the North Carolinians considered sufficient. And on the twenty-first of November, 1789, North Carolina approved the Constitution and entered the new Union by a good majority—193 to 75. On May 29, 1790, Rhode Island came in by the close vote of 34 to 32. So that within thirteen months after Washington's inauguration, the jurisdiction of the new Constitution was extended over the area of all the original thirteen states.

Wherein did the new Union differ from that formed by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, and wherein were the two Unions alike? They were similar in their foundation stones, and differed in the superstructures erected on these foundations, and in the extent of the power granted to the Union and reserved to the several states. These were the foundation stones, as set forth in a previous article:

1. A declaration of fact that all powers not delegated to the Union were reserved to the states;

2. A promise to assist each other against attacks made upon any of the states;

3. An equal right for the citizens of all the states to participate in trade thruout the Union and the world.

Article 4 and Amendment 10 of the Constitution contain these provisions in substantially the same terms as they are set forth in the Articles of the Confederation. The Constitution goes further, however, than the Articles of Confederation, in guaranteeing aid to the constituent states, by expressly stating that aid was to be given when called for, in case of domestic violence as well as in case of external aggression, and also in guaranteeing to each state of the Union a republican form of Government. The Covenant also has the essence of these fundamental provisions as its cornerstones. Article 10 of the League goes the full length of the third article of the Confederation in guaranteeing the members against external aggression.

THE Constitution as originally drawn, like the Covenant of the League, contained no statement that all power not granted to the Union was reserved to the several states. That was taken for granted in the drawing of the Constitution, even as it was in the formulation of the Covenant. The demand for its inclusion, however, resulted in its being expressly set forth as a fact in the tenth amendment. The Covenant did not go quite as far as the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution did, in guaranteeing equal right of trade and travel to the citizens of all the states. It is a part of sovereign power that no people or things can come into a sovereign's domain without the sovereign's consent. Several nations, our own among them, are not now willing to permit the people of all other countries freely to enter their domain. We have excluded the Chinese for several decades. Some of the British dominions exclude the people of some of the other portions of the British Empire, as well as the Japanese. In such circumstances the Covenant went as far as it could in providing that the members of the League would make provisions to secure and *maintain freedom of communications and of transit, and equitable treatment for the commerce of all the members of the League.* This comes pretty near being the substance of our declared policy of the "Open Door."

While these fundamental pro- [*Continued on page 414*

# The Story of the Week

## King Charles and Hungary

As stirring an adventure as may be found in the pages of history was the recent attempt of Charles (Karl), former Austrian Emperor, to regain the throne of Hungary. Since the Austro-Hungarian Empire was torn asunder by revolution in 1918 the deposed monarch has been living quietly in exile in Switzerland—the traditional home of exiled rulers. In a peaceful, neutral country he could enjoy life and his memories of former glory if he chose to abandon active politics for dignified retirement. But just as Wilhelm Hohenzollern has, it is said, never become wholly reconciled to his position as a private citizen in the Netherlands, Karl Hapsburg similarly found it unendurable to dwell so near to a frontier that he might never cross, and a frontier of his old realm at that. So he rashly slipped across the border, evading the vigilance of the Swiss and Austrian authorities, and by Easter Sunday reached his old capital of Vienna. But he did not delay long in Austria, for it was in Hungary that monarchist sentiment was reputed strongest. He went at once to Budapest.

At this point the story begins to read like a romantic novel. Charles entered the palace occupied now by Regent Horthy of Hungary, the *de facto* ruler of the country. He doffed his disguise and put on a military uniform. He demanded to see the Regent. To which Horthy sent back reply, "At present I am head of the Hungarian State. Nobody has a right to send for me." Finding that the mountain would not go to Mohammed, Charles hunted up the Regent and decorated him with the order of the Cross of Maria Theresa. The Regent accepted the decoration, but refused to help Charles back to the throne. On the contrary he warned him that any attempt at a restoration would be vigorously resisted by the Government. For three hours Charles stormed and wept and begged, but the iron-hearted dictator of Hungary remained obdurate. Finally the disappointed Charles turned away from the palace saying to the porter as he went out, "Farewell forever." He then took an automobile back to the Hungarian town of Steinamanger. King Alfonso of Spain offered him protection in case he chose to retire to Spain.



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ARE THEY TO GROW UP WITHOUT ROYAL RIGHTS?

**Charles, former Emperor of Austria, who with his wife and children has been living quietly in Switzerland since he was deposed, made an effort to regain the Hungarian throne two weeks ago. Disguised he entered the palace in Budapest and talked to Regent Horthy, head of the state. But he failed to reëstablish himself as king and his attempt caused the Allied Supreme Council to warn Hungary that "the restoration of the Hapsburgs would imperil the very foundation of the peace." The former emperor's plea for his throne implied that, like a famous American king of baseball, he "did it for the wife and kiddies." This photograph of them was taken recently in Switzerland**

Behind the comedy and melodrama of Charles's dashing little escapade lies a very serious international situation. The seriousness of it may be judged from the formal diplomatic warning sent by the Allied Supreme Council to the Hungarian Government:

> The Allies have the duty to repeat that the restoration of the Hapsburgs would imperil the very foundation of the peace, and that it could be neither recognized nor tolerated.
>
> The Allied powers count upon the Hungarian Government, conscious of the gravity of the situation that would be created by the return to the throne of the former sovereign, to take efficacious measures to suppress the attempts whose success, however momentary, could not but have disastrous consequences for Hungary.
>
> This declaration will be telegraphed to the Allied High Commissioner in Budapest and communicated officially to the Hungarian delegation in Paris and the representatives of the bordering states of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland.

The realm over which Charles ruled, after the death of the aged Francis Joseph, is now partitioned among many nations, the so-called "Succession States." Galicia has gone to Poland; Transylvania to Rumania; Bohemia, Moravia and Slovak Hungary to Czechoslovakia; Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia to Yugoslavia; the southern Tirol and coastal region from Gorizia to Fiume to Italy; Magyar Hungary to the Hungarian republic; Vienna and Alpine Austria to the Austrian republic; while Fiume has a government of its own. The lands which were under one rule in 1914 are thus now under eight sovereignties; and if a Hapsburg were restored in any part of the ancient realm all of the Succession States would fear an attempt to undo the work of the war and the peace treaties and restore (perhaps even with additions) the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Hungary alone has there been a real popular movement for restoration, and it was therefore in that portion of his former dominions that Charles made his attempt to climb back to the throne. But would a former "Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, Apostolic King of Hungary, etc., etc.," be content with the crown of diminished Hungary? No one believes it. The nations most worried about the prospect of restoration are Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania; the so-called "Little Entente." All three nations have shared in the partition of Hungary and have therefore been drawn together by what they would describe as "common resistance to a revival of Hungarian imperialism" and what the Magyars would probably term "community of interest among thieves." As soon as they heard that Charles was seeking to restore the Kingdom of Hungary the Governments of the "Little Entente" mobilized their armies and threatened an invasion to prevent the royalist restoration. Doubtless their determined stand had much to do in bringing about the note from the "Big Entente" (the Allied Powers) warning Hungary not to permit the restoration.

The attitude of other nations is not so sharply defined as that of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Poland and Italy would disapprove of any restoration of the old Austria-Hungary, but they do not feel quite so much endangered by the immediate course of events in Hungary. England and France are still less directly interested; in-

deed some French politicians favor a restoration of Austria-Hungary as a counterbalance to the power of Prussia. But that is not the official attitude of the French Government. Austria is largely indifferent. The principal interest of Austria just now is to keep from starving; not to revive dynastic glories. Germany is divided in opinion; the royalists would like to see the Hapsburg monarchy revived as a precedent for a Hohenzollern restoration, but the republicans oppose it for that very reason. It may be said, therefore, that all the nations of Europe, big and little, that take any particular interest in events in Hungary are either opposed to the restoration of Charles as King of Hungary or are divided in sentiment. It is doubtless for this reason that Hungary hesitates. All accounts seem to agree that if Hungary were left to choose for herself with no possibility of foreign interference she would establish a monarchial form of government, but Hungary is unwilling to run the risk of offending her neighbors. The attitude of Admiral Horthy, the Regent, is uncertain. Some say (and Charles seems to have built his hopes on it) that he is but holding the helm of state until the psychological moment comes to restore the Hapsburg dynasty, either in the person of Charles or some other representative of the old royal line. Others say that Horthy is true to the republic, and still others that he desires to found a dynasty on his own account. The future will show.

## British Coal Strike

ONCE again, as so frequently in the recent past, Great Britain is confronted by a general strike in the coal mines. As coal is perhaps the central pillar of the edifice of British prosperity, these recurrent strikes are veritable nightmares to the Government and the general public. "British" rather than "English" is the proper word to use in this connection as many of the most valuable coal mines are located in Scotland and southern Wales. The miners demanded national control of the industry, with the establishment of a uniform, standard wage and, if necessary, a temporary subsidy of the coal industry until abnormal conditions of depression were past. But the Government rejected the idea of public subsidies as irreconcilable with the present condition of the national budget. Other industries were enduring harder times than the coal industry, said Sir Robert Horne, president of the Board of Trade, and it would be impossible to tax them to keep up the wages of the miners.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**The busy premier**

More than a million coal miners struck work on March 31. The Government proclaimed a "state of emergency" and issued orders for the rationing of coal. Wartime restrictions were restored. The use of lights in display advertizements was forbidden, the exportation of coal to foreign ports was halted, district coal supply committees were constituted to seize and utilize existing stocks to the best advantage, industrial consumers were reduced to half their normal coal supply, private consumers were limited to one hundredweight a week for domestic use, persons with cellars already stocked with five hundredweight of coal were forbidden to purchase any additional amount.

The menacing feature of the situation is that the Miners' Federation has been withdrawing from the mines not only the men who extract the coal but even the pump-men, whose duty it is to keep the mines from becoming flooded. Hitherto it has been the usual custom in a coal strike to permit the pumpmen to continue at work, lest the mines be permanently ruined or put out of commission for months after the men were ready to return to work. It is a peculiarity of the British coal mines that so many of them fill up with water unless continuous efforts are made to keep them clear. Of course, the mine owners are doing what they can with volunteer and non-union crews, but in some places the miners picketed the mines so completely that no one dared venture to do the work. In one instance mine ponies were left to die underground; the miners refusing to permit anything to be done to get them out. It is feared that if the strike should last for many weeks the mines would be in a condition similar to the French mines wrecked and flooded by the Germans during the war and British industry would suffer a blow from which it could never fully recover.

Another complication is the danger of sympathetic strikes in other unions. The miners, railwaymen and transport workers taken together make up a group known in England as the "Triple Alliance." The railwaymen are considering a general strike of the Triple Alliance in order to bring the Government and the mine owners to terms. Such a strike would paralyze the entire industry of the country, unless it were quickly broken. Unemployment is already widespread in Great Britain; it is estimated that 3,500,000 workers are idle or on part time. If the Triple Alliance acts to support the coal strike some 5,000,000 more would join the ranks of the unemployed, and when the indirect effects of the stoppage of all fuel supply and transportation were felt many other industries would be forced to stop. The reason why British trades unionists, who are usually conservative and cautious in their policy, are willing even to consider such a dangerous step is that the introduction of lower wage scales in the coal industry is considered the entering wedge for a general downward revision of wages in all branches of industrial labor.

## Making Germany Pay

THE reparations deadlock is developing into a curious complex of coercion and compromize. The Allies are cautiously experimenting with various punitive measures to which Germany has thus far opposed a purely passive resistance. There is no direct negotiation for the revision of the indemnity terms; but the Germans have been industriously putting forth various official and semi-official suggestions to which the Allies have been giving careful, if informal, consideration.

The next move of the Allies, after occupying Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort, was to claim from Germany the unpaid balance of reparations already overdue. The Reparations Commission declared that of the 20,000,000,000 gold marks due by May 1, 1921, payments already made

in money or kind amounted to only 8,000,000,000. The Commission demanded that the balance of 12,000,000,000 gold marks be paid in full by May 1 and that a first payment of one billion be paid by March 23. Premier Briand defended this demand on the ground that Germany had no exterior debt (other than the sum due for reparations), German taxes were lighter than French, and "This billion she has in her cash box and she must hand it over." Altho the Chamber of Deputies supported Briand by a vote of 491 to 66, Germany did not find the billion in "her cash box" and again insisted that the value of the payments already made to the Allies fully covered the 20,000,000,000 marks debt.

After March 23 had passed without the required payment the Allies considered new measures of coercion.




*Thomas in London Opinion*

"His master's voice"

France and Great Britain adopted tariffs discriminating against German exports. A new tariff zone was created, dividing the occupied region of Germany from the part still unoccupied, and the Allies undertook the collection of duties along this customs line. The occupied part of the Rhineland, comprising some of the richest industrial towns of Germany, is thus surrounded by a tariff wall on all sides; facing France and Belgium on the west and facing unoccupied Germany on the east. This new customs administration in the Rhineland came into effect on April 5. Düsseldorf and Höchst were the chief centers of collection.

## Berlin to Washington

THE Department of State has given out the text of the German memorandum on reparations, sent to Washington in order that the American people might understand the German point of view and perhaps consent to act as mediators in fixing either the amount or the method of payment of the indemnity. The German memorandum is conciliatory in form, save for one bitter passage which expresses doubt if the French desire the rehabilitation of the devastated regions so much as "opportunity for a political agitation." The note denies that Germany repudiates or evades its responsibilities toward the Allies. On the contrary:

> Every responsible group, particularly the workmen, of Germany are imbued with the determination to do all that lies in their power to help in reconstructing the regions which have been devastated. Fundamental to this determination is the sober conviction on the part of responsible circles in Germany that an early removal of all traces of the devastation caused in France is to the best interest of Germany. It is the consensus of opinion also that the proposals made by Germany in regard to reparation must consider fully the financial necessities of the Allied and Associated Governments and particularly of France.

For the work of reconstruction the German Government offers the service of German labor. If this is inacceptable to France "the Government of Germany stands ready to offer to France good offices and resources in whatever form is acceptable." Germany cannot pay in cash, because the cash is lacking. To give the Allies shares in German industries had been a plan considered by Germany, but "such a proposal would produce only proceeds in paper marks, valueless to foreign creditors." The best solution would be an international loan to Germany "in favor of which the Allied and Associated Governments would waive their general mortgage." The necessary securities could be advanced for the safety of such a loan, and it would revive German industry and call out German capital to such a degree that payments for reparations would be made possible. Another suggestion was that in place of paying indemnity to the Allies, Germany should assume the debts of the Allies to the United States; so that France and England would be free of their foreign indebtedness and the United States would be Germany's creditor:

> It has been reiterated by the Allied and Associated Governments that the situation of Germany is better than that of many of the Allied and Associated countries, due to the fact that Germany has no foreign debts. Germany would not be unwilling to assume the obligation of the interest and the amortization of the foreign debts of the Allied and Associated Powers, within the limit of her capacity, should this measure be entertained by the Allied and Associated Governments and their creditors.

But, putting aside all special suggestions, "Germany stands ready to meet any proposal which appears feasible" and would "invite the examination by unbiased experts of its own ability to make payment." This is another invitation for the United States to step in and help adjust the indemnity thru "unbiased experts."

## Washington to Berlin

THE answer sent by Secretary Hughes, on behalf of President Harding, to the German memorandum on the reparations questions does not commit the United States to favor any particular plan for settling the indemnity question. It makes just two points: that the United States supports the Allies in the demand for just reparations on the ground of German responsibility for the war, and that the United States would be glad to have negotiations reopened for a prompt and peaceful settlement of the issues which now divide Germany and the Allies. The text of the note, as published, runs:

> The American Government is pleased to note in the informal memorandum of Dr. Simons the unequivocal expression on the part of the German Government of its desire to afford reparation up to the limit of German ability to pay. This Government stands with the Governments of the Allies in holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore morally bound to make reparation, so far as may be possible. The recognition of this obligation, implied in the memorandum of Dr. Simons, seems to the Government of the United States the only sound basis on which can be built a firm and just peace under which the various nations of Europe can achieve once more economic independence and stability. This Government believes that it recognizes in the memorandum of Dr. Simons a sincere desire on the part of the German Government to reopen negotiations with the Allies on a new basis and hopes that such negotiations, once resumed, may lead to a prompt settlement which will at the same time satisfy the just claims of the Allies and permit Germany hopefully to renew its productive activities.

## Uncle Sam Backs Chinese Loan

THE State Department has given out for publication a letter by Secretary Hughes relative to the "consortium"; the international loan which banking groups in the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan are tendering to China for the development of railways and other public utilities. Altho the loan is a private one, it has sought the official sanction of the Governments interested. For several months negotiations have been carried on between the four Governments. Japan tried to secure an agreement that "all the rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, where Japan has special interests, should be excluded from the arrangements for

pooling provided for in the proposed agreement." To this Secretary Lansing strongly objected, and he was supported in his stand by the British Foreign Office. Finding that neither the United States nor Great Britain would assent to the principle that there was a Japanese "sphere of influence" in Manchuria and Mongolia within the limits of which the consortium did not apply, the Japanese Government reluctantly assented to withdraw its special claims and enter the consortium on the same terms as the other Powers. It then remained to be seen how the Harding Administration would view the question. American bankers wrote to Secretary Hughes for his official sanction, and he replied:

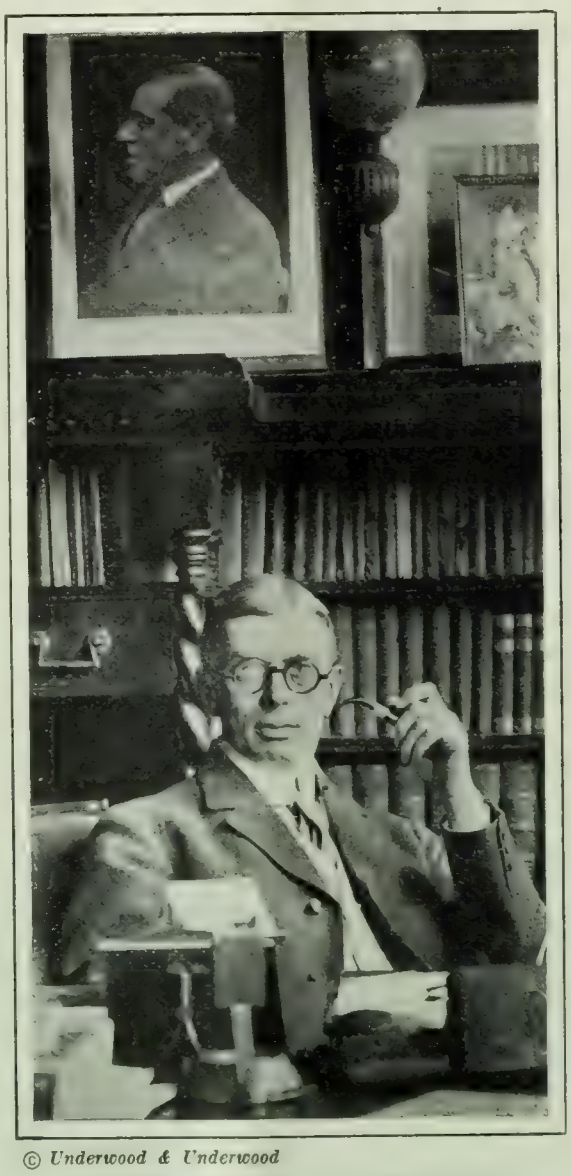
I have received the letter of March 10, 1921, in which you request that I advise you whether the policy of the Department of State, in encouraging American interests in the assistance of China thru the operations of the international consortium, is in accord with my views and therefore receives my approval; and in which you state that the operations of the consortium are in no way designed to interfere with the private initiative of our nationals or those of any other country, that it does not propose to undertake any mercantile, industrial, or banking projects, put plans only to help China in the establishment of her great public utilities, such as the building of her railways, canals, etc., thereby assisting in stabilizing China economically and financially, and making that field a safer one for the initiative of our citizens in private enterprizes in commerce, industry, etc.

In reply I am happy to advise you that the principle of this coöperative effort for the assistance of China has the approval of this government, which is hopeful that the consortium constituted for this purpose will be effective in assisting the Chinese people in their efforts toward a greater unity and stability, and in affording to individual enterprises of all nationalities equality of commercial and industrial opportunity and a wider field of activity in the economic development of China.

## Harvey for England

GEORGE Harvey has been chosen to represent the United States as Ambassador to Great Britain. This is the most important post in the diplomatic service of the United States, not only because there is no nation of the old world with such dominating political and economic power as Great Britain, but even more because the problems which arise between Great Britain and the United States are exceptionally numerous and complex. Some of the prominent Americans who have held this position in the past were James Monroe, Martin Van Buren, John Quincy Adams, Edward Everett, George Bancroft, Charles Francis Adams, John Lothrop Motley, James Russell Lowell, John Hay and Joseph Choate. Mr. Harvey succeeds John W. Davis.

Mr. Harvey, tho born in the most consistently Republican state in the Union —Vermont—has for most of his career been a Democrat, and many Republicans felt that President Harding had overstepped the party line in appointing him. Like President Harding, his public life has been devoted mainly to journalism. He was at various times editor of *The North American Review*, *Harper's Weekly* and *Harvey's Weekly*. He obtained the title of "Colonel" Harvey, by which he is best known, by service on the staff of the Governor of New Jersey. He took an active interest in the politics of New Jersey and of the United States and was one of the first to see "presidential timber" in Woodrow Wilson when he was plain "Professor Wilson" of Princeton. Altho he did a great deal to bring about the selection of Mr. Wilson as Democratic nominee in 1912, he speedily repented of his work and opposed President Wilson in the campaign of 1916 with extreme bitterness. He favored the cause of the Allies in the Great War, but he disliked the Treaty of Peace and particularly the plan for the League of Nations. Thruout the prolonged debate on the Treaty question he was the most violent of "bitter enders" and attacked the Wilson Administration on nearly every point of foreign and domestic policy. He supported President Harding for nomination and for election in 1920.



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COLONEL HARVEY AS AMBASSADOR?

**It is unofficially stated that President Harding has chosen George Harvey, better known as "Colonel" or as the editor of *Harvey's Weekly*, to fill the important post of United States Ambassador to Great Britain. Colonel Harvey is a Democrat and was one of the first men to foresee Prof. Woodrow Wilson's future political career, but before President Wilson had been in office long Colonel Harvey was one of his bitterest critics and opponents, and he did much to turn the recent election in favor of President Harding**

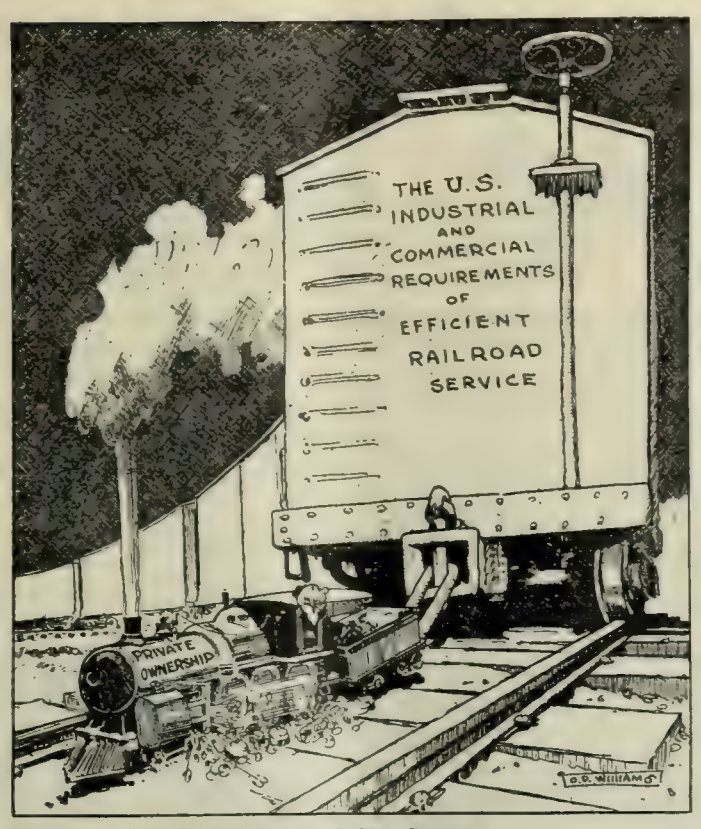
## Hard Times for the Railroads

THE Federal Government is trying its hand at the railroad wage and rate question in the hope of reaching standards sufficiently satisfactory to the shippers, the companies and the employees as to avert a strike. Of course, the details of adjustment of wages must be worked out by the Railroad Labor Board, and the details of adjustment of rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission. President Harding's part has been to act as general mediator and peacemaker thru personal conference with representatives of the different interests affected. Mr. Jewell, on behalf of the Federation of Labor, has requested the President to go a step further and bring about a general, formal conference "between the railway executives as they are organized nationally and the railroad employees as they are organized nationally to undertake to compose the differences on all points in dispute." As a first step toward revision of rates, the Interstate Commerce Commission has recommended a reduction of three cents a bushel on grain and grain products for export east of Chicago.

Senator Cummins of Iowa, one of the authors of the Transportation Act under which the railroads of the country are now administered, declared in a recent statement to the Chamber of Commerce that he intends to "submit to the Senate a resolution proposing the broadest sort of investigation." He said that while the railroads were in very serious straits they could not look for relief to new increases of freight rates "if for no other reason than that another general advance in rates would probably diminish rather than enlarge the net railway income" by diminishing the volume of traffic. There were left only two ways in which the situation could be relieved, by increasing the volume of traffic and by reducing operating expenses. "Statistics very clearly show that while the volume of traffic for the last ten months of 1920, taken as a whole, was greater than during the same period in 1919, or indeed, at any former similar period, yet, beginning as early as November and proceeding rapidly to the present moment, there has been a tremendous diminution in traffic." For the whole period of March 1, 1920, to December 31 operating expenses

of all classes of railroads almost exactly equalled operating revenues; the net operating income amounting to about one-fifteenth of one per cent of the estimated value of the railroads. There was an actual deficit for April, May, June, July and August of 1920. Increased rates gave a slight temporary surplus for the rest of the year, which decreasing traffic has since wiped out.

The chief cause of excessive operating costs, according to the railroad executives, is the continuance of wartime wage scales. Statistics published by the Association of Railway Executives show the following "race" between average wages and increased living costs; taking the year 1914 as the standard:




*Williams in New York American © Star Company*

**Outgrown by the job**

| Year | Per cent increase in railroad wages | Per cent increase in cost of living |
|---|---|---|
| 1915 (Dec.) | 1.83 | 2.0 |
| 1916 (Dec.) | 9.31 | 15.0 |
| 1917 (Dec.) | 23.04 | 32.2 |
| 1918 (Dec.) | 73.89 | 69.3 |
| 1919 (Dec.) | 81.74 | 93.5 |
| 1920 (June) | 121.32 | 113.0 |
| 1920 (Dec.) | 134.07 | 94.5 |

It will be noticed that until the last year of the war the cost of living was rising more rapidly than the average level of railroad wages. It is therefore unjust to accuse the railroad employees of war profiteering. Only during the latter part of 1920, when prices began to fall, was there a wide margin between the wage level and the price level. Taking the war period as a whole, the railwaymen have just about held their own. But at that they have been more fortunate than their employers, whose profits have, in many cases, disappeared entirely, so that the companies have had to subsist on hope and credit or fall into the hands of receivers.

What the unions contend, is that the present excessive operating expenses are due in part to inefficient management as well as to high wages. Mr. Lauck, consulting economist for the unions, estimates that improved equipment and saving of material would reduce railroad expenses by about a billion dollars a year. Whether this be true or not, the railwaymen believe it, and insist that if lower freight rates and higher dividends are to be reached by way of reduced expenses all of the saving should not come out of the pockets of the employees.

## Peonage and Murder

THE Independent does not deal in its news columns with murders, however sensational, unless some very prominent individual has been assassinated or unless the crime draws attention to the general conditions which produced it. It is for the latter reason that mention is here made of the murder of eleven negroes on the plantation of John S. Williams in Jasper County, Georgia. The negroes in question were victims of the system of "peonage," which Federal and State authorities are now endeavoring to stamp out. In order to keep the negroes submissive, methods of terrorism were adopted involving the killing of the recalcitrant. This went on for some time before the facts came to light, but now Williams faces trial on the charge of murder and an investigation is in progress which may reveal atrocities of similar character elsewhere.

Peonage is of two types. There is legalized peonage, which is a development of the criminal law. By this system convicts instead of being compelled to work under official supervision in the penitentiaries are "farmed out" to private employers who pay for the privilege of using gangs of convict labor. This is an economical system, but it leads easily to serious abuses; for example, there is a tendency to arrest a negro on some trivial charge, such as vagrancy, and turn him over to a farmer who is short of labor. In this way, something very much resembling slavery, or at least serfdom, can be brought about. The other type of peonage is compelling a debtor to work out his debt. By extending easy credit to shiftless, improvident rural negroes a condition of indebtedness is created and the accumulation of interest on the original debt, plus the continuous contracting of new debts, renders it impossible for the debtor to clear himself until he has rendered many months of unpaid labor. This form of peonage is against the law of the United States and renders the employer liable to prosecution. It prevailed very widely in Mexico under the Diaz régime and was a leading cause of the Mexican revolution.

Vincent Hughes of the Department of Justice gives the following account of the peonage system and of the local attitude toward it:

> The technical crime of peonage is only committed when involuntary servitude exists on a basis of debts, and many negroes are held in servitude thru fear and other coercion, perhaps more so than for debt.
>
> Judging from the complaints we receive, a far greater part of Georgia is free from the practise, which seems to center in two or three sore spots where social conditions are less advanced. Most of the peonage victims are country negroes. The tenants usually buy food at the tenant commissaries. I have no hesitation in saying that the number of complaints reaching us concerning negroes of this class has increased markedly lately. I believe that the condition of the cotton market has something to do with it, for with most of the farmers holding last year's crop the temptation to avoid paying out money is very strong, while at the same time they need labor.
>
> My impression is that the bulk of Georgia white residents are guiltless of intentional violations of the peonage law, just as my experience leads me to believe that the bulk of white citizens are whole-heartedly back of our efforts to stamp out peonage.




*© New York Evening Post*

**Justice shows the South our national disgrace in the survival of peonage for Georgia negroes**

# A Little of Everything



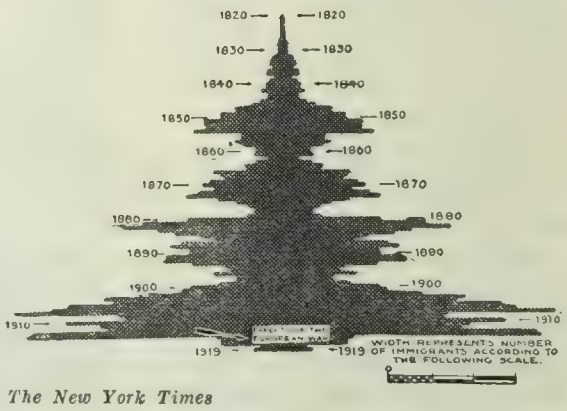
## The Importance of Being Dizzy

Probably everyone nowadays is familiar with the theory that the organ of equilibrium is located in the semicircular canals in the ear. If you have a normal sense of equilibrium and a healthy pair of ears you have probably never given a thought to the connection between the two. But what about the deaf person? If hearing is impaired, does the sense of equilibrium suffer too? The question suggests itself at once. Professor William James, in *Collected Essays and Reviews,* published recently by Longmans, Green & Company, gives in a chapter on the sense of dizziness an account of a variety of interesting experiments bringing out the connection between deafness and giddiness under different circumstances.

He started with the surmise that he would find in deaf-mute asylums an unusual proportion of persons with a subnormal capacity for giddiness—in other words, with an impaired sense of equilibrium, since dizziness, however unpleasant, is only the normal organism's protest against too rough and violent a disturbing of the center of gravity. Tests were given to 519 deaf-mutes; of these 186 were totally incapable of dizziness from being whirled rapidly around and generally upset, and 134 could be made only very slightly dizzy. On the other hand, out of 200 students and instructors in Harvard College who were tested only one failed to be dizzy. The tests were quite drastic enough—this one, for instance, familiar to every child: the subject was seated in a swing with tightly twisted ropes and allowed to whirl; when the ropes had done their worst the subject was released and told to walk straight to a certain designated object—normally an impossible thing to do. From the figures it is interestingly apparent, without going into the finer developments of Professor James's research, that there is some connection between subnormal hearing capacity and subnormal capacity for giddiness.

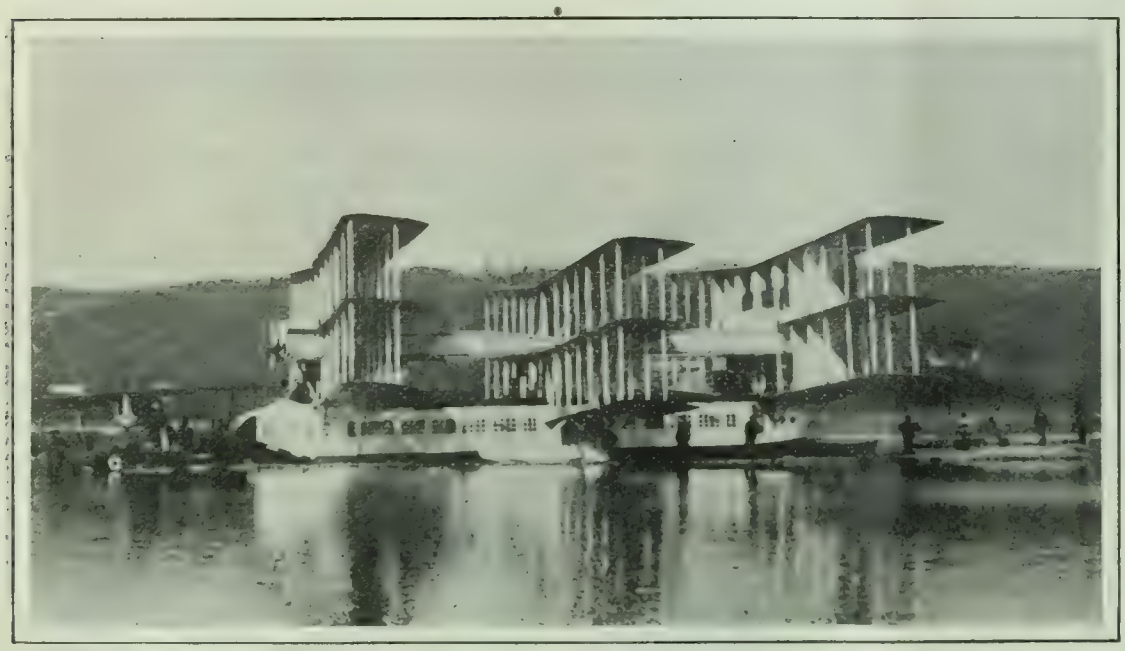
There are a number of curious consequences of this condition. Experiment seems to indicate that deaf people are less subject to seasickness and carsickness than other people, wherever the motor disturbance is not complicated by other upsetting factors that affect anyone—such as bad air. Deaf people are subnormally incapable of giddiness produced by strong electric currents sent through the head—the severest of tests. Perhaps most alarming to the imagination is the thing that happens to the deaf person who dives under water. Everyone knows the disagreeable experience of waking at night in an unfamiliar room and being unable to locate one's self in relation to doors, windows, furniture. This might be called being "lost horizontally." Imagine how much more painful are the deaf person's sensations when, diving under water, he has no visible objects to guide him, and finds himself, in the absence of a sense of equilibrium, "lost vertically"—that is, not knowing up from down—as well as lost every other way. Many curious experiences are on record. One man nearly drowned trying frantically to reach the surface, and found afterward that he had been swimming all the time with his head half out of water. Another turned a somersault in water only two feet deep. "Instantly," he said, "I seemed to be in water fathoms deep, facing a cliff which I was trying to climb up with my hands and feet. I pawed and pawed but could not rise, neither could I sink."

Professor James's experiments did not pretend to establish any invariable rules; for, of course, variety results from special psychological states in the subjects, different physiological causes of deafness, and a general lack of uniformity of attending circumstances.




*The New York Times*

**This is history, not a Christmas tree. The width of the chart at any point represents the amount of immigration in the corresponding year. The general inference from an observation of the fluctuating tide of immigration seems to be that a decrease in the immigrant rate always follows immediately upon a period of industrial and financial depression. For instance, notice the great decrease in 1854 and '55, reflecting the greatest financial panic that up to that time the United States had been thru. This should reassure those who fear an alarming immigrant flood with the promise that for the next few years at least the immigration problem will take care of itself. The scale of this chart is about 300,000 immigrants to one-half inch of width**



© *Keystone View*

**The transatlantic hydro-airplane, at last. The only thing now is to find 100 passengers game enough to take the trip. For the winged monster has actually cabin accommodations for 100 people. This largest machine of its kind in the world is really three triplanes hitched together, equipped with eight Liberty engines developing 3200 horse power; a flight of about 5000 miles without replenishing the tanks is a possibility. The machine was built by Caproni Brothers of Milan. About a year ago The Independent published a photograph of the then largest passenger airplane, built also by Caproni Brothers; it could carry thirty people!**

## A Chat Across the World

A wireless operator on board his ship, bound from Mexico to New York, was finding time heavy on his hands, one Sunday not long ago. Suddenly he heard a voice speaking, over his shoulder, as it were. At first he thought it was his own captain, in the next cabin; and finding no one anywhere about, suspected that a trick was being played on him. Finally he picked up the re-

ceiving instrument of the wireless telephone, and happened in on a conversation, perfectly audible, between New York and the steamer "Gloucester," ninety miles off New York. This was the colossal game that then developed, with the eavesdropping operator at breathless attention.

New York called Pittsburgh over land wires, and asked Pittsburgh to reach the "Gloucester" by wireless telephone, which was done successfully. Then in the same way New York called in rapid succession Chicago; Davenport, Iowa; Omaha, Nebraska; Cheyenne, Wyoming; Salt Lake City; Winnemucca, Nevada; Los Angeles and San Francisco. And at each point, all the way across the country to the coast, connection was made and conversation carried on with the "Gloucester," floating in the Atlantic Ocean. Finally New York got Catalina Island, in the Pacific off the coast of California, connected it with the "Gloucester," and there ensued some easy casual talk between two mere humans, one stationed in the Pacific Ocean and the other in the Atlantic. Talk about the weather was exchanged, revealing that Catalina Island had a temperature of 74 degrees and a thunder storm in progress, while the "Gloucester," ice-covered, was fighting a heavy snowstorm. The entertainment closed with the Pacific operator playing some talking machine records to the man on the "Gloucester," with fine musical effect —to which, doubtless, distance only lent enchantment.

## Kindlings

A whaling station near British Columbia has caught a whale with hind legs projecting four feet from the body near the tail.

***

Hundreds of girls are now coming from Central Europe to marry men in this country they have never seen. A friend picks out the future husband.

***

The Red Cross reports that Decatur, Illinois, has the lowest infant mortality rate of any city in the Federal census area. Good news for Illinois babies.

***

During 1920 the number of lives lost in the coal mining industry decreased from 2146, the 1919 figure, to 1983, altho there was an increase in coal output of 16 per cent.

***

The only woman's publishing house in America, run entirely by women, with women as buying agents, sales managers, and directors, is located in New York City in connection with the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.

***

The Department of Agriculture has sent a botanist on a 9000 mile trip to obtain seeds of new varieties of plants from eastern Africa. Seeds of 1600 species were collected and many of these are expected to flourish on American soil.

***

Representative Small has been giving each child in the family of Mr. Bland, a North Carolina farmer, a suit of clothes. When the thirty-fourth child was born he announced that the bargain was "off" and that he would buy no more suits.

## The Shortest Story

### By J. Viccars Collyer

Chapter 1. Maid One.
Chapter 2. Maid Won.
Chapter 3. Made One.

## Those Queer Folk of 1921

According to *The Manchester Guardian* the manager of a great London building then in process of erection wrote to H. G. Wells, the novelist, to inquire what he should put inside the cornerstone. It has long been the convention for builders to place in the cornerstone of public buildings a few newspapers or relics, but this man was not satisfied. He had read in Mr. Wells's history of the world that it was difficult to get really significant evidence of the daily life of ancient ages from the relics which time and chance had preserved for us. So he asked what objects of small compass would give the world of three thousand years hence the best idea of twentieth century civilization. Mr. Wells replied:

Probably commonplace things with their current prices will be of as much value as anything. Safety razor, cotton reel, bottle of pickles and that sort of thing. Shoolbred's catalog, pre-war and post-war. Samples of patent medicines and what they profess to cure. Dietary of ordinary citizen; typewriter, a sewing machine, and so forth. Dressing bag with fittings. Current book on How to Behave. A kinema reel of current events. Whitaker's Almanack and Bradshaw's Continental timetables (pre-war and post-war). Baedeker's England. Town maps and plans.

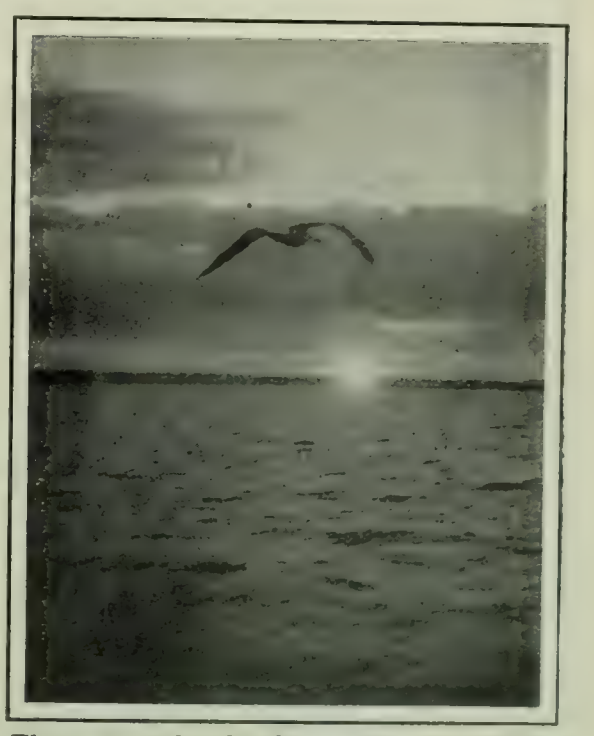
## Daylight All the Time

It would be interesting to know what mental picture most people have of "the Midnight Sun." The chances are that more than a few times it is a sort of lurid Day of Judgment effect, a fiery red ball of sun accidentally bursting into the middle of the night, in spite of one's conscious knowledge that it is simply an ordinary sun that turns night into ordinary day. That is, if it is possible for night to be just ordinary day.

Every year a crowd of tourists take the coast steamers to northern Norway. Very few go actually to the North Cape, where the sun does not set from the twelfth of May to the twenty-ninth of July, a longer time than at any other place in Norway. But at different points along the way, when the weather permits and no mountains obstruct the horizon, it is possible to watch the whole process—the sun sloping gradually toward the horizon, pausing, resting, rising again, never out of sight for a moment.

This is interesting anywhere; but perhaps the most beautiful way to see it is from a hill that rises behind Hammerfest, the northernmost town in Europe. There are mountains everywhere to interfere with a clear view to the horizon; so the sun does actually go out of sight for a few moments and you cannot say, therefore, that you have seen the Midnight Sun. But just on that account you are able to give due attention to a scene of great beauty. You climb the hill a little before twelve at night, in the clear, cool light of late afternoon. When you turn to the view with the further rise of your own hill behind you, you look out in every other direction across a wide curve of the blue fjord to long masses of dazzling mountains, tier on tier, and peak on peak, covered with glacial ice and snow. And you follow the progress of the sun's sinking, pausing, rising, only by watching the mountain ice and snow take on color, jeweled and intense, that grows, blazes at its hight, deepens to somberness, lightens and blazes again, and pales out once more into daylight. While standing there on the clear high hillside, you could have sworn that you felt the breeze of sunset freshen suddenly into a breeze of dawn.

But tho all this is very nice while it happens—imagine existing without night to dispose of one day and give a fresh start to another. You come down from your hillside and into the town of Hammerfest, and you are oppressed with a sense of daylight left over and stale. You feel enervated, futile. There seems no point in going to bed, and you want still less to stay up. The curious thing is that the natives themselves,



There is only the heavy-winged bird to show that it is midnight

who might be expected to get used to it, seem to be affected as you are. You walk, at half-past twelve at night, thru the meager ragged street of the town between rickety frame houses painted bleak light blue or yellow or green. Idle women are hanging out of their front doors or over their fences; men are smoking by the road and dogs are wrangling half-heartedly at their feet. You leave the center of the town, and pass a group of men sitting by the roadside in midnight carouse with their beer bottles, in the stale incongruous daylight. You go indoors and pull down the blinds, and long for some good old-fashioned night.

# DO THE TEACHINGS OF

## *America's foremost thinkers will discuss this theme*

THE YEAR 1921 is to be The Christian Century's greatest year. More than two score of the nation's foremost religious and ethical thinkers will conduct a thorough-going and unhampered discussion of the place Jesus Christ holds in the life of our times. Here is an example:

## *The Mind of Jesus and the Competitive System*

will be discussed by

**Robert Hunter,** Spokesman for submerged humanity, author of "Poverty," "Why We Fail as Christians."

**Roger Babson,** America's influential adviser of business men, author of "Religion and Business."

**Harry F. Ward,** Constructive radical, professor of Christian Ethics, author of "A Better Industrial Order."

**Scott Nearing,** Socialist authority, a fearless agitator who believes in religion and the ethics of Jesus.

This single group alone makes The Christian Century indispensable to any man or woman who feels how urgent and how basic the industrial question is in religious and social progress. But these writers will represent only one of the many aspects of the great theme. The list of participants is a growing one. Each week adds a new stellar name to the brilliant galaxy. At this moment the writers and their themes are:

**William Adams Brown**
Theologian and Missionary Statesman.
*"Can Society be Made Christian?"*

**Peter Ainslie**
Church Statesman and Mystic.
*"Would Christ Approve the War?"*

**Jane Addams**
America's Foremost Woman.
*"Christ and War."*

**Joseph Ernest McAfee**
Prophet of Religious Democracy.
*"Are Christian Missions Christian?"*

**Martha Foote Crow**
Interpreter of Religion and Literature.
*"Christ in Present Day Poetry."*

**Charles E. Jefferson**
Preacher and Author.
*"Are the Churches Christian?"*

**Herbert Croly**
Editor The New Republic.
*"The Problem of Religious Education."*

**H. D. C. Maclachlan**
Scholar and Pastor.
*Subject Not Yet Announced.*

**John Kelman**
Scotch Preacher Adopted by America.
*Subject Not Yet Announced.*

**Edward Scribner Ames**
Preacher and Philosopher.
*"Affinities Between Modern Philosophy and Jesus' Mind."*

**Finis S. Idleman**
Preacher of Grace and Power.
*Subject to be Announced.*

**Vida D. Scudder**
Churchwoman and Socialist Leader.
*"Can Public Opinion be Christianized?"*

**John Spargo**
Socialist-Philosopher and Publicist.
*"Religion and Social Progress."*

**Robert E. Park**
Professor of Sociology.
*"The Black Man, the White Man and Christ."*

**William E. Barton**
A Counsellor of Souls.
*"Would Christ Find Affinity With Modern Spiritualism?"*

**Walter Williams**
President Press Congress of the World.
*"Christ and Modern Journalism."*

**Albert Parker Fitch**
A Vital Theologian.
*"Do the Churches Really Believe in Jesus?"*

**Joseph Fort Newton**
Preacher of International Sympathies.
*"Is Our Literature Christless?"*

**Edgar DeWitt Jones**
Preacher and Shepherd of Men.
*"Dare We Be Christians?"*

**Robert E. Speer**
Most Potent Spiritual Influence in the American Church.
*"Christ and Our Social Customs."*

**Lynn Harold Hough**
Brilliant Preacher and Teacher.
*"Is Science Foe or Friend of Christ?"*

**Richard L. Swain**
A Writer Who Thinks of God in Terms of Life.
*"Can Christ Rule Modern Business?"*

**Charles Henry Dickinson**
Authority on Religious Education.
*"Do We Really Know What Were the Ideals of Jesus?"*

**Peter Clark Macfarlane**
Novelist and Short Story Writer.
*"Is the Church Christian?"*

**Lloyd C. Douglas**
Equally Brilliant as Preacher and Writer.
*"Christ as a Practical Psychologist."*

**Rufus M. Jones**
Modern Exponent of Quaker Ideals.
*"War and the Teaching of Jesus."*

**Francis J. McConnell**
A Bishop Who Is Also a Prophet.
*"Are Christian Missions Christian?"*

**Katharine Lee Bates**
Poet, Critic, Prophet.
*"Christians or Pharisees?"*

**Burris Jenkins**
Preacher and Newspaper Editor.
*Subject to be Announced.*

**Charles A. Ellwood**
Sociologist.
*"Is Our Civilization Christian?"*

**Shailer Mathews**
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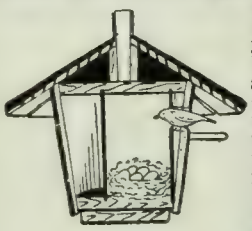
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If you do, please keep in mind that it will not be necessary to get your copies ready for the bindery until the end of June. Beginning with the 1921 issues, our publication will be indexed and bound in two volumes instead of four. The index for volume 105, which will cover from January 1st to June 30th, will be printed in July and mailed to the subscribers who requested it as soon as it is off the press. With the changed plan it will be necessary to get copies ready for binding but twice a year, and there will be two bindery bills to pay instead of four. Further than this, it will be more convenient to refer to two volumes instead of four.

# Big Ideas From Big Business

(*Continued from page 396*)

author of national reputation, other professional men of high standing who were doing bigger work, for better pay, in the Swift employ than previous positions had afforded opportunity to develop. More and more, business will demand the knowledge and skill of scientists and artists of many kinds.

7. *The pleasure of money is not in having or spending it.* The pleasure is in getting it—and giving it away. Money rewards the exercize of keen brains and quick wits, but the real fun is in the exercize. I don't know of a single self-made millionaire who puts money first. There is always something bigger and better than money in his mind.

As for his heart, that is where he *gives* the most. The heart of Judge Gary is in the manifold benefits he creates for the employees of U. S. Steel. The heart of John Wanamaker is in the John Wanamaker Foundation, a beneficial organization for Wanamaker workers; and in the international Sunday School forces that he set in motion. The heart of Julius Rosenwald is in the schools he established for poor boys and girls, and the relief work he founded among the Jews. The heart of Harold F. McCormick is in the free education he gives to farmers, and the uplifting music he provides for the people of Chicago. The heart of Howard Heinz is in the Sarah Heinz Community House, maintained by him as a living memorial to his mother. The heart of every great man is in some philanthropy made possible only by his money.

8. *A family heritage of wealth alone is the worst kind.* Most parents think they are good to their children if they leave a large bank-roll, easily accessible. Others foolishly magnify the bestowal of a college education, or social position, or some other inheritance not earned, and not valued because not earned.

Founders of great business enterprizes know better. They bequeath to their sons a personal equipment of aims, principles and methods which make real men of the scions of wealth. When I asked Howard Heinz, president of the H. J. Heinz Company, to describe the ideal business man, he answered simply, "My father." When I asked him to outline his own secret of success and purpose in life, he answered, "The fulfilment of my father's plans for industrial and social betterment, by carrying out faithfully the principles he laid down for the conduct of the business."

9. *Age is nothing to a live man.* When a person gets old the calendar is not to blame—he was born dead from the heart out and the neck up.

John H. Patterson was of middle age before he really started the National Cash Register Company. He had no experience in the business either, having been a country storekeeper without personal knowledge of engineering or manufacturing. But he got a purpose—and forgot everything else. Whoever does that is young till he dies. It is never too late to make a fresh start in life.

The men who grow immortal have stopped counting birthdays. J. Pierpont Morgan, James J. Hill, Henry Ford, Elbert Hubbard, Walt Mason, Dr. Frank Crane, many others in places of high renown, didn't really get going till past forty.

This is the world-age of young old men. Look at Judge Gary, John Wanamaker, John D. Rockefeller, Chauncey M. Depew, Thomas A. Edison, Bishop Samuel Fallows, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, scores of other leaders who, seventy to eighty-five years old, think, feel and act like men twenty years their juniors.

10. *The most powerful preacher is, or can be, the lay preacher.*

The business manager of Gary, Indiana, the world's largest industrial city, preaches nearly every Sunday. He is called upon by the pastors and priests of churches of a dozen different faiths and nationalities, whose members are employees of the U. S. Steel Corporation, to address the congregations in some helpful, appropriate way. Because he is a fine business man, with power, skill and money back of him, the men of the city want to hear what he has to say. And because he is a gentleman, kind, thoughtful, and sympathetic, the women of the church listen gladly to his lay sermons.

I look forward to the day when professional sermonizers will be considered a relic of past incompetence, and in their place will be men who are personal vitalizers and organizers.

11. *Charity must be cleansed of poverty and sentimentality.* You are not kind to the poor when you merely give them food, clothes or money. You pauperize them when they most need energizing, organizing and reorganizing.

A leading official of Sears, Roebuck & Company hates "welfare work." He says the company won't do any. Why? Because (1) the company refuses to pose as a philanthropist, socialist, or fairy godfather; (2) a self-respecting employee hates being "welfared" by his employer; (3) charity and business don't go together; (4) the majority of welfare workers are officious, crude, paternalistic and unscientific, out of place in business; and (5) employers need welfare work, perhaps of a different kind, as much as employees, and a one-sided program of such voluntary philanthropy is unwise and unfair.

This man claims that whatever improves the health, happiness, home life or future progress of the worker improves the work, and should be considered a straight business proposition. He believes that commercialism should include idealism and fraternalism, but without mention of the fact.

12. *Industry will finally be the*

*savior of the community.* We hear much about a decadence of morality and increase of crime. Now the person who gets into mischief and goes astray was doing nothing, or the wrong thing, or the right thing badly. Put everybody in the work he loves, teach him how to do it well, and treat him and reward him fairly; then you take away the chief components of wrongdoing, which are idleness, irresponsibility, loneliness and curiosity, aided and abetted by a consciousness of misfitness. Thomas A. Edison remarks that he never had time to break a moral law.

Even now, the brightest and best spot in the community of such corporations as U. S. Steel, National Cash Register Company, National City Bank, Heinz, McCormick or du Pont is generally the community house or center founded, built and maintained by the corporation. Happiness for a human being lies in his work or nowhere. And the way to make people good is to make them know they are good for something.

*New York*

## Goin' Fishin'

(*Continued from page 397*)

will balance the rod; the reader understands, no doubt, that the reel should weigh approximately once and a half as much as the rod. To illustrate: a three-ounce rod, in order to balance perfectly, will require a reel weighing in the neighborhood of four and one-half ounces. But try the proportion out for yourself and see if it does not settle that whole matter, over which there is so much discussion, of balance and "fit." The line should be enameled, double or single tapered, if you can afford it, of a size to preserve the unities. So much for tackle. I am not going to discuss flies, for that would require pages and pages, the last word never being said upon the question. My best all around fly is the Royal Coachman, with Wickham's Fancy a close second, and crowding hard after the Fancy is the Black Prince. But enough, or I *will* be discussing flies after all.

After all, the big thing is to go fishing. I can never forget that when that early group of Disciples were discouraged and distraught, one, wiser than his companions, said quietly, "I go fishing." When the cares of life press, business irks, and everything is awry, go fishing, go trout fishing. Seek out some stream where the trout lily blooms, and the speckled beauties are either "jumping crazy for the fly," as friend Kipling puts it, or may be inveigled from the seldom pools with a despised garden hackle. Even if you succeed in taking no fish would it be such a catastrophe? Some of my best days have been my days of failure. Make the most of that. The important thing is to get out where the free breezes blow and the anodyne of God's Out-o'-Doors can cure your restlessness, and with its gentle blandishments smooth out the wrinkles of care.

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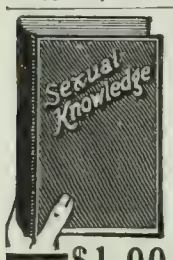
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# Ye Ad and Ye Ed

(*Continued from page 398*)

meant to imply that journalism cannot be taught in a school or only that the present teachers of journalism happen to be defectives, I do not know. But it is quite evident that by the establishment of schools to teach it, journalism has at last become recognized as one of the learned professions. According to "The Coming Newspaper" there were in 1915 thirty-nine universities offering journalism courses with a faculty of seventy-two teachers and 2040 students. These differ one from another in more respects than you would suppose. In the Columbia School of Journalism, for instance, which was endowed with $2,000,000 by the late Joseph Pulitzer, the students practice writing without publishing. They are given such assignments as reviewing the newest plays, covering explosions in the subway and reporting Bolshevist meetings, just as the reporters of the metropolitan papers do. They write up their assignments, which are criticized by the professors in class the next day. Not so, however, in the Universities of Kansas and Missouri. There the Schools of Journalism, and not a miscellaneous body of undergraduates from all the departments, publish the college paper. Indeed the college paper of the University of Missouri became so successful that the Legislature had to forbid it printing advertizements because it was running out of business the professional daily papers published in the city of Columbia. Dartmouth College, tho it has no school of journalism, publishes a magazine, *The Third Rail,* under the auspices of the department of English. Its contributions consist of the best editorials and essays written as classroom requirements by the students. As a pedagogical exercize it seems to me that the Dartmouth, Missouri and Kansas way is much better than the Columbia way. I can illustrate what I mean by comparing the practice of the engineering schools of Cornell and the University of Illinois. When I was at Cornell I noticed that after the student in engineering had built a gasoline engine he took it apart again and then his successor repeated the process. But in Illinois after the student had built his engine he shipped it home and had it set up in the paternal barn where it sawed the wood, pumped the water and milked the cows. Can there be any doubt as to which student took greater interest in his work and which received greater educational stimulus? The student who sees his product published in a paper and read by his fellow-students will do twice as well as the man who simply practices for a professor's criticism. But these schools of journalism in the western states are not simply concerned in instructing youths. They attempt to make the whole state their classroom. For instance, in May, 1914, the University of Kansas announced a short course in journalism for all the editors of the state. Two hundred and fifty-one state editors enrolled at the University for the week's work and all reported that the schooling was an unqualified success. Far-famed editors and publishers were imported from all over the country to instruct them and many a Kansas editor no doubt dates his editorial rebirth from that week. I advise, therefore, any student who is going into journalism as a life career by all means to take a course in one of the journalism schools. Graduates of such schools are in as much demand as graduates of an agricultural college are in demand on the farm, for it has been found that these graduates generally make good.

# When Our Union Was Young

(*Continued from page 402*)

visions of the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution and the Covenant are not identical, they are so similar that it may properly be said that the same foundation is laid for the League, as now constituted, that was laid for the original Union in 1777, and that was retained and somewhat broadened when the present Union was constructed in 1787. It was in the superstructures erected on this foundation and in the powers granted to the new Union that the Constitution departed substantially from the provisions of the Articles of Confederation.

The principle of equality of representation for each state was retained in part only, thru the substitution of a Congress with two houses instead of one, each state to have equal representation in one house and representation proportionate to its population in the other. The voting in each house is by the individual members, instead of by states, unless the election of a President or Vice-President should fall to the House of Representatives. In that case the vote is to be by states, each state having one vote, as was the rule under the Articles of Confederation.

The Committee of the States was completely done away with. But Congress has power to appoint any committees it deems proper and to provide for their sittings between sessions if it so desires. The Chief Executive, however, an entirely new official, was given authority which largely does away with the need of a continuous session of the Congress, either as a whole or as represented by a committee of the states. In the choice of the Chief Executive, each state has a voice equivalent to the sum of its equal representation in the Senate and its proportionate representation in the House.

Aside from these few fundamental differences, the two Unions created by

the Articles of Confederation and by the present Constitution are alike in all fundamental respects. The main difference is the amount of power granted to the United States under the new Constitution, and of course in the machinery provided for its use. The Congress, under the Constitution, has power to make laws for the regulation of commerce and intercourse between the states and with foreign nations. Intercourse and commerce can be carried on by our citizens thruout the Union, as a matter of right. Congress can regulate, but cannot prevent, this freedom of commerce and intercourse for all our citizens thruout the area of the Union. Neither the Congress under the Confederation nor the Council or Assembly under the League have any such power. And while there are a number of powers enumerated as granted to the present Congress that were not granted to Congress under the Articles, this one power, coupled with the power of taxation, is probably the most important granted to the new Union that had been withheld from the Confederation. It is possession of this power and of the power of taxation which establishes our present Union as a *government*. It is the lack of these powers which prevents the League from being a government, just as their absence from the Articles prevented the Confederation from being a government. That fact was found to be the chief defect of the Confederation. It is claimed by some who think they are proper if not the most worthy advocates of the League, to be one of its chief excellencies.

This is a hasty survey of the Constitution, in its relation to the Articles of Confederation and to the Covenant of the League, but it suffices to show that certain fundamental principles are the basis of all three of the Unions created by these historic documents. Finding that the League has as its foundation these distinctively American principles, the way is cleared, it seems to me, for ascertaining what changes are needed to make that organization acceptable to us and not objectionable to the nations that have already ratified the Covenant.

---

Jones—I want to do something big and clean before I die.

Groans—Wash an elephant.—*Purple Cow.*

Arthur swallowed whole a turnip.
His distress he could not cloak.
Mother ran to aid him, shouting,
"Tell me, will my Artichoke?"
—*Princeton Tiger.*

"Why do you turn out for every road hog that comes along?" said the missus, rather crossly. "The right of way is ours, isn't it?"

"Oh, undoubtedly!" answered he, calmly. "As for our turning out, the reason is plainly suggested in this epitaph which appeared in a newspaper recently:

"Here lies the body of William Jay,
Who died maintaining his right of way;
He was right, dead right, as he sped along,
But he's just as dead as if he'd been wrong."—*Boston Transcript.*


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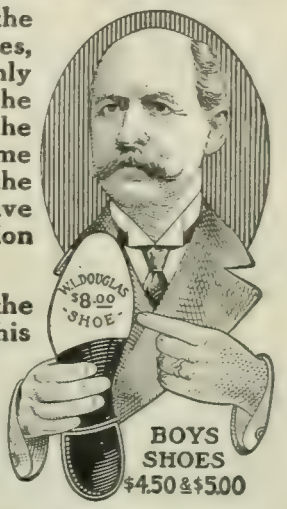
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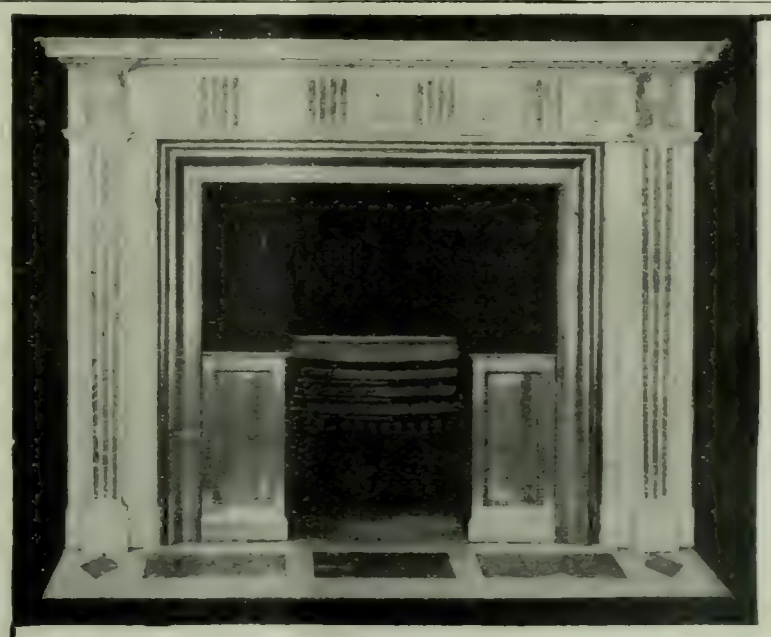
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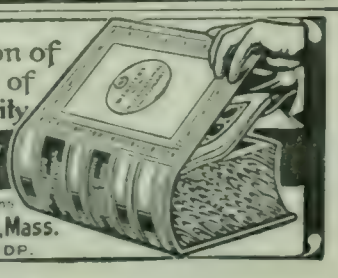
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**311 Sixth Avenue** **New York**



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The Independent, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for **April 1, 1921.**

State of New York, } ss.
County of New York, }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Frederic E. Dickinson, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Secretary of Independent Corporation, owner of The Independent, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, Independent Corporation; Editor, Hamilton Holt; Managing Editor, Hannah H. White; Business Managers, none, all of 311 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is Independent Corporation, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Names and addresses of stockholders holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of stock: Charles B. Alexander, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Wesley W. Ferrin, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Hamilton Holt, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Halsey Malone, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Ruthrauff & Ryan, Inc., 404 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Estate of Jacob H. Schiff, 52 William Street, New York, N. Y. The Stadacona Company, 99 John Street, New York, N. Y., a corporation, the capital stock of which is all owned by the Estate of James Douglas. Names and addresses of stockholders owning 1% or more of the total amount of stock of Ruthrauff & Ryan, Inc., F. B. Ryan, Mrs. F. B. Ryan, W. B. Ruthrauff, Mrs. W. B. Ruthrauff, A. C. Doornbos, all of 404 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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INDEPENDENT CORPORATION,
FREDERIC E. DICKINSON, Secretary.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1921. ARNOLD F. SMITH, Notary Public, Queens County, No. 2073. Cert. Filed in New York County, County Clerk's No. 539. New York County Register's No. 1531.

(My Term Expires March 30, 1921.)


# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. Ye Ad and Ye Ed.**

1. Write a short composition on "Advertizing Today, and Advertizing in the Past."
2. Did advertizements appear in Addison's *Spectator*"?
3. Give a talk in which you express your opinion concerning the responsibility of a newspaper for the advertizements that the newspaper prints.
4. Do you believe that it pays to advertize in periodicals? Do you believe that it pays to advertize in your school publications?
5. Should the study of journalism, or at least of newspaper English, be part of a high school course? Give full reasons for your answer.
6. Explain the two principal methods of conducting the study of newspaper writing. Which method do you recommend for your school? Give your reasons.
7. Explain the advantages that may be gained by adopting journalism as a life work.
8. What are the characteristics that make a good editor?
9. What good characteristics of journalism are exhibited in your school paper?
10. What are the meanings, and what are the derivations, of the following words: Editor, publisher, sanctum, journalism, reporter, assignment, magazine, periodical, advertizement, contributors.

**II. Evening Rain in Spring.**

1. Read the poem aloud. Make your reading interpret the poem.
2. To how many senses does the poem appeal? Read aloud passages that will illustrate your answer.
3. How much of the beauty of the poem depends upon adjectives? Point out every adjective in the poem.
4. How much of the beauty of the poem depends upon well-chosen nouns? Point out nouns that are especially well-chosen.
5. Point out words used in an unusual way. What advantage is gained by an unusual use of words?
6. Point out examples of personification; of alliteration; of metaphor. Explain every example.
7. Give the syntax of every word ending in "-ing."

**III. When Our Union Was Young.**

1. Prove that the article is based thruout upon comparison.
2. For every point of comparison write a sentence that will make the comparison clear and emphatic.
3. Write a single paragraph that will present emphatically the author's purpose in writing the article.
4. By diagram or otherwise, analyze the first sentence of the article.

**IV. Big Ideas From Big Business.**

1. Tell why you accept, or do not accept, the thought presented in the first two paragraphs.
2. Show how the author, thruout the article, defends the propositions he sets forward in the fifth paragraph.
3. Select from the article a number of maxims, or proverb-like sayings. Tell why they are good subjects for compositions.
4. Write an original short story that will illustrate the truth of one of the maxims.
5. Read aloud the sentences that summarize twelve lessons learned from a tour of the world's greatest business plants, and from a study of the lives of their founders. Tell how you can apply these lessons in your life in school.

**V. The Story of the Week.**

1. Explain why the British coal strike is a matter of great importance.
2. Give a talk in which you present the most important recent events of national interest in the United States.
3. Explain the present relations between Germany and the Allies.

**VI. A Little of Everything.**

1. Those Queer Folk of 1921. What three collections of articles would you make to suggest to people hundreds of years hence the school life in your own town, the social life, and the day-by-day home life?
2. Daylight All the Time. What parts of this article give, and what parts fail to give, atmosphere and picture? What general impression is left from the article as a whole?

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. Business Administration—Big Ideas from Big Business. Ye Ad and Ye Ed.**

1. What twelve "everyday lessons of popular interest" based on the policies of large corporations does Mr. Purinton mention? Select *one* of these for a brief essay, based on your own knowledge or study.
2. How would you define "big business"? What is a "trust"? What is a "corporation"? Tell what you can about the growth of large-scale industry in the United States.
3. "You can find more, better, quicker chances to get ahead in a large business house than anywhere else on earth." Comment on this statement, giving your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with it.
4. What do you learn from Mr. Holt's article about the business side of the periodical publishing industry? Why are periodicals important as carriers of advertizing?

**II. American History—When Our Union Was Young. Kansas Freedom.**

1. How was the Constitution of the United States prepared? In what manner was it made legally valid by ratification?
2. What two states were the last to ratify the new Constitution? On what grounds did some people object to it?
3. Compare the Constitution with the Articles of Confederation, which it superseded. In what respects was the new union a stronger one and more centralized?
4. Compare the Covenant of the League of Nations with both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. Mr. Davis declares that "certain fundamental principles are the basis of all three of the Unions." What would you say that they were?
5. Tell what you can about the circumstances leading to the founding of Kansas. In your account make mention of: (a) the Louisiana purchase, (b) the Missouri compromize, (c) the Kansas-Nebraska act, (d) the abolitionist movement, (e) John Brown, (f) Governor Robinson. Explain why the Kansas tradition is one of liberty.

**III. Transportation—Hard Times for the Railroads. A "Fare" Proposition.**

1. Explain the reason why transportation corporations have suffered loss for the last six or seven years.
2. Why has railroad revenue fallen off in spite of increased freight rates?
3. Compare the rise in the cost of living with the rise of railroad wages. Do you consider that the recent fall in prices justifies the demand of the railroad companies that wages be reduced correspondingly?
4. How do public utility corporations differ from ordinary private industrial corporations?
5. In connection with Dr. Williams's editorial read "The New York Transit Bill" in The Independent of April 9.

**IV. Reparations—Making Germany Pay. Berlin to Washington. Washington to Berlin.**

1. What measures have the Allies taken to compel Germany to pay reparations?
2. What points are brought out in the German memorandum to the United States on the subject of reparations? For what reasons do you suppose Germany appealed to us on the matter?
3. What points are brought out in the reply of Secretary Hughes?

**V. Central Europe—King Charles and Hungary.**

1. Who were the Hapsburgs? Trace on a map of Europe the lands over which they ruled in 1914. How has the Austro-Hungarian empire been divided?
2. What is the attitude of Hungary's neighbors to the proposed Hapsburg restoration? Why did the Allies consider it a menace to the peace of Europe? Why were Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania particularly hostile to a revival of monarchy in Hungary? Why are these three nations called "the little Entente"?

**VI. American Policy in Asia—Uncle Sam Backs Chinese Loan.**

1. What is the "consortium"? What is Secretary Hughes's position on the matter?
2. Why does the United States take an interest in the development of China? What is the principle of the "open door"?

# The Independent

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## "I Am the — "

*When all has been said about the rest of us, the fact remains that this is the team that "makes the wheels go 'round"—the mother and the country doctor:*

### I Am Charles' Mother

I am Charles' mother.

Once I was just a school teacher; once just a librarian.

Now I am just Charles' mother.

That is just enough.

It is enough to serve as a cook and a dietitian, a nurse and a doctor, a comforter and a disciplinarian, a playfellow and a teacher, a washwoman and a seamstress, a maker of toys and a barber, a bootblack betimes and a darner of diminutive socks.

Without me, wonder would vanish from the world. Why should waters sparkle, or sunsets shine, or puppies bark, except for the wonder of babies? Why should the flowers bloom in the grasses, or why should the cheeks of the apples redden, if no small hands cupped to catch them as they fell?

Since I am the mother of a little boy, I must do what I can that the world be made fit for little boys to live in.

For them, I study and think of what men and governments are doing.

For them, my vote and my strength shall work that wars may be no more.

It is blessed to be of my profession.

I am glad that I am just Charles' mother.

BEATRICE H. OXLEY

Utica, New York

### I Am the Country Doctor

My eyes are the first to rest on your red, wriggling, little body, my ears the first to catch the sound of your feeble, struggling cry. My hands are the first to lift you up, that your mother may smile wanly upon you.

I never have a minute, day or night, which I can call my own. Many a Thanksgiving and Christmas feast have I eaten in imagination only.

My family knows me only when nobody else needs me.

When the weather is the worst and the roads the nearest impassable, then I drive the most miles—with a car when possible, with faithful old Dobbin when the car cannot plough thru the snow or mud.

When my weary body aches with unutterable fatigue and I think I cannot go another step to save anybody's life, the telephone drags me reluctantly from my warm bed to listen to a woman ten miles in the country crying frantically, "Oh doctor! Come quick! Johnny has the croup!" And I go. I take you successfully thru colic and chicken pox, measles and mumps.

When the flu comes like a scourge thru your community I go day and night, snatching a bite to eat or a few minutes' rest now and then when opportunity offers.

For these services I take my pay in everything or nothing—wood and wormy apples, checks and chickens, pork and promises.

For three generations I serve you—you, your children and your children's children.

And when, in spite of skill and faithful service, the Grim Reaper gets the upper hand, some kind friend of the family comfortingly remarks, "If you had employed Doctor So-and-So this never would have happened."

I am the country doctor.

## Remarkable Remarks

WALT MASON—I always spend my nights at home.

WALTER CAMP—Many are called, and few are listening.

HENRY FORD—The cow is the crudest machine in the world.

BERNARD SHAW—What we want is compulsory labor for everybody.

J. B. CRANFILL—"America First!" is what Cain said, but he worded it differently.

DEAN DAVID MACKENZIE—The university professor has no interest in his students.

CHARLES E. HUGHES—We know there is no other assurance of peace but the love of justice.

CONGRESSWOMAN ALICE ROBERTSON—The blue law agitation is the propaganda of the Evil One.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I know of no place where one can rest better than in New York City.

MRS. ALBERT EINSTEIN—I am a housewife. Of course I do not understand the Einstein theory.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—It is a pretty dangerous thing in selecting your wife to choose one from a foreign nation.

CHARLES F. MURPHY—I intend to remain as permanent leader of Tammany Hall until my whiskers reach my knees.

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES—The existing order of society cannot be reconciled at any single point with the teachings of Jesus.

PRESIDENT B. LEGUIA OF PERU—When our Indians begin to want nickel watches and brass beds, Peru will begin to be prosperous.

SCULPTOR R. T. MACKENZIE—The three chief defects that women have to guard against today are flat chests, flat feet, and poor posture.




The Independent, including Harper's Weekly, The Chautauquan and The Countryside, is published weekly by Independent Corporation, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York. Price fifteen cents a copy, five dollars a year. Postage to foreign countries in the Postal Union $1.75 extra; Canada $1 extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as second class matter June 10, 1919, under act of March 3, 1879.


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Tell all the world that summer's here again
With song and joy; tell them, that they may know
How, on the hillside, in the shining fields
New clumps of violets and daisies grow.

Tell all the world that summer's here again,
That white clouds voyage thru a sky so still
With blue tranquillity, it seems to hang
One windless tapestry, from hill to hill.

Tell all the world that summer's here again:
Folk go about so solemnly and slow,
Walking each one his grooved and ordered way—
I fear that, otherwise they will not know!

*From "Chanteys and Ballads," by Harry Kemp, published by Brentano's*

The Independent
April 23, 1921

# "And They Lived Happy Ever After"

## By Helen Louise Johnson

*Miss Johnson is known thruout the United States as a "budget expert;" she has lectured and written for many years on the problems that beset house-keepers and home-makers*

SHE came to me at the close of the third talk in a series on household management and said, "But how can one budget nothing?"

"You mean that your husband is a professional man, a lawyer for instance, and your income more or less uncertain?"

"Yes," she said, "I mean just that. How can we make a family budget when we have no idea what amount of income or money we will have this year?"

"Have you never made a budget or plan of any kind for your income? Have you no idea what your husband made three years ago or last year or at any time? Yours is a common inquiry and I must ask some personal questions in order to help you. How long have you been married?"

"Eight years."

"Was your husband without income or prospects or any kind of business when you were married?"

"Why no, he had entered a law firm as soon as he graduated and secured an increasing business, which has been growing with each year."

"You know then what he made last year, and the year before that, and the year before that?"

"Yes."

"And he expects to make more this year, does he not?"

"Why, yes."

"Then why ask how to budget nothing? The only vagueness here is whether your husband can earn enough to satisfy the growing demands which you and he have nurtured as his income steadily increased. At this moment if you were willing to live by exactly the same standard you assumed when you first went to housekeeping you would find it easy to make a budget and save money."

This is a common practice and by no means confined to young people in the first years of married life. It is so easy to believe one is to have $5,000 to live upon this coming year when $4,500 was earned last. Then we live on the five thousand in place of the four thousand scale, whereas if we planned for the latter we could get so much more fun out of life. Trouble arises far more frequently from no plan and a too rapidly increasing standard of living than from lack of income.

You have asked me how to budget with nothing to budget, and my reply is that those who have the least to live upon are the ones most apt to make budgets. They have to. They must put aside so much for rent, so much for other known expenses, and they can tell you far more accurately what amounts will cover their needs than those whose living is on a more liberal scale. There is always the minimum the wage earner has made. If those in the professional class would plan to live on the amount made last year, or better on the one made before that, rather than on the amount the husband hopes to make in the coming months, saving would be more certain and comfort and happiness more secure.

Several times I have been asked what I mean when I talk about buying happiness. I mean just this. A certain amount of happiness depends upon lack of worry, a sense of security, knowledge that one is prepared for the rainy day. Another measure of it arises from the ability to get some of the things we greatly desire. Still more comes from the consciousness that we are succeeding in life; that we are making progress. Happiness, like heaven, is something within one, but that harmony upon which it depends comes to a very considerable degree from adjusted relations with the economic facts of every day existence. Hence it is capable of being purchased, altho the price paid is by no means always in money. It is in wealth.

A budget is but a plan formed, as all plans must be, previous to its being carried out. It merely means the taking of this income and charting it so that one may secure the greatest returns from it. Of necessity it is subject to change and vicissitude, occasionally to utter failure. All plans are not good ones. Many times they must be adjusted to the exigencies of unexpected events. Yet the housekeeper who makes a plan for the twenty-one meals of each week and then adjusts each one to meet the day's needs, gets more for her time and money, has less trouble, and usually secures far better meals than she who orders day by day.

A budget has to be modified and varied with changing conditions and accidental happenings. Without it, however, individual, family, state or nation cannot secure the most happiness or greatest returns. Some kind of plan is better than none at all.

THE second query that came was, "How can I advize my young friends just about to embark on what in my youth was termed the 'sea of matrimony'"?

First let me say that far too many young people set sail upon this sea of matrimony without a plan. Chart, compass, some knowledge of sailing and a definite port to sail toward are requisites for arrival in life. Without these few succeed. They float like derelicts, tossed here and there.

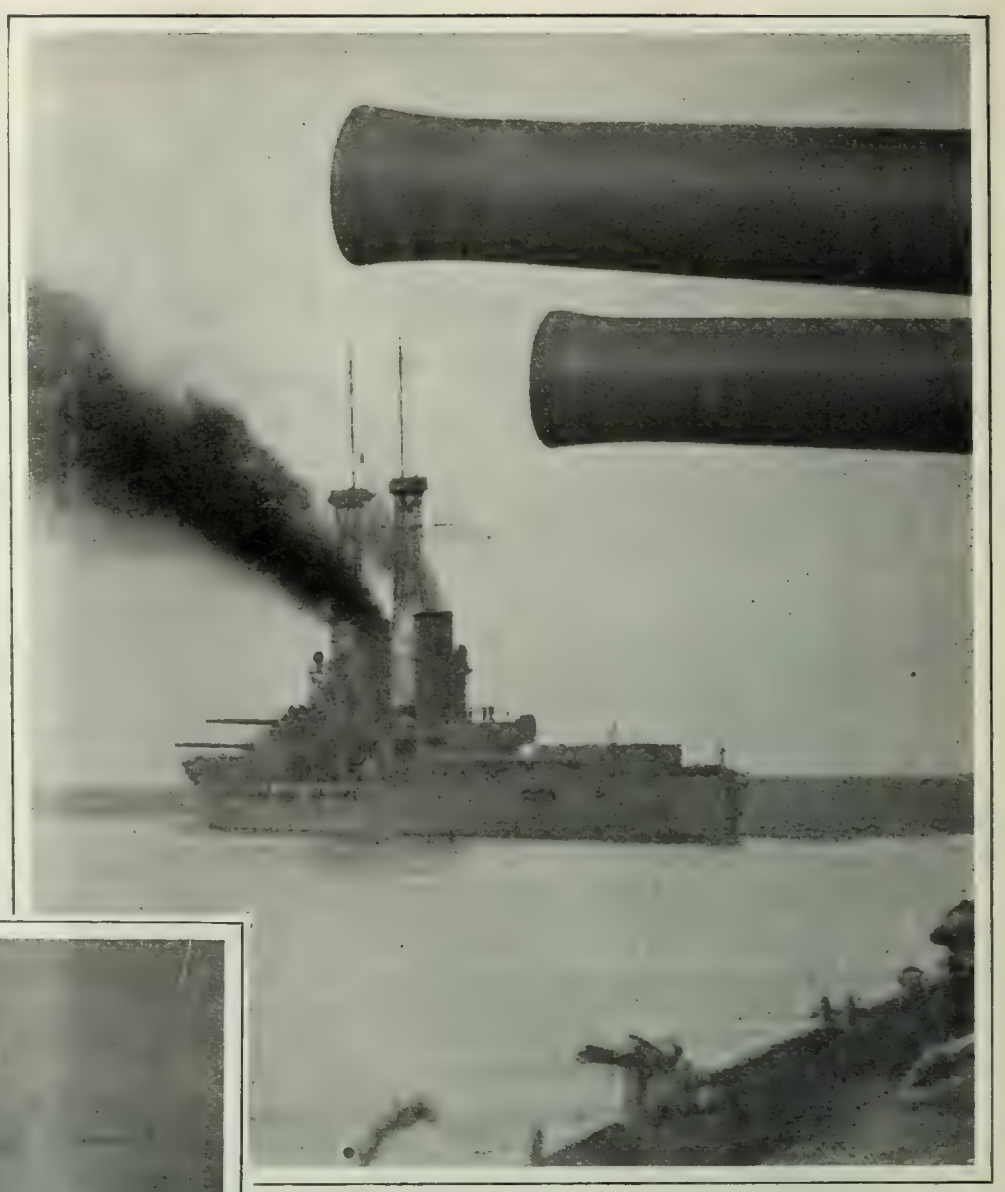
Some few years ago after a talk on the budget two young girls came to me and said, "We are both engaged and getting ready to be married. What you have said this afternoon has made us question the advisability of doing so at this time."

I sat down alone with them, asking questions as to their education, where and how they were living, what experience they had in household management or the use of money. It was a friendly examination into their preparation for the business they were [*Continued on page 435*

# David and Goliath

## By Park Benjamin

*It is generally conceded by those who know much about naval affairs that the articles contributed by Park Benjamin to The Independent and elsewhere have played a not inconsiderable part in upbuilding and increasing the efficiency of the American navy. Mr. Benjamin was graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1867 and after two years in the service resigned to devote himself to applied science and the legal aspects of invention. He was editor of the "Scientific American" until 1878 and he is the author of "Early History of Electricity" and "The History of the United States Naval Academy." He has acted upon the official board of visitors of the United States Naval Academy*





© *Muller*

**The battleship above, shadowed by the guns of a sister ship, was the pride of our fleet three or four years ago, tho it is markedly inferior to the dreadnaughts being built today. At the left is a torpedo just being launched from the tube of a small boat. No amount of development of the warship's aggressive power can make it less a bulky and defenseless target for the torpedo's quick and deadly work**

IF a mobile torpedo strikes a battleship, it will put that battleship out of action as effectively as it will any other vessel. If you shoot at a target, the nearer you are to it, the easier it is to hit. The torpedo and the man who aims it and lets it go must be carried on some kind of a conveyance. Then the problem is how to get that conveyance into a position of nearness to the ship so that the ship cannot prevent its getting there.

The submarine is one such conveyance—the aeroplane is another. The first travels unseen under water, and, when as near as desired, aims and releases its torpedo, which travels at great speed and blows in the side of the ship below the water line. The aeroplane flies above and drops its fish torpedo into the water close to the ship in such a way that the torpedo will, as before, travel in proper direction to hit; or it may drop explosive bombs or containers filled with poison gas upon its victim's deck. Because the aeroplane is high aloft, it can see a submarine, as a fish hawk sees a fish, and can then drop "depth bombs" which, exploding under water near the submarine, may sink it. During the late war, this attention was very effectively bestowed upon the Kaiser's under-sea boats.

We have now reached a point in the development of these conveyances when it has become a grave and somewhat startling question whether the doctrine that "the dominion of the sea is the dominion of the world," is of "the vast consequence" ascribed to it by Pericles over twenty centuries ago; and whether instead of "confining our attention to the *sea* and the defense of the city" (as he advised the Athenians) the time has not come for us to recognize that sea power must ultimately yield to air power and to order our naval preparedness accordingly. That is what is meant by the now prevalent query "Are Warships Obsolete?"

The issue thus created is far broader than can be resolved by any description of present ways and means. These may change tomorrow. It is one of national policy, looking squarely into the future. Are we to bend our best energies primarily to the development of the greatest aerial and submarine Navy the world has ever seen (nothing less is demanded by the logic of present events) and face the elimination *pari passu* of sea-borne ships; or are we to continue to trust to the latter as the so-called "backbone of our naval strength" and coördinate with them the aeroplane and the submarine as mere auxiliaries?

The sea fleet of today is built around the battleship as a nucleus. Within the present century the cost of that vessel—probably the most expensive and complicated mass of machinery ever assembled in like space—has nearly quadrupled. It now approaches thirty million dollars, and at present prospects will soon reach there. Not only is that a good deal of money to be annihilated by one blast of a torpedo, but so frequent now are the changes in the design of battleships that they become practically obsolete before they can be launched. "Naval holidays" and other international agreements to restrict building them are not particularly promising. Any increase in offensive or defensive power which the battleship, as now planned, can attain in the near future appears to be limited, even in the forecasts of the most expert minds. This is not true of the aeroplane—or even of the submarine—the potentialities of which are constantly becoming more and more

evident. The latter are true products of evolution. The battleship is an aggregation of expedients piled *seriatim* on the foundation of Ericsson's "Monitor." Admiral Daveluy of the French Navy—authority of the highest standing—declares that "the day of the dreadnaught is done." In Britain such far-seeing and progressive experts as Admiral Sir Percy Scott and the late Admiral Lord Fisher have expressed almost equally disparaging conclusions. The weight of authority seems to be that even if we should build the strongest battleship fleet now conceivable, it would be powerless by itself either offensively or defensively against the onslaught of torpedo planes, and would have to be protected by some constantly attending air force capable of overcoming any similar force which might attack it.

A fleet which has to be protected by another and different kind of fleet escorting it at all times is hardly well characterized as the "backbone" of any naval array, and the real battle might well be a running one between "the nation's airy navies grappling in the central blue"—with the dreadnaughts, for as long as they could keep in sight of it, looking on with an interest akin to that with which the Lady Rowena observed the joust between Bois-Guilbert and the Disinherited Knight. And if the action happened to be fought near the coast, and the enemy's invading air fleet proved the victor, no convincing reason is apparent why it should hunt up the dreadnaughts and destroy them in preference to continuing its journey toward a merciless raiding of its defeated adversary's seaports.

The reason why the air conveyance or the submarine conveyance can get where it can hurt the sea-borne enemy with little danger of being hurt itself is that it can move in three dimensions, while the enemy can move only in two. In other words, the ship travels only on the plane surface of the sea. The flier can take any position in the air above that plane, and the submarine any position in the water below that plane. All the ship can do is to throw explosive projectiles upward into the air or drop bombs downward into the ocean in the hope, in the first case, of hitting craft thousands of feet aloft and speeding four times as fast as she can go herself, or, in the second case, of shattering a submarine which she cannot see; which is something like shooting at a black cat in a dark cellar. Imagine a game of chess or checkers with one party able to attack his opponent's pieces from above as well as horizontally, while the adversary is restricted to moves on the flat surface of the board. The showering of dejectiles on Venice, the destruction of German submarines by air craft, the placing of artillery barrages, the long distance bombardment of Paris, and the smashing of the Belgian armored turrets by projectiles falling upon their tops are readily recalled instances of attacks from overhead.

In this country, the Navy is always conservative. While many officers like Admiral Fiske, the inventor of the torpedo-plane, believe that three dimensional warfare on the sea must replace two dimensional and urge preparedness for the former, others are unable to realize that the fighting sailor is threatened with extinction, and like humanity in general cannot visualize his own dissolution.

The arguments for battleship primacy far from attain even the rhetorical force of "Don't give up the ship!" One of them says that to measure the power of a navy by the strength of its battleships is "heresy," and, while admitting that "it is entirely reasonable to presume that . . . our present ideas of sea warfare and sea strategy may be *completely revolutionized*, and that ultimately the influence of aeronautics upon the destiny of nations may become far-reaching," nevertheless holds that "there is no replacement *at present* for sea power" (my italics). No revolutionary outcome of inventive progress, it is safe to say, has ever been achieved without meeting doubting Thomases who wanted to "let well enough alone" or sidetrack it as an "adjunct" or who denied that there was place for it in the existing order, oblivious of the fact that such things make their own places. Legislative action or inaction may delay the revolution, but it can no more arrest the inevitable than fog can stop a sixteen-inch shell.

The United States, I believe, should primarily concentrate its energies and resources upon building *now* the most formidable air and submarine armament in the world, and upon developing the future possibilities thereof with all possible speed. If our present naval force is not deemed sufficient to meet any sea-borne fleet which can be brought against it, the additions of sea vessels should be no more than may be sufficient to provide for the emergency. The Navy should be based on air power, and no longer on sea power; or, in other words, sea power pending its ultimate disappearance should be the auxiliary and not the principal force. The devising and planning of the new conveyances with their weapons should not be left solely in the hands of a naval personnel saturated with old traditions, and naturally tending to maintain the past order. Let it execute, as may be determined. We want preparedness in the *new* order, planned by *new* minds.

The change is so radical and has come upon us so suddenly that much alteration of viewpoints will be needed, even elsewhere than among those whose hopes and ambitions are imperiled by it. Sea officers and seamen, sea schools and sea vessels, all the paraphernalia of marine warfare from the beaked ships which "straight with sweep of oars flew thru the foam at Salamis" to the huge steel monsters of today—all of it, sooner or later, has got to go. "Do it first with the biggest force" is a fundamental maxim of military strategy. To oppose to the fliers of the air and the divers of the deep great "Tennessees" and "Californias" has plainly become as futile as to oppose to a modern artillery barrage the elephants wherewith Pyrrhus frightened the Roman legions. [*Continued on page 439*



*Drawn by Arthur Elder for The Independent*

LAUNCHING A TORPEDO FROM AN AEROPLANE

**This drawing, first published in The Independent of November 2, 1914, to illustrate an article by Park Benjamin on the "Fiske Torpedo-plane," aroused wide controversy and criticism. A scheme of using aeroplanes to launch torpedoes had just been proposed by Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske and was under consideration by our Navy Department; general opinion still pronounced it "a bold conception, of doubtful practical value"**

# Sermons, Soviet Style

## By Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood

### An American's Impressions of the New Religion That Is Making a Place for Itself in New Russia

EVER since the revolution of three years ago in Russia somewhat contradictory stories about the situation of the church have come to this country. A recent account seems to reconcile many of the apparent contradictions and to bear on its face the probability of truth. It comes from one of the Russian papers that are now frequent in the European capitals and is contributed by a well-known writer who is neither a Bolshevik nor a churchman.

It is during this last year, according to this observer, that a strong, new religious movement has come to the surface in Petrograd, and still more in Moscow. "This new religious expression is original in its form and beautiful in its content. The old orthodox bureaucratic church is dying away. The old orthodox priests, the minions of autocracy, have disappeared. Their place is being taken by a new kind of priest."



International

The Church of St. Basil, in Moscow. Moscow is perhaps the religious pulse of Russia, especially in these recent days of a quickened and strengthened Russian religion. Beneath the domes and minarets to which an old religion gave form, a new religion is contesting for its life, in strange, new, unorthodox ways

"These new priests are more secular. They do not wear long hair. They do wear collars. During the day-time they are at work, often in some Soviet or on some commission. They are independent on religious questions. They stand for the independence of the church. They are not political and at the same time they are undoubtedly democratic.

"They are often in flagrant opposition to the Government, and the Government forgives them."

Why?

BECAUSE the church, without resistance, has conquered. The irreconcilables among the old priests have disappeared. The new young priests have won by merely living their lives, expressing disapproval when they choose, but not relying on force or plots. The nature of the people has won for religion, as it would be winning for democracy if Europe and America had let Russia live in peace and productive effort. Even Communists with increasing frequency are marrying in the church. Dying they send for the priests. Their children are christened. They demand that the Red Guard hospitals be consecrated. At the demand of the soldiers religious services are held in the hospitals.

"The moods of 1918-19 are as if they had actually never existed."

It is not only the Government's attitude that has changed. "The church in a bloodless contest has conquered Bolshevism, but having conquered she has herself undergone a change. She has become more truly a church; more Christian; less orthodox." In Petrograd there has been a great development of brotherhoods, organized by districts, owning common property, usually headed by a young priest, drawing all religious elements together for discussion and for prayer, working for brotherly relations and Christian love. More and more the aristocrats and the intelligentsia have been going into this new priesthood.

These brotherhoods, of which in Petrograd there are about a hundred, are grouped around a theological institute. "It is almost the only institution not subsidized by the Soviet Government, and it therefore has more than others the seeds of growth."

The students, even in cold weather, with the shortage of fuel, do not drop away from the lectures. They come in their sheepskins. They bring wood and bread to the houses of their teachers and professors.

A picture is given of one of the contests between Communism and the new church, that take place from time to time. The scene is in a church, where, as always in Russia, there are no seats and the congregation is standing. Instead of candles there is a wick floating in oil. There is much that is as it always has been, and yet there is an indescribable difference.

The church is full. Most are working people; many men —more men than women. The sermon is a simple one, by a professor, developing a purely spiritual theme. But there is present a group of young men from a local Communist union, with their president, and this president makes a speech, attacking the church; attacking the belief in God.

As if at a signal the gathering breaks out spontaneously chanting a prayer. Then the group of young intruders begins to sing the International. Their voices are drowned by the chanted prayer. Afterward the sermon of the professor begins again, and then again the gathering falls on its knees and prays.

"To a man of another religion the scene was altogether wild and strange."

Such is the spirit in which religion is retaking its place in Russia; a new religion in a new world. Such is the spirit in which the wisest among the Russians would fain be free to deal with all the heavy troubles that at present afflict them.

*Washington, D. C.*

# The President's First Message

## By Hamilton Holt

PRESIDENT Harding's first address to Congress makes two things perfectly clear: On domestic affairs he is an old time reactionary. Under his leadership the Republican party returns to the good old days of high protection, Mark Hanna and the "Ohio idea." The progressive ideals that Theodore Roosevelt tried to interject into American politics are completely repudiated.

In foreign affairs he has surrendered to the "irreconcilables." The existing League of Nations is to be scrapped as far as he is concerned. But party harmony being paramount, he will carry enough water on the other shoulder to negotiate a new association of nations, tho with what specific characteristics he gives no inkling. The international ideals that Woodrow Wilson tried to interject into American politics are also completely repudiated.

It must be admitted that President Harding is standing strictly on the Republican platform in the course he takes. That document gave him a blank check on which to write practically any policy he chose. The people overwhelmingly elected him and he is evidently endeavoring concretely to carry out what he conceives to be their mandate. No good American can find fault with him for this. What then are the merits or demerits of the principal issues as enunciated?

Some of the President's domestic proposals are wholly admirable. His call for a revision of taxation, his demand for rigid economy in both Government appropriations and Government expenditures are beyond all praise. Good men in all sections of the country will second his definite suggestion for a commission composed of white and colored citizens to investigate and report on the race issue.

His remarks on the railway situation, highway construction, water transport are well enough but platitudinous. They can be of little guidance to Congress or the country.

His views on the tariff hark back to those halcyon days of the nineties when high protection was in its flower. Our President evidently does not realize that the American people can make profits in buying goods as well as in selling them, and that there are more consumers than producers of manufactured goods in America.

In respect to the Army and Navy he is equivocal. But that is not a fault. He must be until he knows what kind of an association of nations he is going into. Manifestly the United States cannot disarm in advance of other nations in these days of war and rumors of war.

Tho the President in his own mind evidently lays more stress on our national than our international problems, the world will chiefly be concerned with his repudiation of the existing League of Nations.

What will the American people say to this? It was the greatest issue in the campaign. The Democratic party did all it could to make the country enter the League and failed. The Republicans who bolted to Cox on the League issue—the best informed member of Mr. Harding's Cabinet guesses there may have been a million—did all they could for the same end and failed. These two groups will manifestly have little influence with the Administration. But how about those pro-League Republicans who stayed with the party and voted for Mr. Harding?

I have just re-read the famous manifesto issued by the Committee of Thirty-one, on October 14, 1920, advising their countrymen to vote for Mr. Harding on the ground that his election would be the most effective means of bringing the American people into the existing League of Nations. They definitely repudiated the idea of a new association of nations, as the following quotations from their manifesto clearly indicate:

> The question accordingly is not between a league and no league, but is whether certain provisions in the proposed League agreement shall be accepted unchanged or shall be changed. . . .
>
> We have reached the conclusion that the true course to bring America into an effective league to preserve peace is not by insisting with Mr. Cox upon the acceptance of such a provision as Article X, thus prolonging the unfortunate situation created by Mr. Wilson's insistence upon that article, but by frankly calling upon the other nations to agree to changes in the proposed agreement which will obviate this vital objection and other objections less the subject of dispute. For this course we can look only to the Republican party and its candidate; the Democratic party and Mr. Cox are not bound to follow it. The Republican party is bound by every consideration of good faith to pursue such a course until the declared object is attained. . . .
>
> The conditions of Europe make it essential that the stabilizing effect of the treaty already made between the European powers shall not be lost by them and that the necessary changes be made by changing the terms of the treaty rather than by beginning entirely new.

That course Mr. Harding is willing to follow.

Two of the signers of this document are now members of Mr. Harding's Cabinet—Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, and Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. What have these gentlemen and their colleagues Elihu Root, A. Lawrence Lowell, George W. Wickersham, Oscar S. Straus, John Grier Hibben, Bishop William Lawrence, Nicholas Murray Butler, Jacob Gould Schurman, Henry L. Stimson, etc., to say of Mr. Harding's present stand? What definite action do they now propose to take? They are evidently in the unenviable position of having been misled by Mr. Harding and of having misled their countrymen. Undoubtedly thousands upon thousands of Republicans voted for Mr. Harding on their assurance that he would bring them into the existing League, modified to meet American objections.

BUT whatever the action of the thirty-one may be it is the duty of all true friends of the League to give Mr. Harding every opportunity to make good with his new Association of Nations. If it turns out that this is essentially the existing League only under another name, we can have no real quarrel with him, even tho it is pretty picayune business, to say the least, for grown men to keep the world on the brink of revolution, famine and pestilence in order to "save the faces" of party politicians who cannot otherwise get out of the holes which they have dug for themselves.

Every friend of international peace and progress therefore must withhold final judgment until Mr. Harding sees fit to disclose the detailed plans of his Association. But this is clear. If he wants the permanent support of most of the American people his Association must be more than a mere group of nations agreeing to be good and peaceable and all revolving about a court. It is inconceivable that Mr. Harding could get the world or the Senate at the present moment to consent to establish a better court with wider jurisdiction than the admirable one just created largely by the genius of Elihu Root and already adopted as the chief tribunal by the present League of Nations. And if Mr. Harding's Association is under no compulsion to do anything except when the spirit moves, the nations would be no better off than they are now with or without an Association. The present League with its forty-nine members and its truly admirable record of things accomplished in one short year of its existence is well worth preserving. Indeed it is better to have the present League continue as it is without the United States during the term of the present administration than to emasculate the League in order to get the United States to enter it. For the logic of world events will surely compel us eventually to come

in a good League, while it might take forty years to amend a bad League into another as good as the present one.

Mr. Harding's chief objection to the existing League seems to be that it is a "super-governing" body. How an intelligent man who has taken part in the debates on the League in the Senate or who is in the least degree familiar with what was said and done at the first meeting of the Assembly of the League, held in Geneva last November, can take such a position is incomprehensible. The League of Nations is not in any degree a super-state. It is, in fact, nothing but an association of nations which pledge themselves to do certain things in accordance with their respective constitutions. The shortest definition I can formulate of the present League is that it is nothing more than a scheme by which sovereign nations act together unanimously better than they otherwise could. I defy President Harding or anyone else to point out a single sentence in the Covenant that violates the United States Constitution or that could make us take any action without the consent of Congress. If Mr. Harding does not give us an association that will do substantially as much as the present league then the Great War has been fought for naught and our boys whose blood reddens the fields of France will have died in vain.

As for Mr. Harding's proposal to declare an end of war with Germany, all I care to say is that nothing could please Germany better. It seems incredible that the responsible leader of America's greatest political party which so belabored Mr. Wilson for not joining the Allies sooner in the war now proposes the first break in the Allied ranks.

Unless all signs fail the fight for the League of Nations must begin all over again. If Mr. Harding does not give us a real Association of Nations "with teeth in it" the country must be organized so as to capture the Senate and the House for the existing League two years from now and the presidency in 1925. Let President Harding make no mistake. The League issue will not be settled until it is settled right.

# The Churches' Convalescence From War

## By Henry K. Carroll, LL.D.

THE large net addition of members in 1920 by the churches of the United States is a matter of no little significance. A clear increase of over 277,000 in the face of the less than 44,000 in 1919 and less than 160,000 in 1918, shows that the denominations, especially the Protestant, are again upon the upward trend. The unprecedented smallness of the advance in 1919 had all the effect of an actual defeat. Nearly all the leading churches reported an actual decrease in that year, and it was the moderate gain of the Roman Catholic Church which prevented an actual net loss for the aggregate list.

When in the history of the vigorous bodies which constitute the great bulk of Protestantism could any such showing of actual losses have been made, except in war periods, as these?

| | Loss in 1919 |
|---|---|
| Group of Methodist Bodies | 75,951 |
| Group of Presbyterian Bodies | 46,251 |
| Group of Baptist Bodies | 11,108 |
| Group of Disciples Bodies | 17,645 |

Only the Lutheran group, the Protestant Episcopal Church and a few other churches escaped decreases, and their gains were small. The Roman Catholic Church had a net gain of only about 158,000.

Another year of such negative results would have created widespread alarm, for American churches have been growing churches, both at home and abroad. Think of the two years, 1918, 1919, as producing a combined net increase of only about 203,000. The average increase of the preceding ten years was upward of 738,000, or nearly 22 per cent.

As a matter of fact, the total net gain for 1920—667,000—was below the average for the previous ten years by some 71,000. But it was a remarkable recovery from 1919.

IT is hardly necessary to ask the question—what caused the slump of 1918 and 1919? Everybody would say the great war, and everybody would be right. It is the obvious answer. The year we went into the war, 1917, was an unusually good year for our churches. They had an abnormally large increase of members. To the nation, it was a year chiefly of preparation,—enlistment, assignment to camps, arming, disciplining, and getting ready for active service. It did not seriously interfere with the regular church work. The second year of the war—1918—hit the churches hard. They dropped regular parish and evangelistic work for war work. Their hearts beat with intense loyalty and they became absorbed in saving democracy for the world, and in devotion to the country. They robbed their pulpits to furnish chaplains, Y. M. C. A. Secretaries, and Red Cross workers, and great numbers of churches got along as well as they could without preachers, or took supplies, covering only pulpit service.

There were no evangelistic campaigns such as the churches had been accustomed to. Instead, came the great national campaigns for immense loans for war purposes, and for hundreds of millions in contributions for Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. work, and the church campaigns for hundreds of millions of dollars for missionary and other denominational enterprizes, absorbing the time, attention, and efforts of the Christian organizations, and culminating in the launching of the Inter-Church World Movement, which left heavy liabilities behind it.

It is my opinion that active churches can always get the money they need for their work and that canvasses for large sums of money, payable in five year periods, may make them rich, but may add less to their power and efficiency than the leaders seem to expect.

What a tremendous argument against war is the effect it has upon the churches! And they are the bulwarks of civilization. War lets loose, cultivates and develops the worst passions of men. Nobody can take part in it without being affected by it. Those who went thru the campaigns in France and Belgium are trying hard to blot horrible scenes and experiences out of their memory. The churches prayed for and against the embattled hosts according to national and race ties; but who can think of a God who loves peace and justice and righteousness taking pleasure in any victory except the victory of peace? The Church of Christ, with acute sensibilities dulled and deadened by the crimes of war, loses with all other civilizing agencies in its reforming influence, when the dogs of war are let loose. It ought to be the first of all organizations to demand the marshalling of the Nations in a League to establish, protect, and defend peace.

But wars, like other great disasters, are educational. The last great conflict taught the churches everywhere the necessity of getting together. Their service was crippled because they were working behind denominational barriers. They admitted the absurdity of being divided and subdivided in such a fearful fashion that there are fifteen kinds of Methodists, fifteen varieties of Baptists, eleven sorts of Mennonites, eighteen separate Lutheran organizations, and so on. What is it but denominationalism run mad? Consolidation of groups bearing the same name, owning the same history, having the same doctrines and usages, would reduce the number of denominations by one half. If a rule could be established that no denomination of less than 10,000 members should be allowed, some sixty-odd titles would be disposed of and dichotomies and subdichotomies of petty schism would be swallowed up, and

great would be the gain in power and efficiency, economy and results.

War is terribly hurtful to the churches and so are their divisions. War, however, comes only at considerable periods; divisions are a continuing scourge.

## Saint George and the Dragon

IN appointing the Dawes committee to investigate the needs of the wounded soldiers President Harding has shown his good faith to the veterans of the war. Some committees are merely experts in postponement and evasion, but General Dawes has a reputation for "doing it." That loathly dragon, the red-tapeworm, has met his Saint George at last.

## Flooding the Mines

THE action of the British coal miners in permitting the mines on which their living depends to become flooded is a symbol of the suicidal folly of all industrial warfare. While the trades unionist and the employer are quarreling over the division of wealth their quarrel destroys the wealth which they wish to divide. Norman Angell has pointed out that in international wars the cost of the struggle to the victor was almost always in excess of the value of the land or indemnity or trading privileges won by the victory. This is even more clearly true of the war of classes than of the wars of nations.

# The Fiction of Force

### By Edwin E. Slosson

EINSTEIN shows that all the effects of gravitation would appear in a room that was being pushed or pulled upward with the same acceleration as a falling body. That is to say, nobody could tell the difference between the assumed "force of gravity" and a movement in the opposite direction. This naturally raises the question whether "force" is not a mere fiction; whether it is not an anthropomorphic conception introduced into physics to satisfy our sense of the fitness of things. The idea of force is apparently derived from our own feeling of muscular exertion when we push or pull something about and we cannot easily imagine things moving or being moved otherwise. That is why when the schoolboy first hears Newton's law, that a body at rest or moving forward uniformly in a straight line will continue in the same state unless disturbed by external agencies, he regards the first half of the statement as silly because it is so obvious that a thing will stay still and the second half of the statement as absurd because he can't conceive how a thing can keep on moving unless something keeps on shoving it. The teacher finds it easy to illustrate to the class the centripetal force of gravitation by whirling a ball at the end of a string and probably the pupil will all his life imagine the earth as tied to a string and revolving around the teacher's head as the center of the solar system. But there isn't any string to represent the tendency of the ball to fly away and so the centrifugal force remains in his imagination rather hazy, not half so real as its counteracting complement, the attractive force. His mind is never quite satisfied that the pull of a good stout string—such as the experienced teacher takes the precaution to procure—can be balanced by so vague a thing as the radial component of a certain property of matter called inertia. And he can't quite see why forces are born twins and always quarreling, or how anything gets done if action and reaction are forever inseparable, equal and opposite.

This common confusion of thought is illustrated in that most amusing collection of cranks, the "Budget of Paradoxes" of De Morgan, not the William De Morgan who wrote "Joseph Vance" and "The Old Madhouse," but his father, Augustus, the mathematician. He tells in his "Budget" that when he was nine years old he was taken to hear an itinerant lecturer on astronomy in a country town who in describing the solar system, said:

> You have heard what I said of the wonderful centripetal force by which Divine Wisdom has retained the planets in their orbits round the sun. But, ladies and gentlemen, it must be clear to you that if there were no other force in action, this centripetal force would draw our earth and the other planets into the sun and universal ruin would ensue. To prevent such a catastrophe, the same wisdom has implanted a centrifugal force of the same amount and directly opposite.

It occurred to the youthful De Morgan that "if Divine Wisdom had just let the planets alone it would come to the same thing with equal and opposite trouble saved."

Some weak heads have been so bothered by the apparent lack of a satisfying centrifugal force that they assume that light has a push and so the sun's rays keep the planets at the proper distance. Now it has indeed been discovered that light has a push, but it is by no means big enough to counteract gravitation. So we need not fear that at every eclipse, when the moon casts its shadow upon us, the earth takes a hitch toward the sun.

All this mental confusion is avoided when once we realize that these forces like all the other machinery of physics are simply more or less ingenious means of accounting for the way things happen. They are mere mathematical expressions and the schoolboy was quite correct when he defined algebraic symbols as "what you use when you don't know what you are talking about."

There are no laws *in* nature. The laws *of* nature are those that man has made up for his own convenience in elucidating natural operations. Physical laws are really psychological. Mark Twain said he never could understand how astronomers, even with the very largest telescopes, could find out the names of the stars. Many folks are similarly puzzled about how the scientist discovers natural laws. He does not; he invents them. If his invention works fairly well it is kept in use till a better one is contrived. If it does not work it is discarded, or kept in a cabinet of curios.

The trouble comes when man gives to these convenient creations of his constructive imagination an externality and universality that they do not possess. The ancient idolator made gods in his own image and worshipped them. The first part would be all right if it did not lead to the second. It was proper spirit that led man to express his highest ideal of Deity in marble or bronze. But he should never have knelt to it. He should have always kept in mind that the image was the product of his imagination.

The scientist also must have his mythology. He may know it for what it is, the best conception he can contrive of the phenomena of nature, imperfect, partial, inadequate, nevertheless useful and inspiring. But as of old the multitude will mistake the symbol for the reality and they will be shocked when some iconoclast smashes up with his hammer the idols they have regarded as absolute and eternal.

THE human race is afflicted with chronic, hereditary and incurable narcissism. Man looks in Nature as Narcissus in the pool to see his own image. He regards the outside world as a mere frame to his own portrait. He sees in the bee-hive a society similar to his own. He interprets the movement of molecules as tho they were men. He lays down the law to the planets as tho he were the legislator of the universe. He measures all things by himself and wherever he looks he sees his own reflection.

It is no insult to man to say that his views of the external world are anthropomorphic. They must be so long as his mind remains anthropomorphic. He cannot get away from himself. No reason why he should try to. But he should remember that he cannot if he would avoid being carried away by conceit.

Professor Eddington of Cambridge closes his book on the

Einstein theory of relativity, "Time, Space and Gravitation," with this impressive passage, vivid, brief and comprehensive:

We have found that where science has progressed the farthest, the mind has but regained from nature that which the mind has put into nature.

We have found a strange foot-print on the shores of the unknown. We have developed profound theories, one after another, to account for its origin. At last we have succeeded in reconstructing the creature that has made the foot-print, and lo! it is our own.

# Taking Our Place in the World

## By Hayne Davis

**What Mr. Davis prophesied in the columns of The Independent in 1904 came to pass at the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 when the Covenant of the League of Nation was put into definite form and approval by the representatives of nations there. Now that the international union has been actually formed and has held its first General Assembly, with the United States still holding aloof, Mr. Davis is presenting in The Independent another series of articles, free from political bias, whose object is:**

**(1) To properly relate the Covenant of the League to the Hague Conference, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States;**

**(2) to set forth the basis of any international union that can hope to endure;**

**(3) to indicate the true relation of national armament to national security, international law and justice;**

**(4) to point out some of the dangers in the path of any Association or League of Nations and the way of escape therefrom; and**

**(5) to show the orderly steps of progress from a union however imperfect to one that is more perfect and capable of establishing justice and peace, even as our own Union of States grew gradually into its present excellent form.**

**The first article in this series was published in The Independent of April 2, the second April 9, and the third April 16.**

IN the previous articles it has been shown that the foundations of the American Confederation, formed in the midst of the War of the Revolution, were taken up a decade later, enlarged somewhat and then relaid as the basis of the present Union. These foundations consist of three cornerstones:

1. The recognized fact that each state of the Union remains in possession of all the powers of sovereignty not delegated to the Union;
2. Mutual guarantees to respect each other's territory and sovereignty, and to protect both against external aggression, also against domestic disturbance under the present constitution.
3. Equal right for citizens of every state to participate in commerce between the states and with other nations;

It was shown also that these same cornerstones were used at Paris in laying the foundation of the League of Nations, tho they were narrowed somewhat, just as they had previously been enlarged when the original union of the states was dissolved, and the present more perfect Union formed on a broader basis. The guarantee for mutual protection against domestic disturbance was omitted, and the absolute guarantee *by the Union*, of equal right for citizens of all the states, to participate in commerce among the states and with foreign nations, was reduced to a promise *on the part of each member* of the League, to give equitable treatment to the commerce of all the other members and to provide for freedom of communication and of transit.

The League is therefore distinctly American in its foundation stones. Indeed the Covenant seems to have gone further than public opinion warranted in applying American political principles to international affairs, by providing for mutual preservation of national territory and sovereignty against external aggression. That will make it all the easier to amend the Covenant so that it will be acceptable to the present sense of the American people, as evidenced by the recent election, and not objectionable to the old world nations. It is they that have not been over-scrupulous in the past in their respect for each other's territory and independence. If we propose now to release them from the binding obligation to preserve each other's territory and independence by striking out that part of Article X, the big nations will probably make no objection, however much the smaller ones may regret such a step. The problem, however, is to find the greatest common denominator of political opinion in all the nations concerned, and to make the Covenant of the League conform to that.

A League that falls short of that would be too defective. A League which went beyond that would go too far toward perfection for the present time.

One of the Canadian delegates to the first session of the Assembly proposed to strike out Article X, which ex-President Wilson called the "heart of the Covenant." Should this be done? That article, short as it is, contains three parts:

First, the Member Nations agree to respect each other's territory and independence.

Next they agree to *preserve* each other's territory and independence *against external aggression.*

Third, in case of danger, or actual occurrence, of such aggression, the Council is to advise the members of the League as to the means by which the foregoing obligation shall be fulfilled.

The second and also the third part of this article can be eliminated without impairing the first part, i. e., the promise to respect the territory and independence of the other members of the League. This can be easily done, if it is desirable, by revising that article so that it will read as follows:

Each member of the League agrees to respect the territory and sovereignty of all the other members.

No nation is fit for membership in a union or association with others unless it comes in with the intention of respecting their territory and sovereignty therein, and is willing to give evidence of this intention by agreeing that it will do so, at least while the union lasts. The United States certainly has no good ground for hesitating to make such an agreement. It would only put down in writing what is now, always has been, and, let us hope, always will be, a fixed resolution in our mind and an essential part of our foreign policy.

The Monroe Doctrine, declared in the face of a contemplated attack by all the nations of Europe against the territory and independence of the liberated portions of America, was a warning to them to keep hands off all American Republics. It gave them assurance, however, that we did not intend to interfere with Europe's continued possession of those parts of America which had not responded to the cry of Freedom, by proclaiming and achieving their independence. Europe, Asia and America (except those parts under the sovereignty of Mexico and the United States) have by entering the League already united in an agreement to respect each other's territory and independence, and also to preserve them against external aggression.

As between Europe, Asia, South and Central America, and also the British Possessions in North America, this constitutes a full acceptance of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine. That Doctrine now has back of it—thanks to the Covenant—the plighted faith of all the members of the League, as well as the resolution and resources of the United States.

If the promise contained in Article X is reduced to mutual respect for the territory and independence of the members, and we enter the League on that basis, the situation will be thus: the United States will have bound itself to respect the territory and independ- [*Continued on page 437*

# The Story of the Week

## Harding Has His Say

PRESIDENT Harding delivered his first annual address to Congress in person on April 12. The first part of his speech was devoted to the domestic problems confronting the nation. Economy, and the tax revision which economy will make possible, led the list of subjects considered by President Harding:

I know of no more pressing problem at home than to restrict our national expenditures within the limits of our national income, and at the same time measurably lift the burdens of war taxation from the shoulders of the American people. . . .

The estimates of receipts and expenditures and the statements as to the condition of the treasury which the Secretary of the Treasury is prepared to present to you will indicate what revenues must be provided in order to carry on the Government's business and meet its current requirements and fixed-debt charges. Unless there are striking cuts in the important fields of expenditure, receipts from internal taxes cannot safely be permitted to fall below $4,000,000,000 in the fiscal years 1922 and 1923. This would mean total internal tax collections of about one billion less than in 1920 and one-half billion less than in 1921.

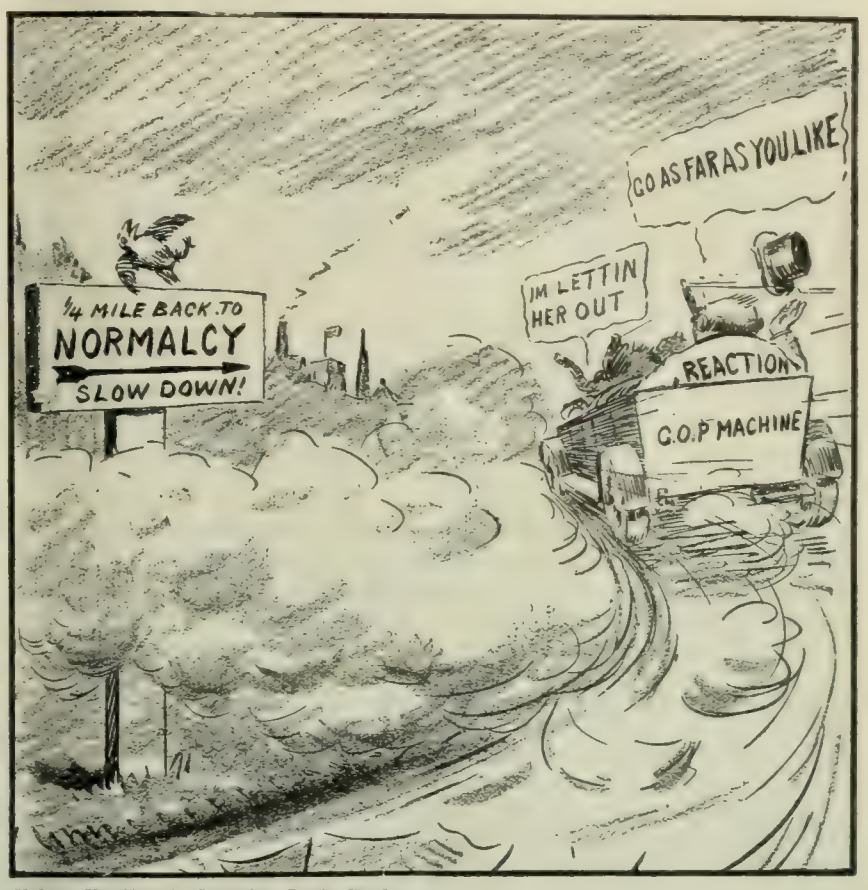
The most substantial relief from the tax burden must come for the present from the readjustment of internal taxes, and the revision or repeal of those taxes which have become unproductive and are so artificial and burdensome as to defeat their own purpose. A prompt and thoro-going revision of the internal tax laws, made with due regard to the protection of the revenues, is, in my judgment, a requisite to the revival of business activity in this country. It is earnestly hoped, therefore, that the Congress will be able to enact, without delay, a revision of the revenue laws, and such emergency tariff measures as are necessary to protect American trade and industry.

It is of less concern whether internal taxation or tariff revision shall come first than has been popularly imagined, because we must do both, but the practical course for earliest accomplishment will readily suggest itself to the Congress. We are committed to the repeal of the excess profits tax and the abolition of inequities, and unjustifiable exasperations in the present system.

On the old familiar battle-ground of the tariff, President Harding wielded his weapons vigorously in defense of protectionism. He desired first of all an "instant tariff enactment, emergency in character and understood by our people that it is for the emergency only." Later, there should be a "maturer revision of our tariff laws" based on the principle of protection. "The privileges of the American market to the foreign producer are offered too cheaply today" and it is of much less importance to extend our foreign trade than to "hold our own markets secure."

President Harding promised business that there would be no ventures into state Socialism, declaring that private business "ought to have no call to meet Government competition." But he condemned profiteering and suggested "some suitable inquiry by Congress" to "speed the price readjustment to normal relationship." He strongly advocated the national budget system. He dealt with the railroad problem briefly, indicating that there must be no talk of Government ownership and that "Railway rates and costs of operation must be reduced." He favored a continuation of Federal aid in building highways, subject to the condition that "Large Federal outlay demands a Federal voice in the program of expenditure."

President Harding recommended that legislation for the benefit of disabled soldiers be passed along the lines recommended by the Dawes committee "that all Government agencies looking to the welfare of the ex-service men should be placed under one directing head." He advocated the establishment of a Department of Public Welfare within which would be brought welfare bureaus and agencies now scattered in many departments. He promised economy in the army and navy, but declared that any further reduction of armaments must depend on agreements with other nations, as "merest prudence forbids that we disarm alone." He denounced lynching and favored "the creation of a commission, embracing representatives of both races, to study and report on" the negro problem in its general aspects.




*Nelson Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**Do they know where to stop?**

## Harding's Foreign Policy

THE peace settlement outlined by President Harding in his message is rather complex and consists of several stages. To prevent confusion, these stages must be separately indicated:

I. The total rejection of the existing League of Nations or any League which might be considered "a political instrument" of the victorious Powers in the Great War:

In the existing League of Nations, world governing with its super-powers, this republic will have no part. There can be no misinterpretation, and there will be no betrayal of the deliberate expression of the American people in the recent election; and, settled in our decision for ourselves, it is only fair to say to the world in general, and to our associates in war in particular, that the League Covenant can have no sanction by us.

The aim to associate nations to prevent war, preserve peace and promote civilization our people most cordially applauded. We yearned for this new instrument of justice, but we can have no part in a committal to an agency of force in unknown contingencies; we can recognize no super-authority.

Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated in linking it with the treaty of peace and making it the enforcing agency of the victors of the war. International Association for permanent peace must be conceived solely as an instrumentality of justice, unassociated with the passions of yesterday, and not so constituted as to attempt the dual functions of a political instrument of the conquerors and of an agency of peace. There can be no prosperity for the fundamental purposes sought to be achieved by any such association so long as it is an organ of any particular treaty, or committed to the attainment of the special aims of any nation or group of nations.

II. An immediate peace resolution, simply restoring

peace and reserving American rights without any declaration of policy on the part of Congress:

Such a resolution should undertake to do no more than thus to declare the state of peace, which all America craves. It must add no difficulty in effecting, with just reparations, the restoration for which all Europe yearns, and upon which the world's recovery must be founded. Neither former enemy nor ally can mistake America's position, because our attitude as to responsibility for the war and the necessity for just reparations already has had formal and very earnest expression.

It would be unwise to undertake to make a statement of future policy with respect to European affairs in such a declaration of a state of peace. In correcting the failure of the Executive, in negotiating the most important treaty in the history of the nation, to recognize the constitutional powers of the Senate we would go to the other extreme, equally objectionable, if Congress or the Senate should assume the function of the Executive. Our highest duty is the preservation of the constituted powers of each, and the promotion of the spirit of coöperation so essential to our common welfare.

III. The ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, with reservations which preserve us from entanglement in the League of Nations; rejection of any idea of negotiating separate or special treaties of peace with Germany and Austria:

The wiser course would seem to be the acceptance of the confirmation of our rights and interests as already provided and to engage under the existing treaty, assuming, of course, that this can be satisfactorily accomplished by such explicit reservations and modifications as will secure our absolute freedom from inadvisable commitments and safeguard all our essential interests.

Neither Congress nor the people needs my assurance that a request to negotiate needed treaties of peace would be as superfluous and unnecessary as it is technically ineffective, and I know in my own heart there is none who would wish to embarrass the Executive in the performance of his duty, when we are all so eager to turn disappointment and delay into gratifying accomplishment.

IV. The negotiation of a new association of nations after our peace declaration and the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with reservations:

With the super-governing League definitely rejected, and with the world so informed, and with the status of peace proclaimed at home, we may proceed to negotiate the covenanted relationships so essential to the recognition of all the rights everywhere of our own nation and play our full part in joining the peoples of the world in the pursuits of peace once more.

## Rockefeller to the Rescue

THE General Education Board in its recently published annual report announces that during last year John D. Rockefeller added $70,000,000 to the funds of the Board. Of this $50,000,000 will be spent on salaries in colleges and universities and the other $20,000,000 will go to the improvement of medical education.

The survey of educational conditions made by the Board shows the need of such endowments. More than half of the 8540 instructors and professors in the 259 colleges and universities comprized in the survey were paid in 1919-20 less than $2,100 a year. 3293 were paid more than $2,100 a year, but of these only 516 more than $4,200 a year, and only ninety-two more than $6,000. It should be borne in mind that these salaries are the highest paid in the teaching profession, since in almost all parts of the country the salaries of teachers in the primary and secondary schools are much lower than in the colleges. These salaries represent an average increase of 25 per cent from 1914 to 1919; during which period the cost of living increased about 80 or 90 per cent. Very few forms of skilled or semi-skilled labor are so poorly paid as the average college professor, and in no branch of organized hand labor has increase of pay responded so slowly to the higher cost of living. Whether the professors could have improved their lot by trades union methods, involving general strikes, picketing of class-rooms, sabotage and the boycott of "unfair" Boards of Trustees, is an interesting speculation.

The report reveals another disadvantage of the college professor as compared with the trades unionist. In most industries, especially in transportation, the greater part of the budget goes for wages. But it was found that salaries amounted on the average to only 47 per cent of the expenses of the colleges and universities reporting. Moreover, the total salary budget, taking account not only of increases of pay but of increases in the number of instructors employed, increased only 42.6 per cent since 1914, whereas the cost of maintaining and operating the physical "plants" increased on the average 74 per cent. In other words, the human factor counts for less financially in education than in industry, and it counts for relatively less today than it did before the war.




*Stinson in Dayton Daily News*

**Once, we couldn't find Yap with a magnifying glass**

## Uncle Sam Demands a Front Seat

THE long and tedious international controversy over the Japanese mandate for the island of Yap has taken a grave turn in the recent note of Secretary Hughes to the Allied Powers. The note deals with the specific case of Yap, but it bases the American contention that Yap should not be allotted to Japan without the consent of the United States on the general principle that no decision involving rights of the Allied and Associated Powers arising out of the war is valid without American participation and consent. This reopens the whole question of the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations and may be intended as a first move in making a peace settlement in line with the declared policies of the Harding Administration.

Mr. Hughes begins with the premise that "the right to dispose of the overseas possessions of Germany was acquired only thru the victory of the Allied and Associated Powers." As the United States is admittedly one of these Powers "there could be no valid or effective disposition of the overseas possesions of Germany without the assent of the United States." This fundamental fact is in no way altered by the failure of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles; and, in any case, the Treaty of Versailles stipulated that Germany's colonial rights were renounced in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, of which Powers the United States is one, and therefore "the terms of that treaty confirm the position of the United States."

Nor could it be justly alleged that "the confirmation of the mandate in question and the definition of its terms by the Council of the League of Nations in December, 1920," gave it any added validity since "the United States has never vested either the Supreme Council or the League of Nations with any authority to bind the United States or to act on its behalf." In other words, the United States is free to disregard any colonial mandate given by the League of Nations which seems to it contrary to American interests unless it has by treaty consented to the attribution of the mandate. This is a direct challenge to the authority of the League which may in the future affect territorial

questions far more important than the little island of Yap.

In the agreement assigning Yap to Japan it was stated that this mandate was awarded by agreement of the Allied and Associated Powers. The basis for this statement was an alleged decision of the Supreme Council on May 7, 1919, found in the minutes of the Peace Conference, granting to Japan a mandate over the German Pacific islands north of the equator. Secretary Hughes declares that in any case this was not binding on the United States, since the American Government entered into no treaty on the matter. But he quotes further a memorandum by President Wilson of date March 3, 1921 (the last day of his administration), denying that he had ever consented to let Japan have Yap. On many occasions previous to May 7, 1919, he had formally registered reservations concerning Yap in meetings of the Supreme Council "and had taken the position that it should not be assigned under mandate to any one Power, but should be internationalized for cable purposes." "I never abandoned or modified this position in respect to the island of Yap, and I did not agree on May 7, 1919, or at any other time, that the island of Yap should be included in the assignment of mandates to Japan." By notes of November 9, 1920, and subsequently the United States had protested against the award of Yap to Japan.



*International*

**Charles G. Dawes, chairman of the special commission to investigate soldier relief, leaving the White House after his first conference with President Harding**

The practical conclusion of Secretary Hughes's long and ingenious argument is sufficiently startling. The United States not only protests against the Japanese mandate over Yap, but refuses to recognize it as having any diplomatic existence:

> In particular, as no treaty has ever been concluded with the United States relating to the island of Yap, and as no one has ever been authorized to cede or surrender the right or interest of the United States in the island, this Government must insist that it has not lost its right or interest as it existed prior to any action of the Supreme Council or of the League of Nations, and cannot recognize the allocation of the island or the validity of the mandate to Japan.

## The Dawes Report

THE special committee, headed by ex-Brigadier-General Charles Dawes, which was appointed by President Harding to investigate the needs of ex-service men, has presented its report and recommendations. The present session of Congress will have to take this report into consideration in preparing needed legislation. The committee finds that "much confusion and inefficiency" has resulted from the overlapping powers of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Rehabilitation Division of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the United States Public Health Service. "The result is that the ex-service person finds it extremely difficult to obtain the prompt, generous and sympathetic treatment which Congress and the country intended he should receive."

The committee makes a number of recommendations for improving conditions. The chief of these is that a Veterans' Service Administration be established and that to it be transferred the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Rehabilitation Division of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and such part of the Public Health Service as concerns the war veterans. At the head of the Veterans' Service Administration will be a Director General, appointed by and directly responsible to the President. He will have power to decentralize administration, and it is recommended that there be "no statutory limitations with respect to the number and salaries of the employees he is authorized to engage within the limits of the appropriations." Pending the passage of such a law, the Secretary of the Treasury shall transfer the activities of the Public Health Service for the veterans to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. Hospital facilities should be enlarged and extended at once. The report concludes:

> It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the present deplorable failure on the part of the Government to properly care for the disabled veterans is due in large part to an imperfect organization of governmental effort. There is no one in control of the whole situation. Independent agencies by mutual agreement now endeavor to coördinate their action, but in such efforts the joint action is too often modified by minor considerations, and there is always lacking that complete coöperation which is incident to a powerful superimposed authority. No emergency of war itself was greater than is the emergency which confronts the nation in its duty to care for those disabled in its service and now neglected. . . .
>
> No Cabinet officer or Assistant Secretary burdened with other duties should be the one to whom the man charged with the welfare of the disabled saviors of our country should report. He should report directly to the President. His place should be held in the public esteem as one of the greatest honors that the President can bestow as the service he can render should be of untold value to the nation.

## Saving the British Mines

CONFRONTED with the peril of the destruction of Great Britain's basic industry of coal mining, Premier Lloyd George has exerted himself in two directions, to safeguard the mines by mobilizing the forces of public order, and to bring the striking miners once more into conference with their employers. One attempt at bringing about a conference failed because the Government insisted that the first question to be discussed was the return of the pumpmen to their work in order to save the mines from being flooded. Lloyd George told the miners that this was the first general strike in the coal mines during which the mines were allowed to become flooded and "it is inconceivable that



*Underwood & Underwood*

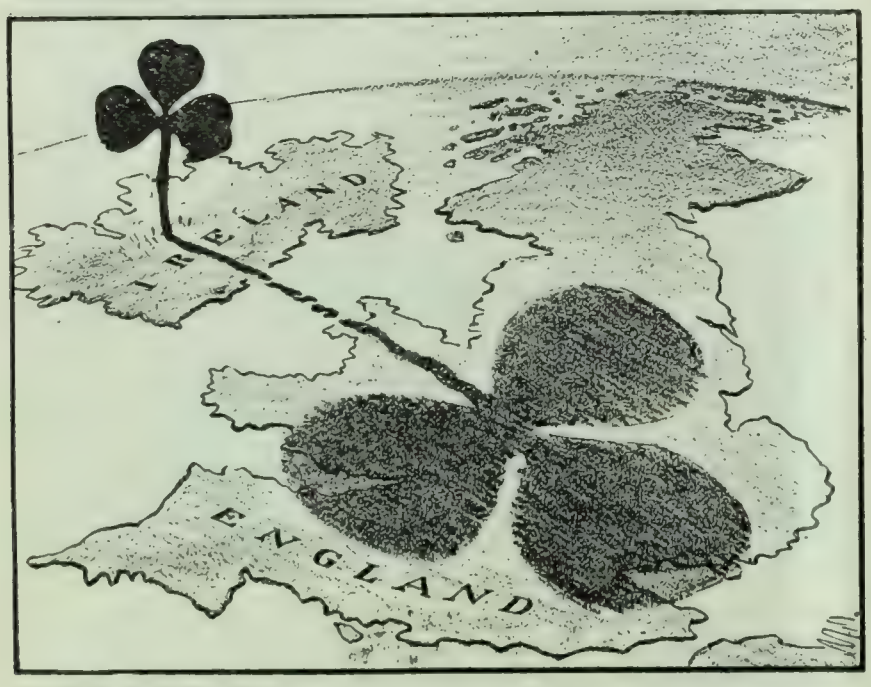
**"Any one picking coal from this tip will be prosecuted," says the sign, but with very little effect upon the people who feel the pinch of the British coal strike and are willing to take the chance of arrest for the sake of gleaning a bit of coal here and there on the refuse heap to "keep the home fires burning"**

during the period of negotiations not merely should the pumpmen not be allowed to keep the mines from destruction but that there should be actual interference with people who are doing it." The miners demanded an "unconditional conference."

Face to face with the situation, the Government proclaimed a "state of emergency" and called for volunteers to help the police keep order. The reserves of the army were called into service. Many preparations were made for handling the food supply in case the railwaymen should join the miners in a sympathetic strike.

Finally a conference was arranged to begin Monday, April 11. The Government yielded a point and agreed to abandon its demand that the pumpmen return to work before any other question was discussed. The miners on their part agreed not to interfere with volunteer workers who were saving the mines from being flooded. Mr. Thomas, chief of the railwaymen, announced that unless the strike were settled or at least a basis for agreement reached by the night of April 12 the railway employees would go on a sympathetic strike. The transport workers would join the miners also, and thus the whole "Triple Alliance" would be mobilized against the Government. The calling of the conference postponed the strike for several days.

The situation in the British coal mines bears some analogy to that of the American railroads. The mines were under Government control during the war and wages and profits were artificially maintained by huge Government subsidies. The men desired a continuance of Government control and most of them favored public ownership of the mines; failing this, their minimum demand was for the maintenance of the wage standards and agreements of wartime. They desired a pooling of mine resources in order to maintain in all districts, even in the poorest mines, a certain minimum wage scale sufficient to support the standard of living to which the war had accustomed them. The position of the mine owners is just the opposite. They wish to return to pre-war conditions with individual ownership and control of the mines and with wages settled locally by direct agreement between an employer and his employees. Since there is widespread unemployment in Great Britain and the general trend of wages is sharply downwards, the miners fear with reason that the abandonment of the two principles of "national control" of the industry and "national agreements" between the owners and the employees means that in district after district wages will be forced down to the miserable level that prevailed before the war. The railwaymen and transport workers feel that if the struggle goes against the miners their own turn will come and that only the solidarity of the Triple Alliance can defend labor against the "assaults of capitalism."




*Knott in the Dallas News*

**The shadow of the shamrock**

# The Emerald Isle

A day late in April has been fixed by the British Government when the first steps will be taken to bring into operation the new Home Rule law. About the beginning of May proclamations will be issued for summoning the new Parliaments of northern and southern Ireland and during the month elections will be held. The Sinn Feiners and the old Nationalists are expected to "boycott" both Parliaments; which means that they will either refuse to take part in the elections or will nominate and elect candidates and then refuse to take part in the new Parliaments. The Parliament of northern Ireland will not be much affected by this policy, since the Ulster Unionists will elect their candidates and proceed to govern their part of the country, but it is possible that the Parliament of southern Ireland will find itself without a quorum and unable to do business.

Lord Edmund Talbot has been appointed the first Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under the Home Rule Act. This appointment is an olive branch tendered to the southern Irish, as Lord Talbot is a Roman Catholic and a kinsman of the Dukes of Norfolk, the chief Catholic family among the English aristocracy. No Roman Catholic has ever before held the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; indeed, until the Home Rule bill became law, no Catholic was legally eligible for the post.

The publication of the report of the Villard committee to investigate conditions in Ireland has created much discussion in both England and the United States. The value of the report is somewhat lessened by the fact that the evidence brought before it was almost wholly from Sinn Fein sources. The British Government and the Ulster Unionists, regarding the committee as prejudiced, refused to present any evidence or aid its deliberations in any manner. The report of the committee therefore simply reaffirms the assertions of the Irish revolutionists and must be regarded not as a judicial verdict but as a brief for the prosecution. It concludes:

> We find that the Irish people are deprived of the protection of British law to which they would be entitled as subjects of the British King. They are likewise deprived of the moral protection granted by international law to which they are entitled as belligerents. They are at the mercy of the British forces, which, acting contrary both to all law and to all standards of human conduct, have instituted in Ireland a "terror."

Specifically, the committee finds that (1) the British Government has introduced into Ireland "a force of at least 78,000 men, many of them youthful and inexperienced"; (2) the British forces have killed men, women and children and abused and murdered prisoners of war; (3) houses and towns have been burned by official order; (4) factories and creameries have been destroyed and farms devastated; (5) hostages have been taken, fines levied on towns and private property destroyed by way of reprisal; (6) British civil government is not effectively established in Ireland; (7) the Irish people recognize and obey the Sinn Fein authorities. The committee further states that the Irish question is not a religious one, and that Protestants have never been discriminated against in southern Ireland on account of their religion.

The Villard report at last provoked the British Government to abandon its attitude of aloof indifference to the activities of the committee. The British embassy brought out a counter-statement, declaring: (1) Ireland, so far from being "devastated" is the most prosperous part of the United Kingdom and probably of Europe, one evidence of which is the recent vast increase in bank deposits; (2) before there were any reprisals at all, the revolutionists had killed ninety-two policemen, twelve soldiers and twenty-three civilians and wounded a much larger number, besides burning 1200 buildings; (3) Sinn Feiners are not entitled to the status of belligerents, since they habitually violate the laws of war and carry on their fight by secret

assassination; (4) the British force in Ireland is only 61,000 "and no man of known bad character is retained for a moment"; (5) there have been some reprisals, but no women or children have been deliberately killed or taken as hostages and no prisoners have been tortured; (6) it is probable that the Sinn Feiners themselves murdered the Lord Mayor of Cork and the Mayor of Limerick.

Here is assertion and counter-assertion, and everyone must judge for himself which is the more worthy of belief. That there have been numerous assassinations on the one side and numerous reprisals on the other is unfortunately beyond question, but no really impartial investigation has yet shown on which side lies the deeper bloodguiltiness.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Those old war posters may come in handy**

# Germany and Reparations

IT seems probable that the deadlock on reparations will last until May 1, by which time the sum total must under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles be legally established. At the expiration of that time if no agreement by consent has been reached the French Government will probably demand a military occupation of Germany, the seizure of customs and other drastic methods of coercion. The French are angry at the memorandum which Dr. Simons sent to Washington for a double reason; because they see in it an attempt to drive a wedge between the United States and the Allies, and because of the assertion contained in it that the French had not made any adequate effort to restore the devastated departments. They claim that the war-zone has already been very largely restored and resettled, but that France had almost to go bankrupt in the effort. A recent French estimate puts the bill for damages to France alone at 218,541,596,120 paper francs. (The franc is so far below par that the sum is not so enormous as it seems). Over 130,000,000,000 francs represents physical damage to factories, homes and other property; 60,000,000.000 francs covers military pensions, and the rest of the total represents such items as separation allowances, assistance to war prisoners, repayment of fines and exactions made during the war.

Dr. Simons, German Foreign Minister, was asked what steps to settle the indemnity question Germany would take by May 1. He said that he did not yet have ready any new counter-proposals, but that they would be forthcoming. He said that he "would not remain in a Government which did not declare its intentions to fulfil its obligations to the utmost capacity of Germany" and that "in a few days we are going to show in an irrefutable manner our good faith." He said that France was directing Allied policy with respect to reparations and, "We can settle the reparations question only by direct agreement with France."

Bernard Baruch, American expert at the Paris Peace Conference, estimates that "retaining Silesia, and with all discriminatory restrictions removed from Germans and their trade, Germany could pay a present capital value of $12,000,000,000." He estimates the capital value of what the Allies demand at $21,000,000,000, not counting the variable tax on exports. The estimate of Mr. Baruch as to what is possible is therefore considerably less than what the Allies demand, tho more than Germany has as yet offered. To make the burden of the Allies easier, since they are bound to be disappointed in part in their expectations of indemnity, he proposes that we should forego part of the Allied indebtedness to the United States. He does not propose a general cancellation of all the war loans of the American Government to the European Allies, but simply "the remission of that part of the obligations incurred for American-made munitions," since the money was spent in the United States and was our contribution on the material side to winning the war. Even this partial remission he suggests might well be made conditional on the continuance of peace, for if the United States should again enter a war this suspended debt could be counted as a credit for us in making purchases abroad of the war munitions we would need. In other words, we should not ask the English to pay back the money we loaned which the English spent in buying American cannon and canned meats, but we should have the privilege of buying an equivalent amount in the English market without indebtedness in case conditions were reversed.

The question of Upper Silesia is giving the Allies as much trouble as if the plebiscite had never taken place. There are three good arguments for dividing the region according to the line of the plebiscite: (1) the Poles were led to expect this policy by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and they would feel betrayed in the house of their friends if the whole of Upper Silesia were to remain German; (2) to divide the region would correspond to the principle of democratic "self-determination"; (3) it would weaken an enemy, Germany, and strengthen a rather weak friendly nation, Poland. But there are also three good arguments for keeping Upper Silesia intact, or virtually so: (1) Upper Silesia is a geographic and economic unit and its prosperity would be damaged if a national frontier were driven right thru the heart of the mining region; (2) the Germans won a victory in the plebiscite zone as a whole, which ought to give them the benefit of the doubt in any frontier revision, and any attempt to hand over to Poland the valuable mining districts would rouse lasting resentment in Germany. The Germans would feel that Upper Silesia had been divided like a banana and the "pulp" (the mineral resources) given to Poland and Germany mocked with the gift of the "skin" (the less valuable agricultural areas of the north and west which voted German by large majorities). (3) If Germany loses the mines, or any large part of them, her power to pay reparations will be materially decreased. Some have proposed that the plebiscite be disregarded entirely and Upper Silesia be placed under an international régime like that of the Saar valley for a period of five or more years. This would preserve the unity of the district and enable the Allies to use the coal for reparations. The objection is that both Germany and Poland would consider it a violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

The outburst of Communist violence in central Germany seems to have simmered down to comparative order. The German people are not yet sufficiently converted to Bolshevist doctrine to make such outbreaks other than madness. Another favorable symptom is the ability of the newly elected Prussian Parliament to organize a workable party

government. Adam Stegerwald, a man of working class origin, has been chosen Prussian Premier with the backing of the Democrats, the Center (Catholic party) and the majority Socialists. The press speaks highly of his ability.

A prominent figure has passed from the German stage in the death in exile of the former Empress, Auguste Victoria. She died of heart failure on April 11 at Doorn, the present home of the ex-Kaiser.

## Asia Minor

THE Greek campaign against the Turkish Nationalist army of Mustapha Kemal is not meeting with the success which the Greek people had expected. Accounts of the fortunes of war differ greatly according to the source of information. The Turks claim to have driven the Greeks back from Eski-Shehr behind the Brusa line and to have destroyed two Greek divisions in a single counter-offensive. Some enthusiastic Turks compared the victory of Eski-Shehr to the Battle of the Marne; a somewhat strange comparison when it is recalled that Turkey was an enemy of France during the Great War. The Greek statement is simply, "Our offensive against Eski-Shehr has been broken off. We have retired to our original positions." The Turks recaptured Afiun Karahissar, a junction on the Bagdad railway, and threaten Brusa with large armies.



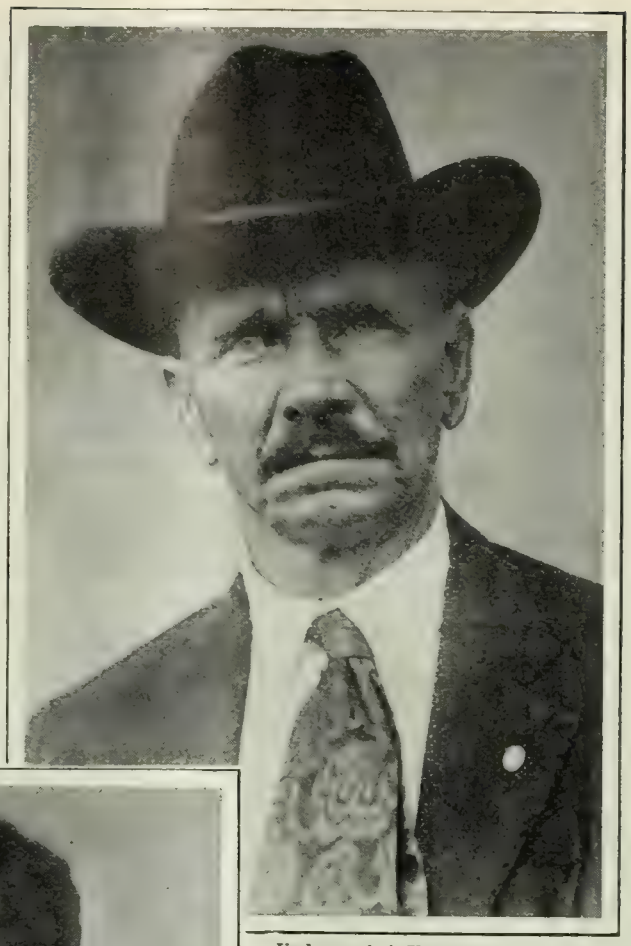
*International*

The Turks are also much encouraged by the position of foreign affairs. They have made a special treaty of amity with Bolshevist Russia. The French have evacuated Cilicia in spite of the protest of the Christian inhabitants of the district, who fear a massacre now that the French troops have been withdrawn. Neither the French nor the British, the only two Powers taking a very active interest in Near Eastern affairs, are giving either material or moral support to the Greek adventure.

There has been a change of administration in Greece, but it has not brought back Venizelos to power. Premier Kalogeropoulos has resigned and has been succeeded by Demetrios Gounaris. M. Theotokis will be Minister of War in the new Cabinet, and M. Baltazzis Minister of Foreign Affairs. King Constantine will never consent to bring Venizelos back to power, and in any case it may be too late for the Greeks to regain the support of the Allied Powers for their territorial claims.

## Italian Politics

IN May there will be another general election in Italy. Premier Giolitti's excuse for holding it is that by constitutional precedent a new election should take place when the electorate has been enlarged by the addition of new territories to the Kingdom. Since Italian territorial gains from the war have been definitely confirmed and delimited by the Treaty of Rapallo with Yugoslavia, the Trentino, Trieste and Istria will send their representatives to sit with the representatives of the old provinces in the Italian Parliament. But the Premier's real reason for holding an election at this time is the hope of reducing the size of the Communist and extreme Socialist parties. The elections of 1919 returned an enormous delegation of Socialists; considerably more than a fourth of the Chamber of Deputies. Altho the Communists have since then branched off from the regular Socialist party, the Government is still embarrassed by the size and violence of the Socialist section of the Chamber and is of the opinion that an election held now would return to power a more moderate Parliament.



*Underwood & Underwood*

**The principals in the Georgia peonage case: John S. Williams, the Jasper County planter who was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment in his first trial following the accusation that he killed eleven negro peons working on his plantation, and Clyde Manning, the negro farm hand who confessed that he had carried out these murders under Williams's orders**

Perhaps no one save Premier Giolitti could have kept in office during recent troubles. Italy has suffered from economic depression and after-war poverty exactly as have England, France and the United States; but the people have suffered more because even in normal times Italy is not a rich country. There has been the long drawn out dispute with the Yugoslavs over the eastern frontier, complicated by D'Annunzio's insurrection. There have been riots and dynamite outrages by the Communists in the industrial towns and lawless repression by the bands of "Fascisti." But thru it all Giolitti has piloted his course, achieving his aims more frequently by compromize than by defiance. Thus he kept the army and police "neutral" while striking workmen seized and ran the factories instead of attempting to "vindicate the rights of private property." Altho this passive policy was almost an abdication of the responsibilities of government, it met with some success, for the fire of revolution burned itself out and the factories went back to their owners on various terms and compromize. Giolitti has been equally successful in handling political problems in Parliament, and in dealing with foreign affairs. Altho on him rested the cloud of leading the "neutralist" faction during the war he has kept on good terms with the Allies since he resumed office. He is a political "boss," supple and adroit rather than heroic or consistent, but familiar with every twist and turn of Italian politics, and he has succeeded where men of slower mind have failed.

Near Pola, an Italian city in the former Austrian province of Istria, there has been a serious clash between bands of Croatian peasants and the Italians. Order was eventually restored by the Italian military forces, but only after several persons had been killed and over a hundred wounded.

As Italy, enlarged by the war, now includes many thousands of Croats and Slovenes, it will take very wise government in the new provinces to avoid similar nationalist riots in the future.

The ill-feeling caused by D'Annunzio's adventure has not been eradicated from the Slavic mind, nor does it help to have the Fascisti "boom" the Jingo poet for Premier.

# A Little of Everything



## Young Stars and Old

### By A. J. Lotka

Professor Michelson's recent measurement of the giant star Betelgeuse has once more opened our eyes to the immensity of the universe, and to the comparative insignificance of this particular corner which we inhabit. We think of our sun as a stupendous bulk. Look up at the moon in the sky. Imagine the sun to be bodily transported, so as to engulf us, earth and moon and all, as we stand. Then the moon would be buried almost halfway down in the body of the sun. For the sun's radius is 433,000 miles, nearly double the distance from the earth to the moon (240,000 miles). Or, to put the matter in another way, the earth, the moon and all the planets together make up only one-seventh of one per cent of the solar system. All the rest is concentrated in the sun.

And yet, among its own kind, our monarch of the sky has to take a somewhat modest place, at any rate as to brightness and volume. Of the six thousand odd stars visible to the naked eye, the majority are probably more than a hundred times more brilliant than the sun, their light, as they appear to us here being dimmed only by the great intervening distance. For even the "nearest" of them, the star Alpha Centauri, is twenty-five million miles away, so that we see it, not as it is now, but as it was four and a half years ago. And so, those glittering points in the sky are, for the most part, suns more mighty than our own. Among them Betelgeuse must hold a high rank, both in point of brilliancy and of volume. For this heavenly body belongs to what astronomers have termed the giant class, while our sun is a dwarf star. These terms do not express merely the obvious relation in size. They refer to certain more fundamental characteristics. We might equally well say that Betelgeuse is a young star, while our sun is in midlife. For stars have their life history somewhat as living beings do. Much of it necessarily remains wrapped in mystery, but this at any rate seems now fairly certain—that in its early stages a star is widely diffused as a thin mass of gas at relatively low temperature. This gradually contracts and becomes more dense, and at the same time hotter. In this process the color of the star changes, for the tint of a glowing hot body depends on its temperature, as everyone knows. A moderately hot body appears dark red, and, as its temperature rises it passes thru bright red and orange to a final white heat. While the eye can distinguish the coarser gradations of temperature in this color scale, it requires a special instrument, the spectrometer, to observe the finer shades in which the astronomer is interested. At the same time the spectrometer yields highly important information on a variety of other points regarding the star, such as its chemical composition, its physical state (whether gaseous or liquid or solid), and even its motion towards or away from the observer.

The young star, as was observed above, is comparatively cool and much bloated. So Betelgeuse spreads itself over a huge space which would extend nearly to the orbit of Mars if the giant star were placed with its center where the sun is now. As time goes on the giant contracts under the influence of gravity, and in this process it becomes heated. A stage is finally reached when the star, now comparatively compact, like our sun, reverses its behavior, and starts to fall in temperature, tho still contracting. In this way every temperature is gone thru twice, once in going up the scale, as a giant star, and once in coming down, as a dwarf. Finally, we may presume, the star cools so that it no longer gives out visible light.

## An Amphibious Forest

There was completed the other day in British Columbia a craft 250 feet long, 60 feet beam, 36 feet draft, with a displacement of 9000 tons. The peculiar thing about it was that ship and cargo were all in one. The boat was made of 5,000,000 feet of Douglas fir, built and bolted together in the shape of a ship, with engines in its midst and with poop and fo'c'sle on top. It was a sailing ship with auxiliary motors driving twin screws.

On arrival at its destination it will be taken apart. All parts will be marketable except the pieces thru which bolts had passed, the deck houses and the engines.



**A remnant herd on the Missouri, in South Dakota—"sad, shabby specimens of the monarchs of the plains"**

## Where Buffaloes Are Kings

### By Agnes C. Laut

### Author of "Pathfinders of the West"

To all lovers of wild life the story of the restoration of the buffalo herds in Wainwright Park, Alberta, should bring good cheer. Better still, two days spent with them in the park, where you meet a moving mass of 5000 humped, furry backs and suddenly have to scuttle your motor off the prairie trail because some old bulls begin pawing up dust to take a mud bath!

Picture not a 160-acre farm, but 160 square miles, fenced off sixteen to twenty feet high. Park clumps of brush wood and myriad sky-blue sloughs lie in the hollows of the rolling hills east of Edmonton, where the buffalo park has been located.

Picture the high, dry, diamond-point sunlight of early dawn on the prairie! There is hardly a flutter of wind thru the trembling poplars. A

warden opens the gate and you shoot into the park in your car, humming along quietly. Suddenly, the driver stops and signals you to creep cautiously up the crest of a gray couteau. You look over the crest of the hill. Are they creatures of earth at all, these shiny, dun-gray forms, sleek as silk, graceful as fawns, feet hardly touching earth, heads proudly aloof sporting antlered horns just out of the velvet, a score or more of young elk, which have whiffed your presence and are now floating off in space?

Back in your car and off again, searching the buffaloes you hum from hill to hollow, riding right under the nose of a discarded king—some old bull, who has fought his last battle and been deposed as leader of the herd and now lies in the sun, where he can see his herds afar.

Suddenly down by the lake you see them—the main herd—sleek, shiny, fat, furred monsters, with their rumps of huge cattle, the humped backs of sheep, but the powerful shoulders and shaggy head of nothing else on earth but the buffalo. Five thousand of them there are and eleven hundred calves, led by the big bulls, flanked by the young bulls hooked back in their proper place by the leaders, cows and calves following in a lumbering gait, with many a pause to kick up dust, then wallow in a great roll to drive off the flies.



The sort of encounter that makes you scuttle in ignominious retreat off of the prairie trail that goes thru Wainwright Park

I have known this herd almost since I have known the West. The nucleus existed in a little drove out at Commander Bedson's of the Penitentiary near Winnipeg. Then the herd was dispersed and went to ranches in Montana and South Dakota. Buffalo grass was scarce and dry as tinder. The best ranches had been fenced off. The buffaloes were lethargic and shaggy, like great, dull, degenerating sheep.

It was about this time the Canadian Government set aside Wainwright Buffalo Park and the remnants of the herd were purchased to restore buffalo life in Canada. The buffaloes came to the Saskatchewan. They threw up their heads and sniffed. Then they plunged down the banks as in an old time stampede and breasted the current. By the time the wardens came up with the chuck wagons, the buffaloes were pasturing and at home as tho they had been in the park all their lives; and today those few hundreds have multiplied to six thousand in practically pristine conditions—fat, sleek, powerful, heavily furred, terrifically active, monarchs of their pasture ground.

As the park cannot pasture more than six thousand—it was necessary to feed two thousand of the young stock with hay last year—part of the herd must now be transferred to the Rockies. Even after that transfer, one thousand bulls a year will soon have to be killed; for they are terrific fighters; and every fight means a cripple left for the ravening wolves.

## Snips

The New York Society Library, 101 University Place, is the oldest public library in the United States. It was established in 1754.

***

A motor company in Detroit estimates that at least 1,500,000 automobiles are "junked" in the course of a year in the United States.

***

An outbreak of wild cats is reported from the Berkshire hills in western Massachusetts. Several persons were attacked near the town of Monterey.

***

A woman in the Italian colony of a Pennsylvania town has appealed to the police for protection against her neighbors, who have threatened to burn her as a witch.

***

The new land laws of Bulgaria limit agricultural holdings to 74 acres. Each proprietor must cultivate his own land. The large estates are being divided up by means of compulsory purchase.

***

In a recent questionnaire of college students in Columbia University and New York University it was discovered that the New York *Times* was the favorite newspaper of nearly one-half.



A light-footed elk, poised on guard in the bright prairie dawn

## Why Girls Leave Home

**A society that has investigated girls who leave the protection of the family claims that 90 per cent of them go for the following reasons:**

To see the world.

To secure an education.

For financial gain and advantage.

Because the boys in the family receive more consideration than the girls.

To secure the social recognition that is denied them in a town or village.

Because of the lack of tact on the part of parents.

To relieve the heart of a great sorrow.

Sometimes, but not often, to cover up a mistake or blunder.

## Where Do You Come In?

Here is a chance to kill at least three birds with one stone; an occasion to follow up thoroly some line of study that you have always been interested in, to give countless other people the benefit of your research, and last—who shall say least?—to be just enough superior to other people who are doing the same thing to earn for yourself an exceedingly worth-while money prize. The Francis D. Pollak Foundation for Economic Research has opened an essay competition so general in its conditions that everyone but a mere child is eligible, and there is a choice of subject that permits every competitor his own individual approach to the great problems of our economic system.

These are the three general subjects. If another is chosen it must be related, and must be approved in advance by the Foundation.

### The Part that Money Plays in Economic Theory.

### Causes of Unemployment and Remedies.

### Conditions Which Determine How Much the Customer Gets for His Dollar.

The classifications for prizes are as follows:

$1,000, open to anybody.

$500, open to undergraduates in any college or other school of college grade, in the United States.

A scholarship of $500 in any college, open to students in any high school or other secondary school.

The essays must not be more than ten thousand words, and must be in by December 31, 1921. The judges are Wallace B. Donham, Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration; Irving Fisher, Professor of Economics, Yale University; Wesley C. Mitchell, Director, National Bureau of Economic Research. Further information is available from Dr. William T. Foster, Newton 58, Massachusetts.

## "And They Lived Happy Ever After"

(*Continued from page 419*)

about to enter. For household administration is a business. When statisticians tell us that 90 per cent of all the money earned is spent by women, and that only 30 per cent of such expenditure is efficient, we have reason to question if the business is being carried on as it should be in any respect.

They were sensible, nice girls. They answered my questions frankly and discussed the situation with intelligence. To one girl I said, "Get married as you have planned. At least you have some of the fundamental knowledge required for the business administration of a home and you seem to understand what factors underlie success."

To the other girl I had to say, "You ought to wait until you have learned those things which will make it possible for you properly to conserve or use the limited amount of money your young man is now making. You keep saying to me, "But his salary will be raised in the fall." That is not the point. You should be able to live on what he is making now, and you must do so if you marry next month. That raise is six months away and meantime if you proceed as you say you have planned to do you will be in debt. If you get in debt at the very beginning the chances are you will never recover from that handicap. You have told me you cannot get an apartment in which you are willing to live for less than what amounts to 35 per cent of your income, and I know you cannot live as you are planning to do on the remaining 65 per cent. Either wait for that raise in salary or learn to live within what the young man is making at this time."

Some two years later I was lunching at a club when a radiant young woman came up to me. "You probably do not remember me," she said, "but I am one of the girls who asked you if she should get married at the lecture you gave in ————."

"Well, did you?" I asked.

"Yes, I did, and it is all right."

After she had told me about her home and family and the things she had done in the first year of married life in order to adjust her living to the amount of income received, I said, "Well, what about your friend?"

Her face clouded. "She did not take your advice to wait until she could learn how to care for the home in the right way. She married that following month and they are already separated. Neither of them knew how to use money properly and they began to get into debt at once. He blamed her for extravagance. She accused him of not being a good provider, and the tragedy came."

A family budget is not a court of domestic relations where misbehaving husbands and wives can be shown the error of their ways, but it is a preventive, a means to happiness too often neglected. It is not a mere plan, it is


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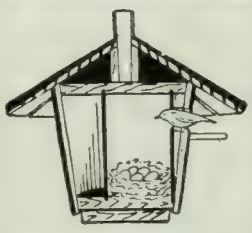
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an adjuster as well. Home economics experts who act as advisors in banks and other institutions or have the home maker's personal problems brought to them direct or thru magazines, find the budget the most effective way of locating trouble.

Given $2,600 a year and but two in the family one should be able to keep to some such budget as follows:

| | % | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rent | 25 | $650 or $54.16 per month | |
| Operating expenses | 15 | 390 | 32.50 |
| Food | 30 | 780 | 65.00 |
| Clothes | 20 | 520 | 43.33 |

This leaves but 10 per cent or $260 for savings, church, charity, club dues, theater, books, magazines, newspapers, car fare; all the advancement, the fun, the margin that makes the difference between merely getting the living or getting life out of the living. If your husband has to struggle all the working day to maintain a home beyond his means his affection for you may last, but it is taking a risk no sensible girl will venture.

The thing necessary to realize is that skill in using money is just as essential to progress and well being as skill in earning it. It is by the way money is used that one gets what we will term "fun." Food, clothing and shelter are essentials. If we have to use all we can earn in securing these things life becomes drab. Down underneath the labor unrest, insistent demand for higher wage, and agitation over standards of living, is the growing realization that there must be a margin over and above buying mere necessities for the securing of life itself. To those who see this, it has become unbearable to work all day to get money enough to buy food enough to give strength enough to work all day to get money enough to buy food enough to give strength enough—and so on and on.

Many are saying that again and again there is money enough if it is only rightly used. Ignorance or carelessness in expenditure makes as much trouble as limitation of income. If one has not the knowledge or the will to expend the amount earned so skilfully that she can buy the requisite food, clothing and shelter, and yet have a margin with which to buy happiness or "fun," then she is poor. You may have less than your neighbor in the amount earned and yet be richer than she is because you know how to use the income to secure the desired returns.

Such matters as these will be presented. A man, wife and three small children, the typical family, will have an indeterminate income, that is one derived from professional sources varying from four to six thousand dollars a year. They are in debt yet know they are not living extravagantly. One may scan each item of expenditure and find no single place where it can be said the amount used is in excess. Only budgeting will tell the story and expose the source of waste or misuse.

For instance a woman living in New York City came to me with a carefully kept account sheet, saying she and her husband desired to send their daughter to college in a year and actually could not see any place where they could save enough money from their ten thousand dollar income to warrant doing so. Assuming that under normal conditions a fair division for a ten thousand dollar income would be 24 per cent for rent, 16 per cent for operating expenses, 20 per cent for food and 18 per cent for clothes for three people, this would leave 22 per cent for what we term higher life.

Higher life includes all the items for which we save; church, charity, life insurance, music, education, incidentals, the doctor, dentist, all things apart from those fundamental needs comprized under food, clothing and shelter. Perhaps one of the reasons why people do not budget is because a study of a family budget reveals so much. If a family of three have ten thousand a year and yet cannot save enough to send the one daughter to college what is wrong? Surely it is possible to live in such a way as to secure a margin for education from such a sum!

Often I have found more real poverty with possession of amounts of money seemingly large, than I have in the families of those the ten thousand dollar income would deem poor. Taking the amounts given and making a budget which necessarily included the expense of garage and car, this was found:

| | % |
|---|---|
| Rent | 32 |
| Operating expenses | 22 |
| Clothes | 21 |
| Food | 19 |

This amounts to $9,400, leaving but $600 for the fifth division of the budget.

Now the mere items did not seem out of proportion with a ten thousand dollar income, but making a budget revealed this fact. If the necessities of life must cost 94 per cent there is but 6 per cent left for those things of even greater moment than an automobile, service, garage, expensive furnishings and more food than one needs. Life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. The most simple calculation should show any man or woman that 30 per cent of a ten thousand dollar income is too much to pay for rent, for it leaves too small a remainder for other needs. Yet if $3,000 must be paid, and at present that is not relatively a large rent in New York City, it is obvious that the deficit must be taken from some other division than that of higher life. Any method of keeping household accounts amounts to nothing if out of them some basis of sensible procedure cannot be secured.

In the case cited there was a definite choice to be made between securing an education for a loved daughter and living on a scale which prohibited this. One of the dangers arising from the present condition of high rents is that again and again there is no choice. There is no other abiding place to be found but one that takes in rent the children's opportunity for advancement and future good. The present housing situation is a menace to our greatest

assets, its future citizenship; its boys and girls growing up in health of mind and body, in right thinking and straight doing, in opportunity for the kind of life and education that means wealth.

We need to learn anew that wealth is not counted in terms of dollars and cents. Money is merely our chosen medium of barter and exchange. It is worth only what we can get with it. If we are so unskilled that we must spend all we have in getting mere food, clothing and shelter we are poor no matter how much it costs to buy these things. If we know how to use our resources so as to get what we want we are rich.

*New York*

## Taking Our Place in the World

(*Continued from page 426*)

ence of all the American Republics which is not a part of the Monroe Doctrine, unless it can be deemed a corollary from the Doctrine. All Europe and Asia, and also the other Republics of America, will be obligated by the Covenant to respect the territory and independence of all American Republics.

Modifying Article X as proposed above would relieve the old world nations and also the American Republics of that part of their present agreement, which binds them to preserve the territory and independence of all American Republics against external aggression, whether from America or elsewhere, but it would leave them still obligated to respect the territory and independence of those Republics. The whole would still be committed to the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, which we announced a century ago we would compel the old world to observe, and we would be bound by express agreement to follow the course which we feel entitled to require of them.

If we do not enter the League, and the other American Republics remain in, with Article X standing as at present, an important question arises. Suppose a controversy between the United States and some American Republic that is in the League should become acute? Can that Republic call upon Europe to protect it against this country?

Certain other provisions of the Covenant, dependent upon Article X as it originally stood would have to be omitted or modified if the guarantee against external aggression is omitted, for example.

Article XVI (paragraph 2) provides that in case any member of the League resorts to war in violation of the Covenant, all members of the League agree to cut that nation and all its nationals off from intercourse of any kind with itself or its nationals or with any other nation and its nationals, whether such nation be a member of the League or not. Carrying out that agreement might, and in all probability would, require the use of force.

The next paragraph of this article




# Age-Old Mistakes

## Are still made in teeth cleaning

Countless people who brush teeth daily find they still discolor and decay. The reason is, they leave the film—that viscous film you feel. It clings to teeth, gets between the teeth and stays.

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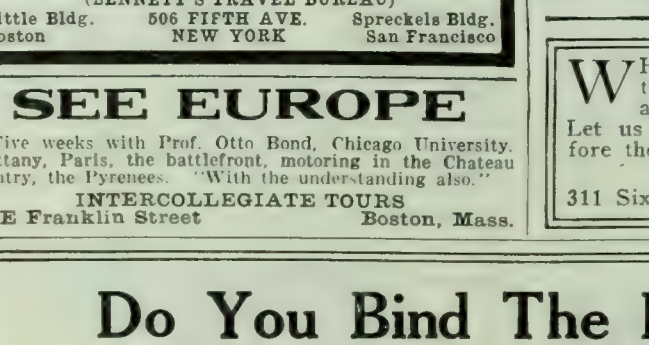
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If you do, please keep in mind that it will not be necessary to get your copies ready for the bindery until the end of June. Beginning with the 1921 issues, our publication will be indexed and bound in two volumes instead of four. The index for volume 105, which will cover from January 1st to June 30th, will be printed in July and mailed to the subscribers who requested it as soon as it is off the press. With the changed plan it will be necessary to get copies ready for binding but twice a year, and there will be two bindery bills to pay instead of four. Further than this, it will be more convenient to refer to two volumes instead of four.

provides that in such case (resort to war in violation of the terms of the Covenant) it shall be the duty of the Council to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed force to be used to protect the Covenant of the League. This implies that there is a duty on the part of members to supply some military and naval force and that the Council should judge what would be sufficient. If Article X is amended as proposed above, these provisions should be cut out or amended so as to provide that in such case the council shall communicate to the members of the League its findings as to the fact of resort to war, in violation of the terms of the Covenant, and it may recommend such economic, financial, military and naval action as the Council may deem desirable. Each member of the League acting thru its duly constituted authorities to accept or reject the recommendations, having entire freedom to take such action as may seem proper to them under the facts as they are found by those authorities to exist.

If we cannot now go internationally, as far as our forefathers did nationally, in providing for mutual protection against external dangers, we can and should make assurance doubly sure, as they did, as to where the residue of political power is vested. The Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia having omitted from the proposed constitution that clause of the Articles of Confederation which declared the States to be possessed of all power not granted to the Confederation, the very first Congress, held under the Constitution, proposed the incorporation of this declaration into the Constitution as Amendment No. 10. The proposed amendment was ratified immediately by the state legislatures and proclaimed as part of the Constitution before the end of 1791. The amendment was in the following words:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

While eliminating part of Article X of the Covenant, and other portions of the Covenant dependent upon Article X, let the whole of Amendment X to our Constitution be incorporated into the Covenant of the League. Changing only a few words is necessary. Such an amendment would read: "The powers not delegated to the League of Nations by this Covenant, nor prohibited by it to the member nations, are reserved to the member nations respectively, or to the people."

Perhaps it might be well to add a phrase to the effect that the reserved powers are to be exercized by each nation according to its own constitution, tho that follows as a necessary conclusion. Such a statement could do no harm and might do some good.

With the provision for mutual preservation of each other's territory and independence against external aggres-

sion eliminated from the Covenant, the question of representation in the League for the Big and Little States becomes much simpler. So does the division of power between the Council and the Assembly. In fact with that clause omitted, the basic relation of the Council and the Assembly might well be altered so as to make the Assembly the equal, if not the superior, of the Council, and to provide for the appointment of one or two members of the Council for each nation by that nation, from its membership in the Assembly, *or* by the Assembly itself. Adoption of this latter method would put into practice the substance of one of the Argentine proposals made at Geneva at the first session of the Assembly, at the same time enlarging the Council, so as to give representation therein to every member nation, which was not proposed by the Argentine delegation. The important question of representation in an international union or association deserves more consideration than can be given here. Now it seems sufficient to say that, with the authority of the Council and the Assembly limited to making recommendations to the sovereigns represented in the League, the main thing as regards representation is that each nation shall be represented, and in a manner satisfactory to itself. There being no dissatisfaction on this point, it will be much easier to come into accord on all other questions as they arise.

There are other important phases of the question of amending the Covenant which also deserve careful consideration, such for example as the proper relation of Great Britain and the lands subject to that sovereignty, to the League and to other nations in the League, and also out of the League, such as the United States. This question alone is worthy of a separate article. Then there is the question of sovereign states intentionally excluded from the League, which the Argentine delegation proposed at Geneva to admit, and which France and perhaps other important nations are not yet ready to receive as friends and equals. These and other questions will be considered later. If the foregoing proposals are found acceptable at Washington and also at the other national capitals of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, why should not the United States go into the League? That is now the question.

## David and Goliath

(*Continued from page 421*)

In the war of 1812, because of her unprecedented sail power, her new model and her guns, harder hitting and of longer range than were borne by any foreign ship, the United States Frigate "Constitution" took, without let or hindrance, positions wherefrom she converted his Britannic Majesty's Frigate "Guerriere" into a sieve. Now we want the "Constitutions" of the air.

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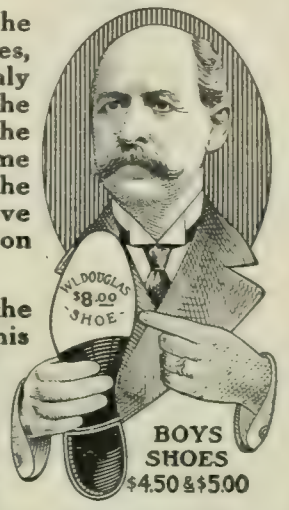
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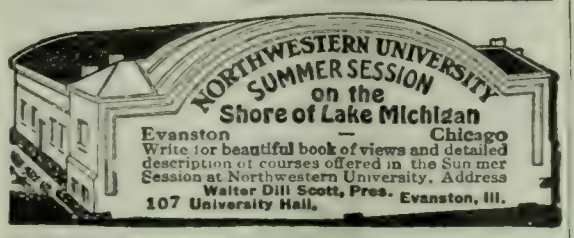
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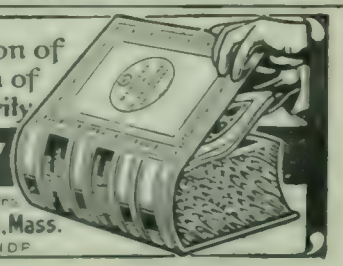



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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. David and Goliath.**

1. Tell the story of "David and Goliath." In what ways is the title appropriate?
2. Write the theme of the article in the form of a proposition for a debate.
3. Give a clear explanation of the following sentence: "The battleship is an aggregation of expedients piled *seriatim* on the foundation of Ericsson's 'Monitor.'"
4. Explain the allusion to Lady Rowena, Bois Guilbert, and the Disinherited Knight.
5. Consult any good encyclopedia for information concerning Pericles, and his relation to seapower.
6. Tell the story of the frigate "Constitution." What famous American poem concerns that frigate? Find the poem, and read it to the class.
7. Write a brief that will show the development of the writer's thought.
8. Write an original short story in which you tell of events that may occur in the future.

**II. Taking Our Place in the World.**

1. Prove that the article gives points that support the title.
2. What is the purpose of the first paragraph?
3. Write a brief that will show the points presented in support of the contention that "The League is therefore distinctly American in its foundation stones."
4. Study the opening words of every paragraph. Explain how they aid in making the article coherent.
5. Write a single paragraph that will express the author's principal thought.
6. Tell the meaning, and the derivation of every one of the following words: aggression, assurance, controversy, eliminating, respectively.

**III. Sermons, Soviet Style.**

1. Tell what notable change is said to have taken place in Russian life.
2. Write a short story in which you try to present some of the emotions that people living in Russia today are likely to have as a result of the conditions mentioned in the article.
3. Write a description of the Church of St. Basil.
4. Write a composition in which you develop a contrast between the scene in a Russian church during service, and a somewhat similar scene in the United States.

**IV. "And They Lived Happy Ever After."**

1. Explain why the title is appropriate for an article concerning the budget system.
2. What is the antecedent of the first pronoun in the article? What advantage is gained by omitting preliminary explanation and description? Does the omission of explanation and description detract from the clearness of the opening paragraphs? Give full reasons for your answer.
3. Why does the author make use of conversation in the opening paragraphs, and in other parts of the article?
4. Give a clear explanation of the budget system as applied to family life.
5. Explain what the author means by saying "Wealth is not counted in terms of dollars and cents." How is the thought related to the budget system?
6. How can you apply the budget system to your own financial affairs?
7. How can you apply the budget system to the conduct of a school publication?
8. Explain in what respects the last paragraph is an efficient closing paragraph.

**V. A Little of Everything.**

1. Tell what original observations you might make under any one of the three prize-essay subjects named in "Where Do You Come In?"
2. Prove that the article called "Young Stars and Old" is based upon comparison. Under what circumstances is it best for a writer to use comparison?
3. Imagine that a buffalo belonging to the herd mentioned in "Where Buffaloes Are Kings," tells the story of his ancestors in America and contrasts their condition with his own. Consult any good encyclopedia for further information.

**VI. The Story of the Week.**

1. Draw from the news of the week at least five propositions suitable for debate.
2. What are the present relations between Germany and the Allies?
3. Explain the different assertions that are made concerning conditions in Ireland.

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. American Foreign Policy—Harding's Foreign Policy. Uncle Sam Demands a Front Seat. Taking Our Place in the World. The President's First Message.**

1. In what manner does President Harding propose to end "our state of war" with Germany?
2. State the argument of Secretary Hughes's note on Yap. The argument is so logically developed that it can be "briefed" in outline form.
3. Name all of the "principal Allied and Associated Powers" to which Secretary Hughes refers in his note. Is the United States an "Allied" or only an "Associated" Power? What is the difference?
4. Compare the foreign policy of the present administration with that of the Wilson Administration. In what respects has there been a continuation of the same policy? In what particulars has there been a change of policy?
5. Explain Mr. Davis's statement, "The League is therefore distinctly American in its foundation stones."
6. What amendment does Mr. Davis propose to "Article X" of the Covenant?
7. What other changes in the Covenant does Mr. Davis propose or discuss?
8. Compare the proposed amendments and reservations to the League Covenant with the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution, and the circumstances which led to their adoption.
9. State the argument of Mr. Holt's article. What appeal does he make to the pro-League Republicans?
10. Prepare a debate on either the affirmative or the negative of *one* of the following subjects: (a) Resolved, That President Harding has indicated in his message the best way to bring the United States to peace and friendly relationships with the rest of the world; (b) Resolved, That Secretary Hughes is justified in refusing to recognize the attribution of the mandate over Yap to Japan.

**II. American Domestic Policy—Harding Has His Say. The Dawes Report. The President's First Message.**

1. What does President Harding have to say about national finance?
2. What is the meaning of a "protectionist tariff"? What are the arguments for and against "free trade"?
3. What legislation has been proposed for the relief of veterans of the Great War?
4. Explain Mr. Holt's reference to "the Ohio idea."
5. Summarize President Harding's proposals on various questions of domestic policy.

**III. Naval Policy—David and Goliath.**

1. What arguments does Mr. Park Benjamin give to support his contention that the battleship no longer assures supremacy at sea?
2. Prepare a brief for debate based on Mr. Benjamin's assertion: "The United States should primarily concentrate its energies and resources upon building *now* the most formidable air and submarine armament in the world." Discuss it from the standpoints of national finance and international policy as well as naval strategy.

**IV. The Church in Russia—Sermons, Soviet Style.**

1. What form of Christianity was established by law in Russia prior to the revolution? What other religions then existed within the boundaries of the Russian Empire?
2. What effect has the revolution had on religious development in Russia?

**V. Germany—Germany and Reparations.**

1. What is the present status of the reparations controversy?
2. Why is it difficult to decide what should be done with Upper Silesia?

**VI. British Labor — Saving the British Mines.**

1. Why is the coal industry so vital to the industrial life of Great Britain? What other countries are big coal producers?
2. What is the "Triple Alliance"?
3. In what respects does the issue between the mine owners and the miners in England resemble that between the railroads and their employees in the United States?

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2. Sign your name and address, or we cannot answer your letter.

3. Do not feel hurt if we fail to print your letter in the Independent Opinions department or are forced to make some cuts in it. Remember that we, too, are victims of the inexorable laws of available space.

4. Suggestions for improving the paper will always be gratefully received. If they are practical they will be carefully considered.

5. A soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger. In other words, you are far more likely to convert the editor to your opinion by a careful and moderate argument than by calling names or threatening to "stop the paper." The Independent strives to please, but it has never yet abandoned a conviction because of any fear of unpopularity.

6. In calling attention to errors of spelling or grammar, remember that the printer is fallible as well as the editor. It is hardly worth your while to point out misprints because we always find them ourselves; usually before it is too late, sometimes (to our exquisite agony) after the paper is printed.

7. Brief, pointed and witty letters stand a very good chance indeed of getting into Independent Opinions sooner or later.

8. If there is an occasional article or some department of the magazine that does not interest you, do not wonder overmuch, for we must meet the differing tastes of many thousands of different subscribers. You have a use for The Independent if there is anything in it that *does* interest you.

9. Do not look for a "hidden hand" in The Independent. We are not owned or controlled in policy by anyone in the world. Our signed editorials express the opinions of the men who write them; our articles are printed because we found them interesting and hoped that you would be interested also, not necessarily because we agree with them or expect or wish you to agree with them. If we ever carry on a "propaganda" do not look for hidden evidences of it in the body of the paper, but read the leading editorial.

10. Always remember the motto which hung above the organ in the Far Western church: "Don't shoot the organist, he is doing the best he can."

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## Opening Nights

*Bringing Up Father at the Seashore.* McManus's cartoons brought to life and presented on the stage. Jiggs, Maggie and Dinty Moore, assisted by a small but noisy chorus, furnish slapstick comedy. (Manhattan Opera House.)

*Dream Street.* For his latest production Mr. D. W. Griffith has taken the ideas and characters from two stories, "Gina of Chinatown" and "The Sign of the Lamp," by Thomas Burke. The story of the love of two brothers for the same girl. (Central Theater.)

In *The Trial of Joan of Arc,* by Emil Moreau, Margaret Anglin portrays a very human Maid of Orleans, a sturdy, simple peasant girl with a childlike belief in her visions that transcended even her terror of death. There is the splendor of pageantry thruout the whole production and careful historical accuracy in the details both of setting and of dialog. (Shubert Theater.)

*Macbeth* at the Broadhurst is a reaction to conventionality from the futuristic Macbeth given a few weeks ago at the Apollo. The scenery is simple but realistic and the acting is in line with tradition. Walter Hampden's Macbeth was good, but it was Mary Hall as Lady Macbeth who captured the audience. There was much greater fidelity to Shakespeare's text than is customary, and the result proved the folly of those who think that Shakespeare cannot be acted unless he is drastically "cut." (Broadhurst Theater.)

"The play's the thing"—the only thing in fact, that is lacking in the much heralded production of *Clair de Lune.* The acting, with Ethel Barrymore, John Barrymore and Violet Kemble Cooper in the chief roles, is almost perfect; the exquisitely beautiful stage settings are worth going far to see, but the play itself, an adaptation of Victor Hugo's "L'Homme qui Rit," by Michael Strange, is mawkish sentiment discolored by decadent philosophy. Probably only the fact that the author is Mrs. John Barrymore obtained it a hearing. (Empire Theater.)

## Ask the Dentist

"Where were you yesterday, Tommy Cribbs?" asked the teacher.

"Please, mum, I had a toothache," answered Tommy.

"Has it stopped?" asked the teacher sympathetically.

"I don't know," said Tommy.

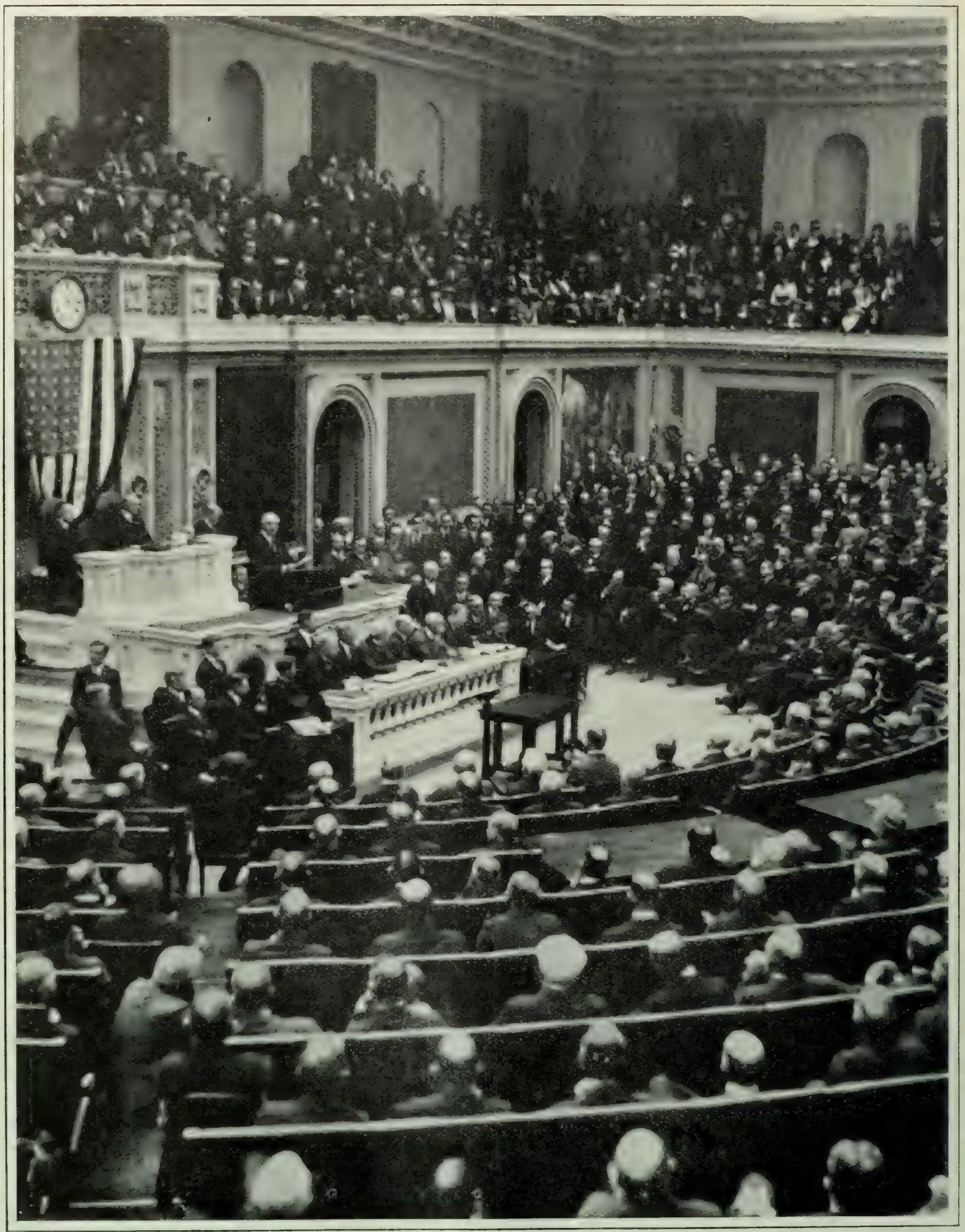
"What do you mean, boy? You don't know if your tooth has stopped aching?"

"No, mum; the dentist kept it."

—*Los Angeles Times.*



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*International*

**"I know of no more pressing problem at home than to restrict our national expenditures within the limits of our national income"—President Harding's first message to the Congress of the United States**

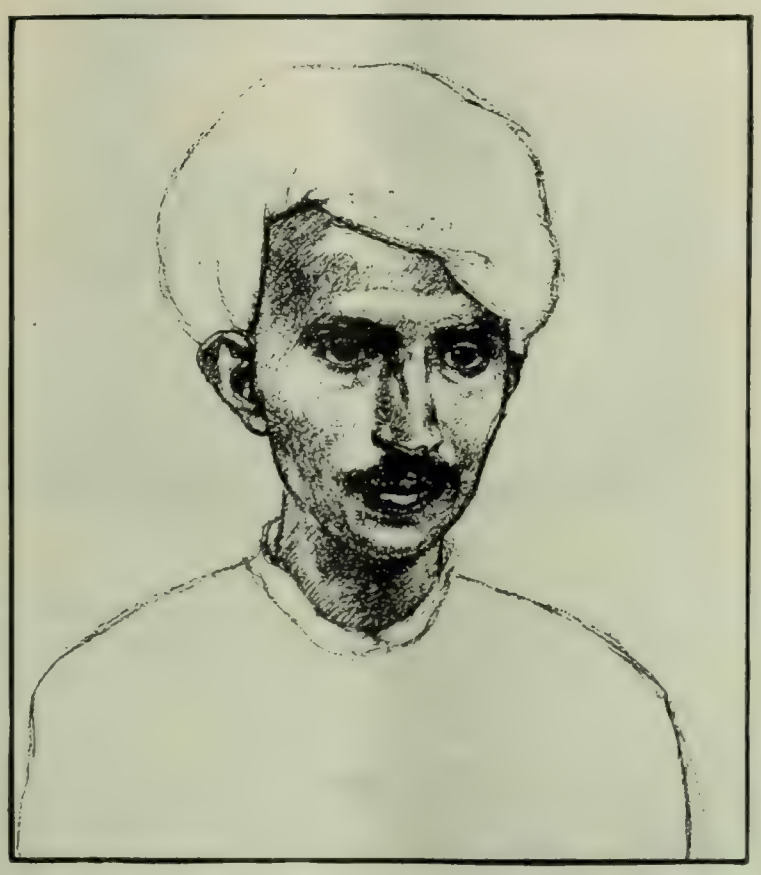
The Independent
April 30, 1921

# The World Will Hear More of Gandhi

## By Basanta Koomar Roy

*A student of Calcutta University and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, a lecturer in the Wisconsin Extension Courses, and for many years a writer of standing in India as well as in America, Mr. Roy is one of the very few men who can interpret Indian affairs with both sympathetic insight and critical detachment. Beside magazine articles, Mr. Roy has written a number of books, of which "Rabindranath Tagore: the Man and His Poetry" is one*

IT is both futile and foolish to deny or to ignore the existence of a widespread and deep-seated unrest of 315,000,000 people in India today. And the most significant factor to be reckoned with is the dramatic entrance of the masses of this ancient land into the arena of political and economic revolt against the British Raj. *The Pioneer Mail* of Allahabad, India, is a semi-official British paper. On pages 20 and 21 in its issue of February 4 there are twenty headlines, and sixteen out of these deal with strike and boycott. These headlines read: "Bombay Strikers Riot," "Madras Sweepers Strike," "Lahore Students Strike," "Madras Strike Ends," "Bangalore Mill Strike Ended," "Madras Municipal Strike," "Men Resume Work," "Kohinoor Mill Strikes," "Madhupur Cooks (in British homes only) Strike," "Calcutta Tram Strike," "Men Desirous to Negotiate," "No Signs of Settlement," "Both Sides Remain Firm," "Tram Cars Held Up in Calcutta," "Agra Students Strike," "Calcutta Students Strike."



These two things about Mahatma Gandhi lay hold on the imagination—that he has more influence over the millions of India than any political leader has ever had over the people of any country, and that at the same time he preaches not the power of force and violence, but the power of the ascetic and saintly life

A study of the map of India would show that the places mentioned in these headlines cover the entire country—north, south, east and west. Day after day, week after week, and month after month similar items of news are crowding the pages of the Indian papers. They simply indicate the direction of the dominant currents of thought in India. And the paramount factor in this crisis is the non-coöperation movement. In plain language it means nothing short of absolute boycott of everything connected with the British in India. It advocates the surrender of all titles of honor and honorary offices; suspension of practice by lawyers in British courts; and settlement of disputes by private arbitration; non-participation in Government loans; boycott of Government schools, colleges and universities; boycott of the reformed councils; refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia and to offer as units for the army especially in Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges; vigorous prosecution of the boycott of British goods, and the adoption of means for the production of necessities of life; resignation of all salaried Government employees; resignation of all police and soldiers from their respective positions; and absolute refusal to pay taxes to the British Government in any shape or form.

The aim of this movement is to paralyze the British Government in India and to establish Swaraj (national government). As Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 gave rise to the *Swadeshi*, which later ripened into the present revolutionary movement, similarly the origin of the non-coöperation movement may be traced to the Rowlatt Act, which practically placed India under martial law, and that after taking the tremendous toll of India's men and money in the world war. The same Rowlatt Act may also be held responsible for General Dyer's notorious Amritsar massacre, when 500 Indian men, women and children were killed in fifteen minutes, and 1500 more were left wounded weltering in their own blood.

The leader of this great non-coöperation movement is Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He has more following than any other political leader ever had in any country. This makes him the most powerful man on earth

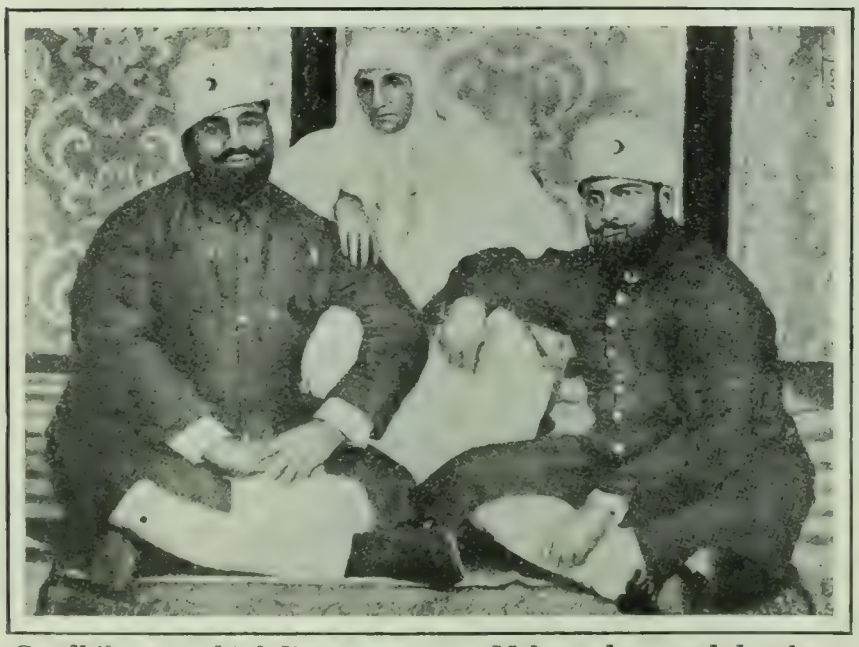
today, tho he weighs but one hundred pounds. Gandhi-ism has fired the imagination of the teeming millions of India, and has stirred the country to its foundation, and is threatening the very existence of the British rule in India and British supremacy in the East. Gandhi is a pacifist. He discourages physical force, and preaches what is known as non-violent non-coöperation. Any act of violence, according to this modern Mahatma, would desecrate the sacred movement, jeopardize the cause of *Swaraj*, and defer the day of India's independence. "Victory must be won by soul-force," says he. But he holds that if blood must be shed, let it be the blood of the Indians themselves. If it is necessary to stop a train, let none use violence, but let a few lie down on the track and get killed in the name of truth. Then the train is sure to stop, and India thus wins a moral victory. Man is a moral and intellectual being, so his weapons of warfare should be moral and intellectual. Brute force should be relegated to brutes alone. He also believes, tho he was educated in London, that Western civilization is based on force, so he condemns it in unmistakable terms, and agrees that blind commercialism, arrogant imperialism and all-devouring militarism have ruined Europe beyond redemption.

As the leader of the Indians Gandhi fought a similar battle in South Africa and won it after years of hard fighting. The weapon used was passive resistance. For civil disobedience Gandhi and his followers went to prison most cheerfully, and defiantly bore the inhuman tortures they were subjected to. Many a time he barely escaped death from the hands of infuriated South African mobs. But always and invariably he kept the Indians away from active insurgency. Gradually the South African issue was introduced into India. And this furnished a common platform for men and women of all creeds and walks of life. Mass meetings were held all over India and funds were raised.

The man who endangered the empire from South Africa is now endangering it from India.



Sreemati Sarala Devi, a niece of Rabindranath Tagore, an ardent feminist, and a devoted disciple of Gandhi. She travels with him frequently, speaking before great mass meetings; and she has further served Gandhi's cause by writing a beautiful song of India's unity



Gandhi's two chief lieutenants are Mahomedans and brothers, Mahomed Ali on the right, and on the left Shaukat Ali, who is a firebrand revolutionist. It is said of him that when he is warned by friends that he will be arrested for rash speaking, he answers, "Tell the British Government that I am too fat to run." Their mother is in the center

For a while Gandhi mainly preached the gospel of pure and healthy life thru pure thought and carefully selected food. Food does influence the body, and the body the mind. So for the health of both body and mind simple food is necessary. He preached celibacy to the unmarried, birth control by continence to the married, and fasting for all. He holds that as fire purifies gold, even so fasting purifies the body and clarifies the soul as well. Gradually he began to take part in politics, and during the Rowlatt bill agitation, he came to the forefront. There was a chance for him to put in practice the principles that won him success in South Africa.

Gandhi's influence over the people of India is so profound that it is easy to predict the success of his undertaking.

Wherever he goes he draws immense crowds. Thousands upon thousands of people listen to his dynamic appeals with rapt attention and unalloyed reverence, for he is not only a political leader but also a saint. And saints still have a chance in India. After his speeches thousands rush to touch the hem of his garment. The secret of his success lies in the simplicity of his life, honesty of his intention and spotlessness of his character. His fellow countrymen call him Mahatma (Saint). Even his political opponent, Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, an Englishman, thus speaks of him in the London *Nation:* "One does not feel it blasphemous to compare Gandhi with Christ."

Tho he is fighting for political independence and economic emancipation, Gandhi lives the life of an ascetic. He lives on fruit, vegetables and rice. He eats no sweets and no spices. He dresses like a poor working man in coarse clothes. He never uses shoes. He always travels by the third class in railway trains, certainly not an easy undertaking. By natural inclination Gandhi associates more with the poor than with the rich. Twice he refused the presidency of the Indian National Congress, but last December he most cheerfully presided over the pariah conference at Nagpur, and valiantly advocated the social and economic emancipation of the depressed classes of India that constitute one-sixth of the total population of the country.

Quite unlike the idealists of all lands Gandhi is a practical man. He is a constructive statesman, not a "destructive fanatic" as he is called by some of his enemies. He does not believe in destroying anything that he cannot readily replace by something better.

In spite of desperate opposition from the Government and the reactionaries of India the non-coöperation movement is meeting with tremendous success. Many title-holders have given up their titles. Rabindranath Tagore gave up his knighthood soon after the Amritsar massacre. Women like Sarojini Naidu and Sarala Devi have given back their medals of honor for war services; and lawyers like C. R. Das of Calcutta have given up their practices carrying fabulous incomes. Hundreds of thousands of students of all ages and of all provinces of India are out of British schools, colleges and universities. National educational institutions are being opened in quick succession, where Hindustani, the future common language of India, has been made compulsory, and students are daily receiving lessons in spinning and [*Continued on page 470*

# The Song of India

## By Rabindranath Tagore

Ruler of the minds of all people, Dispenser of India's destiny
Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab, Sindh, Gujrat, Maratha,
Of Dravid and Orissa and Bengal;
It echoes in the hills of the Vindhyas and Himalayas,
Mingles in the music of the Jumna and the Ganges,
And is chanted by the waves of the Indian sea.
They pray for thy grace and sing thy glory,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee!

Day and night, thy voice goes out from land to land,
Calling the Hindus and Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains around thy throne,
And the Parsees, Mussulmans and Christians.
The East and the West join hands in their prayer to Thee,
And the garland of love is woven.
Thou bringest the hearts of all people into the harmony of one life,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee!

The procession of pilgrims passes over the endless road rugged with the rise and fall of nations;
And it resounds with the thunder of thy wheels, Eternal Charioteer!
Thru the dire days of doom thy trumpet sounds, and men are led by Thee across death.
Thy finger points the path of truth to all people,
Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee!

The darkness was deep, and dense was the night;
My country lay in death-like silence of swoon;
But thy mother-arms were round her, and thine eyes gazed upon her face, in sleepless love, thru her hours of ghastly dreams.
Thou bringest companionship and solace to the people in their sorrows,
Thou Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee!

The night fades; the light breaks over the peaks of the eastern hills;
The birds begin to sing, the morning breeze carries the breath of new life.
The rays of thy mercy have touched the waking land with their blessings,
Victory to Thee, King of Kings,
Dispenser of India's destiny,
Victory to Thee!

# "Save Himself Who Can!"

## *Another True Story of Life and Death Adventure on the High Seas*

## By James H. Williams, Able Seaman

AMONG the stately fleet of loftily sparred wind-jammers that lined the Esplanade at that time, the "Wild Rose" was the most noticeable of all.

Among the entire fleet of fifty sail she was the only bark; all the others were full riggers. She was, likewise, the smallest—only 760 tons register, a fishing smack compared to her wide-winged competitors. She was the only ship occupying the Government dock; all others lay astream in the Hoogly moorings. And she was the only wooden ship in Calcutta, all the rest steel-hulled and steel-sparred racers.

Like the others of the fleet, the "Wild Rose" was a British vessel, and a British deep-water ship built of timber was a *rara avis* even then, which was nearly five and thirty years ago.

Iron was abundant in Great Britain, while timber was scarce, so that wooden ships were seldom built except for special service. The "Wild Rose" had come to Calcutta with a cargo of salt; salt quickly cankers in a steel hull, unless specially and very expensively stowed.

Salt was a Government monopoly in India, therefore the "Wild Rose" lay at the Government dock to protect the British revenue.

I was a gay young ropeyarn in those days, and a good judge of wind-jammers.

My fancy in ladies and ships was always in favor of the smaller ones. The smaller they are the easier they handle, and the less material it requires to rig them.

When the "Wild Rose" hoisted her "Seamen Wanted" sign, and it was announced that she was about to clear, I made a bee-line for the shipping office to file my application and leave my discharges.

When the crowd of waiting seamen lined up for inspection and service, my townie, Mat Doran, and I were the two first men selected.

The following day we were ordered aboard, and the ship dropped down to Garden Reach, where we lay astream several days, our time occupied in sending up our yards, bending sails, taking ballast and preparing for sea.

The "Wild Rose" hailed from Liverpool, was owned in West Hartlepool and was bound to Delgoa Bay in Portuguese East Africa, to load a cargo of wool for London. Our skipper's name was Foss, and he was managing owner as well as master.

With ballast and stores aboard and everything snug, we took our pilot and towed down the turbulent Hoogly behind the "Warren Hastings," to Sand Heads, and spread our great wings for a pleasant passage down the broad bay of Bengal, and across the indigo expanse of the Indian Ocean to the Coast of Africa.

Our passage to Delgoa Bay was fair and uneventful. The "Wild Rose" was a well found, able vessel, tho not very fast. We had a good master, and officers and crew were all on good terms. From a sailor's point of view there was nothing to complain of, and everyone looked forward to a prosperous voyage, a safe and happy conclusion and a good pay-day to spend among the rosy-cheeked barmaids of London.

Delgoa Bay was a great, open, unsheltered roadstead,

entirely unprotected from the violent storms that periodically blow up from the Cape of Good Hope with destructive force, and level everything in their wake on land, and pile up the raging sea in mountainous combers of fearful aspect and devastating power. At the time of which I write the Bay was a barren, dreary, irregular indentation on the African coast, entirely destitute of artificial improvements, and important only as the one possible outlet for the exportation of the agricultural products of the surrounding region.

The ships always rode at anchor with springs on their cables, and their topsails furled in stops, so that in case of warning of a sudden storm approaching they could instantly break the stops, sheet home their topsails, slip their cables and drive off to sea, ride out the storm in deep water, and then return, pick up their deserted cables and resume loading as before.

It was all in the day's work, and the "Wild Rose" rode off twice before the stern south-easters, during the six weeks her lading was in progress.

The bales of wool were lightered out to our moorings, and steved by native African Croo "boys," great, long-limbed, powerful fellows, and capable workers.

Whenever there was an easterly wind a tumultuous surf would disturb the bay, and if the wind developed sufficient force, we would be obliged to drop our lighters astern and moor them to our quarter bitts, to prevent them from being shattered and sunk in the commotion alongside.

In such cases, of course, all lading would cease, and in these lulls the Croo boys would all jump overboard and tumble about in the boiling surf by the hour. On these occasions I would dive over and enjoy the frolic with them, for I always delighted in rough swimming.

Those big long-geared savages could beat me swimming in level water, but not a mother's son of them could beat me riding the surf. I got to be very chummy with all of them during our stay in the bay, and they wanted me to go ashore with them, pick out some wives and settle down as a chief. That was only one of many chances to become rich and numerous which I have felt compelled from religious or moral scruples to pass up in the course of a vagrant career.

When our last bale of wool had been stowed and and our hatches battened, we found our anchors and cleared for Merry England with glad and valiant hearts.

It was summer in the southern hemisphere, mid-December, and we skirted boldly around the eastern coast of Madagascar, and rounded the Cape of Good Hope within easy code signalling distance, enjoying fine weather and favorable winds all the way. The sou'west Trades in the Atlantic were unusually light that year, and we made rather a long average passage to the line.

But once across the Equator, we picked up the northeast Trades with compelling force, and the good old barkie kicked up her heels and romped across the Sargassa Sea for home with a wet sheet and a flowing sail.

We made the Lizard on the southern extremity of England in the last days of February, stood across the chops of the Channel toward Plymouth Sound, on a long reach, and then steered boldly up mid-channel for Dover Straights.

After we were well up Channel the wind veered suddenly to the northeastward, the weather became much colder than it had been, and a snow storm appeared imminent. That afternoon we shortened down to upper topsails single reefed courses, lower staysails and spanker and began to beat.

Just before dusk we spoke the "Niobe," a large full-rigged ship bound to London from Calcutta with a cargo of wool. Thereafter we became consorts, nearly always in sight, and splitting tacks with each other at every turn for ten long dismal days and nights until we were finally separated forever by the awful tragedy which ends this tale.

For ten dreary days the northeast tempest prevailed with varying force, but with constant fury and accompanied by a tumultuous Channel sea.

Ten times both ships by dint of almost superhuman exertions on the part of their crews attempted the passage of the Straights, and as many times we were driven back in an unbeatable tumult of howling wind, merciless sea and blinding snow.

When the last despairing attempt was made, and our devoted ship turned reeling and groaning in every frame and fiber of her battered hull before the pitiless blast, every man on board realized that the day was lost.

Our decks and channels were covered with ice, our sails and rigging were stiffened with frozen snow and sleet and were almost unmanageable, the hull was strained and leaking and the exhausted crew were too weary to man the pumps. It was near midnight, and the blinding snow and impenetrable darkness shut out all possibility of observation or hope of assistance.

We made torches with bunches of okum dipped in slow burning colza oil and set them on poles at the gangways.

Then Captain Foss mustered us all aft for the fatal consultation, which is always the last act in a marine disaster before the final crash.

Then and only then, the law requires the master to divide his own responsibility with his crew. When

[*Continued on page 462*



*Keystone View*

**The good "Wild Rose" was broken up some thirty years ago. But this French bark is of the same type of square-rigged vessel as the "Wild Rose" and looks very much as she looked when she set out on her last fateful voyage**

# Have You Any Imagination? Here's a Test

By June E. Downey

Professor of Psychology in the University of Wyoming

*In The Independent of March 6, 1920, Dr. Edwin E. Slosson suggested the possibility of using the "Personal" advertisements as a test of the creative imagination and the ability to write fiction. The suggestion took in many quarters. Some of our readers used the "Personals" as an evening game and got great fun out of it. Professor Pitkin of Columbia found them useful in his class in short-story writing. Professor Downey, of Wyoming, got interesting results from them in both psychology and English classes. Thinking that teachers who are using The Independent might want to know how the method works and that other readers might like to test themselves or their friends as to power to develop characters and situation from a slight hint we have asked Dr. Downey to tell just how the method can be used. Perhaps readers who try it may be kind enough to send us samples of the pictures or plots that these personalities suggest, though we cannot agree to grade or publish them. The tests given are all genuine advertisements clipped from the London Times*

THIS test of the literary imagination should prove of great service not only in analysis of mind in the psychological laboratory, but in measuring ability in the short-story or English class. Later I shall suggest varied possibilities in the way of utilizing such material in developing the imagination. But first to find out if the reader possesses an imagination let him try these tests:

Test 1. Below you will find a message sent via the personal column of the London *Times* by "Sweetie" to "Jasper." You will be given five minutes in which to write a characterization and description of Jasper and Sweetie.

> JASPER.—Tick-tock, Tick-tock.—Sweetie.

Time's up. Put aside what you have written and try another.

Test 2. This also is an item from the personal column of the London *Times*. It is addressed to "Feathers" by "Skeine." Please work out a short-story plot from the message. Time limit, ten minutes.

> FEATHERS.—One on the left.—Skeine.

Time's up! Pencils down! Let us now proceed to your dissection of yourself, dear reader. And we beg of you to keep your temper even tho you don't agree with our diagnosis, for remember there are more things in heaven and earth than story-writers and that if you can't write a novel you may be living one, which, on the whole, is much nicer.

Please classify your imagination under one of the following heads after you feel from study of the samples presented and the comments that you understand the distinctions. The divisions are as follows:

1. The Inert Imagination.
2. The Stereotyped Imagination.
3. The Melodramatic Imagination.
4. The Generalizing Imagination.
5. The Particularizing Imagination.
   (a) Reminiscential.
   (b) Creative.
   (c) Dramatic.
6. The Ingenious or Inventive Imagination.

The question of fertility and range of imagination we will discuss later.

1. Of the inert imagination, the most hopeless variety is that of the individual whose narrow sympathies preclude the possibility of an insight into characters or situations outside the range of her personal experiences. Invention stumbles along, continually hampered by the narrow skirts of custom and etiquette.

Read the following production as an example of what I mean:

> Newspaper personals are usually disguised statements understood only by the parties concerned. It would be impossible for me to form any idea of the above as I have never had any interest in such ads. Always had a quiet notion that they were most disreputable, veiled messages, perhaps between thieves or other undesirables. There is apparently no necessity for code messages between ordinary persons.

Or this:

> Any such items in newspapers always appeal to me as sentimental and foolishly so. I noticed that the message was signed Sweetie and addressed to a man, so immediately put it in this class. The very fact of using a newspaper column as a means of correspondence shows her lack of self-respect and restraint. I am not interested enough to have a visual image of her.

You will perceive we are getting characterizations, but not of Sweetie and Jasper.

Of course, inactive phantasy shows itself sometimes by its puzzled rather than unsympathetic attitude. It stares helplessly at such a message. "I can't think what it means!" Or "No plot. 'One on the left' suggests buying a theater ticket."

A very distinctive reaction is given by the literal-minded individual, those dear friends of ours who walk in comfortable house-slippers and continually stir our sense of humor in the cleverest sort of way without in the least meaning to.

I cannot refrain from illustrating this reaction by quotation of what I received when I used the following Personal:

> SIR WALTER RAYLEIGH.—On Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, I will be in exactly the same spot as you saw me last Easter Monday evening.—Queen Bess.

I asked for a characterization of Queen Bess and got it!

Queen Bess has dark hair and eyes. She is very sedate in her manner and always on time. When she makes a promise she keeps it. If she weren't a Queen I think she would be a good housekeeper, clean and neat, everything just so.

And take this one of Valerie who writes to Wal:

> WAL.—In this case two and three do not make five.—Valerie.

Valerie is a person rather inclined to say and do funny things, sometimes taking them very seriously. He is educated, thinks of the hypothesis of numbers, and says two and three do not make five. He is hasty in making decisions.

Another form of the unimaginative reaction gives us words, words, words!

Jasper is a working-boy who is in love with a certain working-girl and has been corresponding with her. I should say he is of average intelligence but at present concerned in a somewhat affected love-affair. Probably he has not been or probably he has been at college. When a character is in love it is difficult to tell just how much he does know. Jasper is a young man of the city and possesses the knowledge which the city man necessarily must have of amorous affairs. The rest developed by the thought which arose from the knowledge of certain observations of the ways of the world.

If now you belong to the household of the unimaginative either because of crippled sympathies, baffled wits, honest literal-mindedness, or utter inanity, the probability is you're wasting your time in literary pursuits.

2. Let us turn next to the stereotyped conventionalized imagination which always hits upon the bromidic interpretation, just that which will occur to ninety-nine out of one hundred. As our psychological friends say, the coefficient of commonplaceness will run high and normality is guaranteed. And, obviously, there are advantages in such reactions, for the ninety and nine will understand you without effort, and you will find their motives easy to follow. If you write stories there will be nothing cryptic about them, nothing fantastic or strange that would deny them entrance into Popular Tales.

Confess now, when you read the Jasper-Sweetie item, didn't you figure it out something like this: Sweetie is a pretty fluffy doll-like cream-puff creature with golden hair, blue eyes, and too much saccharinity. Very likely you dressed her in sky-pink, gave her a large hat and a parasol, and, possibly a stick of gum. You thought her sufficiently silly. But you rather liked Jasper. You pictured him as gentle, slow, stedfast, with brown eyes, and much imposed upon by the frivolous and very young lady calling herself Sweetie.

"Tick-tock" is some sort of love-message of course. "Time flies" or "I'm counting the moments until you return," or "Really, dear Jasper, you are very slow," or "Let us meet under the big clock."

I have read so many interpretations of this message thus or similarly phrased that I am quite convinced that Jasper and Sweetie are a sentimental couple and that Sweetie takes too much initiative for a well-bred young lady. I am almost convinced by the repeated suggestion that she is a "perfect blonde." And of course I have never questioned the assumption that Jasper was a man and Sweetie a woman.

3. But let us now go a step further and inspect the hackneyed imagination in gala dress. Behold the melodramatic, the yellow-journal imagination! Let us see what we can get out of Valerie's message to Wal, "In this case two and three do not make five."

Valerie, of French descent, a face clear-cut as a cameo and of the same delicate tints, framed with masses of burnished brown ringlets! She dresses, usually, in lavender with white near her pure Grecian profile. She is so tiny and delicate that no one would suspect her of great strength of character but think her a plaything to be loved and petted until one gazed into her eyes, lustrous deep pools of violet. She looked out on life with eyes that saw and understood.

Wal, her second cousin, dark, quick-tempered, impetuous, trying to sweep the world off its feet by his painting! He lives in the gay capital of France among the artistic set of upper Bohemia. His devil-may-care air elects him leader of a set that makes even the Blasé gasp and take notice. Consequently his art suffers.

Coming home for a brief visit he chanced to see the lovely Valerie and fell desperately in love. She did not return his advances and he wrote her a poetic letter in which he says Destiny came out in mathematical terms, since she had beauty and wealth and he had love and hope and genius. The sum was five. But alas! Valerie answers, "In this case two and three do not make five."

The encouraging thing about the sensational imagination is that tho pruning is suggested, there is really something there to prune. Let us cite a couple more examples from a young romanticist to whom facts (including those of orthography!) are stranger than fiction. Let us give her an exchange of messages between Sybil and Leonard, thus:

> SYBIL.—Fantastic dreams disturb my rest; my mind is tortured by visions of gaunt and grisly spectres; you alone possess the philtre that will charm away these wraiths.—Leonard.

> LEONARD.—It is strange that you should be tortured so; nevertheless, even if I can charm away the ogres, I do not know that you deserve it.—Sybil.

THE MAN—Tall, slender, deep-blue eyes; high forehead, from which is combed back waivy light brown hair. Leonard is yet young; and has not learned the ways of the many people in this world. He still goes to school, and it is at a dance that he has met the charming butterfly Sybil.

Naturally like many young people he thinks all she has told him is true; he has willed himself to fall madly in love with the fair damsel. He is extremely dramatic, high-minded, and in future years will be a benefit to society. But as yet his education is not set, and he rather wishes to show that he can be above the average; he is well read and intelligent but has not learned the ways of girls.

THE GIRL—Sybil; dressed in a pale pink evening gown, her slender figure is very attractive; her soft rosey cheeks are surrounded by beautiful fluffy well-curled-and-puffed blonde hair; her baby-blue eyes are bright and sparkling giving her a much brighter look than she really deserves.

Her baby-way, merry ringing laugh, constant flattering, ever changing way of talking makes her very sirenish. It is not Sybil's intention to be a faithful sweetheart to one particular man; she enjoys herself with all; and blames herself not when some poor unwise fellow like Leonard takes seriously her thoughtless words. She, like the rest of the girls of today, is very modern.

4. The Generalizing Imagination. The inclination to deal in thought with the general, the type, instead of the particular or the individual is a mental trait which has had momentous consequences in the development of intelligence, since it has resulted in capacity to handle classes rather than specific instances, to think conceptually instead of always in terms of individuals. In science, in philosophy, in business, it has enabled us to label things and then react quickly as suggested by the label. This is a case of scarlet fever, hence an occasion for establishing quarantine, writing out a certain prescription, giving disagreeable orders without being side-tracked by one's sympathies for the pretty girl whose complexion is under suspicion.

All X is Y, all Y is Z, all X is Z, chants the logician and, of course, he is right. All doctors are men, all men are fallible, all doctors are fallible, only we dislike putting Dr. Tom, Dick, and Henry together so undiscriminatingly.

The most persistently generalizing types among men are the philosopher and the mathematician. It is impossible to individualize a mathematical formula, so long as it stays in a textbook, minutely enough to tell the color of its hair or the length of its mustache. But when it has succeeded in escaping from the Monograph we know exactly what Mr. $A^2 + B^2$ looks like!

The generalizing type of mind, however valuable in the work-a-day and scientific spheres, is not the most promising type for the maker of stories. Remember Flaubert's teaching of Maupassant. "Having impressed upon me the fact that there are not in the whole world two grains of sand, two insects, two hands, or two noses absolutely alike, he forced me to describe a being or [*Continued on page 468*

# "Upon Trifles the Best Gifts of the Gods Often Hang"

## Remarkable Remarks by Andrew Carnegie

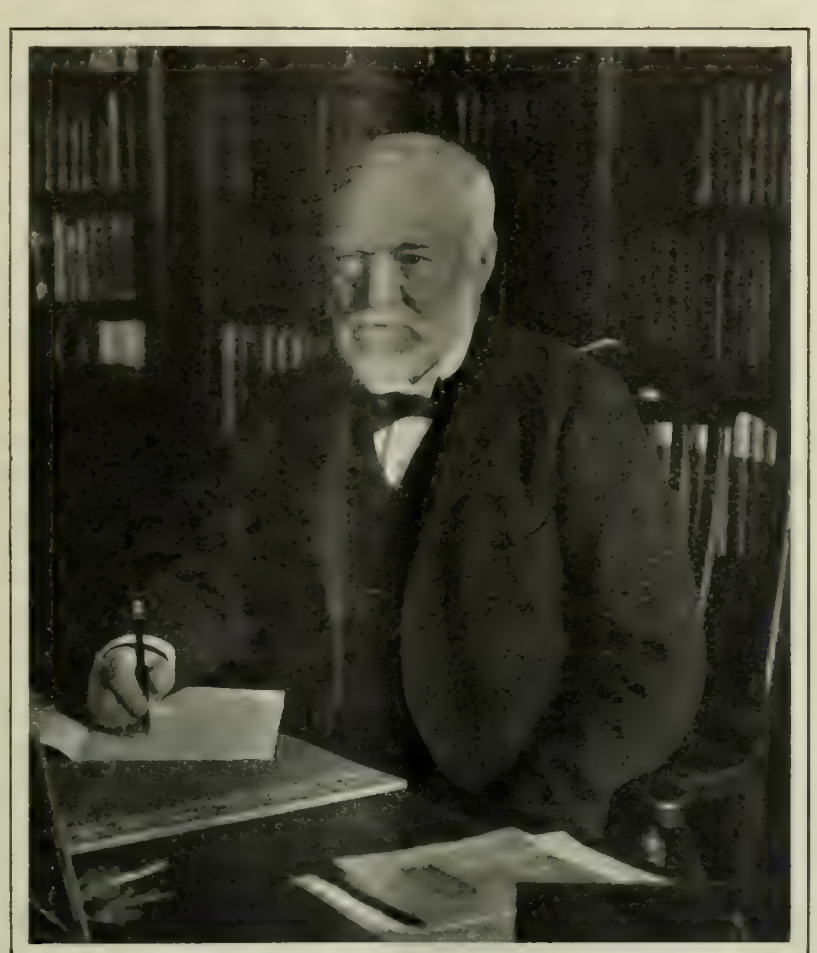
*Quoted from the "Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie," published by Houghton Mifflin Company*

I grew up treasuring within me the fact that my father had risen and left the Presbyterian Church one day when the minister preached the doctrine of infant damnation. This was shortly after I had made my appearance.

My material success in life has hung . . . not to what I have known or done myself, but to the faculty of knowing and choosing others who did know better than myself. Precious knowledge this for any man to possess.

A word, a look, an accent, may affect the destiny not only of individuals, but of nations. He is a bold man who calls anything a trifle. Who was it who, being advised to disregard trifles, said he always would if any one could tell him what a trifle was? The young should remember that upon trifles the best gifts of the gods often hang.

Whenever one learns to do anything he has never to wait long for an opportunity of putting his knowledge to use.



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**"I made up my mind to put all good eggs in one basket, and then watch that basket"—Mr. Carnegie sets this courageous decision down as one of the reasons for his success**

My two rules for speaking then (and now) were: Make yourself perfectly at home before your audience, and simply talk *to* them, not *at* them. Do not try to be somebody else; be your own self and *talk*, never "orate" until you can't help it.

Horace Greeley and the *Tribune* was my ideal of human triumph. Strange that there should have come a day when I could have bought the *Tribune;* but by that time the pearl had lost its lustre. Our air castles are often within our grasp late in life, but then they charm not.

The grandeur of Mr. Stokes's home impressed me, but the one feature of it that eclipsed all else was a marble mantel in his library. In the center of the arch, carved in the marble, was an open book with this inscription:

"He that cannot reason is a fool,
He that will not a bigot,
He that dare not a slave."

These noble words thrilled me. I said to myself, "Some day, some day, I'll have a library" (that was a look ahead) "and these words shall grace the mantel as here." And so they do in New York and Skibo today.

"What do you think!" said Mrs. Wilkins to me; "Dallas" (her grandson) "writes me that he has been compelled by the commandant of West Point to sit next a negro! Did you ever hear the like of that? Is it not disgraceful? Negroes admitted to West Point!"

"Oh!" I said, "Mrs. Wilkins, there is something even worse than that. I understand that some of them have been admitted to heaven!"

I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that for every ounce of corruption of public men in the new land of republicanism there is one in the old land of monarchy, only the forms of corruption differ. Titles are the bribes in the monarchy, not dollars. Office is a common and proper reward in both. There is, however, this difference in favor of the monarchy; titles are given openly and are not considered by the recipients or the mass of the people as bribes.

I never worked for a salary. A man must necessarily occupy a narrow field who is at the beck and call of others. Even if he becomes president of a great corporation he is hardly his own master, unless he holds control of the stock. The ablest presidents are hampered by boards of directors and shareholders, who can know but little of the business.

I have never bought or sold a share of stock speculatively in my life, except one small lot of Pennsylvania Railroad shares that I bought early in life for investment and for which I did not pay at the time because bankers offered to carry it for me at a low rate. I have adhered to the rule never to purchase what I did not pay for, and never to sell what I did not own.

Speculation is a parasite feeding upon values, creating none.

Most of the troubles of humanity are imaginary and should be laughed out of court. A wise man is the confirmed optimist.

Many men can be trusted, but a few need watching.

When one party to a bargain becomes excited, the other should keep cool and patient.

A great business is seldom if ever built up except on lines of the strictest integrity. A reputation for "cuteness" and sharp dealing is fatal in great affairs. Not the letter of the law, but the spirit, must be the rule.

The business man has no rock more dangerous to encounter in his career than this very one of endorsing commercial paper. It can easily be avoided if he asks himself two questions: Have I surplus means for all possible requirements which will enable me to pay without inconvenience the utmost sum for which I am liable under this endorsement? Secondly: Am I willing to lose this sum for the friend for whom I endorse? If these two questions can be answered in the affirmative he may be permitted to oblige his friend, but not otherwise, if he be a wise man. And if he can answer the first question in the affirmative it will be well for him to consider whether it would not be better then and there to pay the entire sum for which his name is asked. I am sure it would be. . . . A man's means are a trust to be sacredly held for his own creditors as long as he has debts and obligations.

I made up my mind to go entirely contrary to the adage not to put all one's eggs in one basket. I determined that the proper policy was "to put all good eggs in one basket and then watch that basket."

There is scarcely a manufacturer in the world who has not in his works some machinery that should be thrown out and replaced by improved appliances; or who does not for the want of additional machinery or new methods lose more than sufficient to pay the largest dividend obtainable by investment beyond his own domain.

There is one imperative rule for men in business—no secrets from partners.

My advice to young men would be not [*Continued on page 471*

# Our Field Marshal

## By Hamilton Holt

IT was not the Roman Legions which conquered Gaul, but Cæsar. It was not the Carthaginian soldiers who made Rome tremble, but Hannibal. It was not the Macedonian phalanx which penetrated India, but Alexander. It was not the French Army which reached the Weser and the Inn, but Turenne. It was not the Prussian soldiers who defended their country for seven years against the three most formidable powers in Europe, it was Frederick the Great.

If these words of Napoleon be true, then it was not the Allied Armies that drove the Germans back over the Rhine, but Ferdinand Foch.

The American Expeditionary Force in France was under the absolute command of General John J. Pershing. But General Pershing was under the command of Field Marshal Foch. Marshal Foch, therefore, was America's supreme leader in the world war.

It is now officially announced that the Marshal will pay a visit to America this fall. How can America best honor this great Christian and soldier whom future generations will venerate as much for his high moral standards as for his military genius?

The fine big thing to do would be to grant him a liberal honorarium. We have a most appropriate precedent for such action. Congress voted Lafayette a grant of $200,000 and a township of land for his services in securing the freedom of America. The United States has now more land and more wealth than it had then, and Foch has rendered even greater services in securing the freedom of the world.

In addition to an honorarium we might give him the thanks of Congress and make him an American citizen. Possibly we should confer on him an honorary grade in our Army, thus putting his name forever on our military roster.

I have just received a letter, regarding this latter suggestion, from one of America's most celebrated war generals, a part of which I herewith quote:

> It has been proposed to make Marshal Foch a General in the American Army and the proposal pleases him very much. . . .
>
> It is traditional in France that a French officer may not receive regular pay from a foreign government, and the Marshal adheres strictly to the tradition. It seems to me that in making Marshal Foch a General in our Army we would be doing a most courteous act, highly merited by him, and we would at the same time show our good sentiments toward France and our reasonable sense of propriety to the rest of the world.

No doubt there will be other suggestions made as to the best way to honor our distinguished guest during his sojourn here. But in honoring the soldier who telegraphed in the beginning of the war to G. H. Q., "My center gives way; my right recedes; the situation is excellent. I shall attack," and the father who said later when his only son fell, "Our France has been torn and murdered. There are thousands and thousands of old fathers who like me have lost all they loved best, all the hope of their race. I am one with them at heart. I know what they suffer," and the man who summed up his military philosophy in the sentence, "Spirit will conquer matter," and therefore won the greatest and most complete victory in history, surely the United States will do for such a hero something commensurate with his services to us and to mankind.

# Social Revolution Not Yet

## By Franklin H. Giddings

WHETHER the attempt of radical leaders to convert a strike into a drive of organized labor for control of Great Britain and the British Empire has failed or only weakened for the time being, is a question of less importance than that of the probable reaction of the common-sense and the common conscience of mankind to programs of class domination wheresoever or by whomsoever proclaimed and supported.

The British situation has been more significant than the Russian, the German or the Italian, because the British population is, all in all, a calmer lot of human beings than any continental people, and because Great Britain with a longer history of constitutional liberty than any other people has enjoyed is more appreciative of it and less likely to jeopardize it.

When, therefore, the never-ending struggle over wages became in Great Britain a threatened strike so nearly "general" as to involve two million men identified with vital occupations upon issues admittedly involving Government policies, it was no longer possible to deny that a revolutionary movement, making its way westward from Moscow, had reached the British Isles in dangerous strength. Specific denials and affirmations in no way affected this general conclusion. Whether or not the miners intended to hold out for mine nationalization, whether or not the Triple Alliance was committed to an attempt to substitute new governmental forms in England, the fact that the Alliance demanded concessions and guarantees from Lloyd George and backed its demand by threats of direct action was in effect a proclamation of intent to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Furthermore, whatever may be thought of the positions that Lloyd George has taken since he was Minister of Munitions until the present moment, whether or not he has double-crossed labor or any other group, and whether his final declaration that if labor were to come into power by direct action, it would have to fight for it, was statesmanship or not, there is no denying that his analysis and characterization of the situation itself was accurate. Labor had fallen under revolutionary influences and the declared aims of its more aggressive factions were revolutionary. Any other description of what was going on would have been childish. That proletarian dictation in England would probably be more intelligent, more just and more merciful than it has been in Russia, was and is a consideration beside the point. The passing of political power from one class to another in human society is a fateful thing, whether the new sovereign is better than the old or worse.

When, however, a movement to transfer power is halted and may possibly be stopped, sober-minded men are bound to ask two questions. They are being asked now thruout the civilized world. One is, what is involved in the ultimate success of the movement, if in fact it succeeds? The other is, what are the probabilities of success or failure after various trial and error attempts have been made, and after the common-sense and the common conscience of mankind have reflected upon them and upon all their implications?

A complete or even an approximately complete enumeration of implications would be tedious. Three or four of the more serious ones may be pointed out and should be faced frankly. First, the attempt of a class-conscious fraction of

a population to obtain coercive power by direct action is a fact of ill omen. In any nation which has universal suffrage such an attempt is a disclosure of what psychologists call "the inferiority complex." It is an admission that the aggressive group realizes its inability (or distrusts its ability) to obtain what it desires by appeal to intelligence and a sense of justice, or it is an ungoverned impatience which cannot wait upon evolution by due process of law. Second, government by a group which proceeds by direct action when other methods are available is by implication government by an intellectually and morally inferior element of the national population. Third, government by such an element is bound to be in fact dictation (as advertized) and not government by the consent of the governed. It is not merely undemocratic; like Bolshevism it is denial of democracy, which admits to participation in political decision all groups, classes, interests and factions. Fourth, dictatorial government by a faction intellectually and morally inferior (as proven by an unnecessary resort to direct action) will govern ruthlessly, confiscating without scruple, and working in the general direction of a communistic social order.

The probability that we have seen the last of revolutionary attempts carrying these implications is small. The time has not come to assume that the revolutionary drive has spent its force and need cause no further apprehension. But the probability of ultimate success is not great. It has been materially diminished by the refusal of the rank and file of British labor to depart from the paths of sanity and moderation.

The democratic movement is slow and inconspicuous, but it has persisted for a hundred years and its appeal to common-sense and the common conscience was never stronger than it is now. The world has had about as much as it wants of dictation by privileged factions, by whatever name called, monarchy, aristocracy or oligarchy. It may for a while tolerate or fail to cope with dictatorial experiments by proletarian groups, but in the long run it will no more endure them than it has endured kings, militarists, and orders of nobility. Social forces converging from every direction indicate the predominant strength and the persistence of a middle class, strongly convinced of the value of substantial social justice and of political commonsense. There is no reason disclosed by existing facts for apprehending the disintegration of civilization, but there is every reason for watchfulness, for moral courage and for plain speaking upon all the great issues of social struggle.

## A Little Too Much of This

Germany—We would pay if we could.
France—You could pay if you would.
(Both repeat ad infinitum).

## Congress Meets

CONGRESS meets; secure in the knowledge that it cannot make a worse record of leaving things undone than its predecessor. It may be responsible for more sins of commission; it can hardly be guilty of more sins of omission.

## Prestige—Old and New

THE sociologists tell us that in some ages and countries, for example among the Medieval Schoolmen and in China today, it is the old which has prestige. Every heresy tries to smuggle itself past the customs office labeled as an orthodoxy; every new custom has to have the sanction of the "Fathers" or be writ in ancient books of prophecy; even a jest must be a chestnut. At other times and in more progressive countries, it is the new which attracts. "Novels," "novelties," the "latest thing out," "up to date," "all modern improvements," "futurism"—these are common phrases of the United States, A. D. 1921. Even orthodoxy borrows the plumes of heresy and tries to outshock the heretics. Old jokes are dressed to look like new by changing the stage coach to the airplane in the narrative.

Thus far our editorial is, in substance, cribbed out of the books. But sociologists have not perhaps noticed another fact, that in the very same time and place *both* the old and the new may enjoy prestige. For example, let us suppose that you wished to found a hotel. You could attract custom by stressing its modern and super-modern features, such as the airplane hangar, the radium-lit door knobs, the wireless apparatus, the stock ticker and the like. But you could also call it "Ye Olde Colonial Inn" and stock it with antique spinning wheels and uncomfortable eighteenth century chairs and a few legends about the slumbers of George Washington on its feather pillows.

A new religion could be launched in the same way as the hotel. You could talk about "magnetic waves" and "planes of ethereal force" and "spirits of the fourth dimension" till astrology seemed like astronomy, alchemy like chemistry and dream books like Freudianist psychology. Or you could take the opposite tack and conjure with the magic of ancient Egypt and the witch of Endor and the immemorial mysticisms of India. Both the future and the past have a magic to attract attention to the most humdrum fad. But beware the present—it is always commonplace!

# The Next Step

## By Hayne Davis

IN the previous article it was shown how easily the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations can be changed so as to remove all question as to the man and money power of America being at the disposal of anybody except the Congress of the United States, and yet leave each nation of the League in possession of a written guarantee from all other member nations to respect each other's territory and sovereignty. It was shown also how the rights of nations could be better safeguarded by incorporating into the Covenant of the League a proviso similar to the Tenth Amendment to our Constitution, expressly recognizing the fact that all power not granted to the union of sovereign states is reserved to those states individually or to the people.

So far as the principles of our Government and the essentials of our traditional foreign policy are concerned, there is no good reason why the Covenant of the League of Nations, amended as proposed in the previous article, should not be accepted by this country. We would be free to withdraw if the operation of the League proved to be productive of any substantial portion of the evils predicted by some. By going in and letting experience prove who is right as to the way it would work, we would permit demonstration to settle the question at issue instead of trying to settle it by argument or by voting, either in the halls of Congress or at the polls.

So far as the voting that has taken place on the subject is concerned, that seems to me favorable to our going in on some basis. A very large majority of the Senators, Mr. Harding among them, so voted. The most reasonable interpretation of both party platforms is for going in. The position taken before the people by those who can properly be regarded as the most representative of the Republicans was for going in.

The people had no chance to pass on the bald proposition of League or no League. The issue was more involved. Leading lights of the Republican party who visited the Republican nominee at Marion gave out interviews immediately afterward, which led the public to believe that Mr. Harding was favorable to the League in a modified form. The impression made upon me at the time was that they were sincere and wished others so to understand.

The declaration by Senator Johnson and a few others to

the contrary raised the issue, it is true, but as Senator, Mr. Harding had voted for going in with reservations, and it seemed to me it was the small number of Republican irreconcilables who were going to be disappointed in case of Mr. Harding's election, not the large circle of representative Republicans whose utterances made it appear that the way to secure our entry into the League properly amended was to support Mr. Harding.

The Republican administration in my judgment will come nearer following the major opinion of those who voted for Republican electors by going into the League in modified form than by remaining out entirely.

If the administration takes a different view, then the election constitutes an imperative obligation upon it to attempt the formation of some sort of international association or union for the preservation of peace and the establishment of international right and justice more securely than under the old order.

As pointed out in a previous article, the calling of the third conference at The Hague, already lawfully provided for by unanimous resolution of the second Hague Conference, furnishes an appropriate method for making the attempt. My judgment is that it will be many times more difficult to succeed in uniting all nations in a new and good association or union of nations than it would to induce all nations, in and out of the League, to unite in amending the Covenant to conform with the views of the United States. I am convinced, however, that the line of least resistance, in endeavoring to form some other and different union, is in calling the third Hague Conference into session and for these reasons:

1. That will bring all nations together on the basis of equality, regardless of size, or of participation in the war, or of participation on the winning or losing side.

2. France and the other allied governments cannot object to sitting in an assembly with Germany which is simply called together and, when it adjourns, has no right or power to re-assemble. Whereas France and others can hardly be expected to welcome Germany into a permanent union, at this early date, with their gaping wounds still draining their strength, and little or no progress made in the collection of indisputable claims for reparations, omitting entirely all thought as to the questionable amounts.

3. Such a conference would give all the nations concerned an equal opportunity to deliberate upon the vital questions involved, not only at home in the privacy of their own chancelleries, but also face to face with all the others interested. The neutral nations would be present. They were excluded from participation at Paris. The nations which were belligerent in a small way would have a free and fair hearing which they did not have at Paris. It was considered by those who contributed the main resources of men and materials to win the war, and especially by the head of the French delegation, that it was enough for these relatively inactive belligerents, who were saved by the power of the Big Five, to be on hand to applaud the settlement of the war made by these Five.

4. The United States could not be represented at an Assembly of the League, without first ratifying the Covenant. The approaching session of the Assembly is not, therefore, a good place for this question to come up. The forty odd nations that have ratified the Covenant would meet there, and, in the absence of the United States, they would have to discuss the position they find themselves in, thru our not only refusing to come in, on any basis, but actually asking them to come out and join us in something that has not yet been formulated, and cannot be formulated, in consultation with them, without the calling of some sort of Conference to which they would all be invited. We and they should get together for conference, and if possible before the convening of the next session of the Assembly of the League. How can this be done better than by the issue of an invitation from President Harding to all sovereign nations to send representatives to the third Conference at The Hague, in accordance with the resolution of the second Conference?

5. Acceptance of such an invitation would not require any nation to decide in advance that it would resolve to withdraw from the existing League to which it has adhered. Coming to the Conference at President Harding's invitation would mean only a willingness to confer on this and other subjects with representatives from the United States. The League would stand in statu quo while that Conference was deliberating.

6. The question of armament could be considered at the Conference, also the question of enlarging the area in which arbitration should be made obligatory by mutual consent; also the codification of the existing law of nations, and a number of other important questions.

THE general question of an international constitution could be considered entirely apart from certain particular and irritating questions arising out of the war and its unsettled issues. Such a conference might bring all the interested parties into accord, even for amending the Covenant so as to make it acceptable to the United States, and not objectionable to the nations now in, or for substituting therefor an association or union of nations formulated by that Conference, and acceptable to the United States as well as to the other nations concerned.

Manifestly our position would be easier at such a Conference, however difficult, than in endeavoring from Washington city to induce the other nations to come out of the League they are now in, and then take up with the United States the question of forming some other League or Association.

Whatever the outcome of a third Conference at The Hague, that seems to be the next step in the great drama of international politics, the curtain of which has now gone up. On the stage are the nations great and small. The big powers of the world war have proposed a League of Nations as part of the proper settlement of that war. The little powers of that war and all the neutrals who were invited into the League have approved the proposal. The United States alone of the nations participating in the war comes forward and declines to enter into the League and invites the other nations to come out and join the United States in a new union for peace and justice. The other nations need to have our views laid before them. We need to hear what they think of our view, and they what we think of theirs.

Interchange of these views, in an assembly where all interested parties are represented, is democracy operating internationally. The outcome of such a political discussion will be the greatest common denominator of international political opinion at the present time. It matters less whether they accept our view or whether we accept theirs, or whether another or several other conferences are necessary for arriving at any decision. The very recurrence of an assembly where all interested parties are represented constitutes the essence of international unity. From such periodical conferences will come in time whatever improved methods of justice the present political sense of the world is capable of discerning and establishing. Therefore let us have the Third Hague Conference as the next act in the world's great political drama, and as soon as possible.

## The Minority

THE Democratic party will face unusual difficulties and opportunities in the new Congress. If Wilson has really succeeded in his effort to remake the soul of the party by breathing into it his own idealism the Democratic minority will be to the huge, complacent Republican majority what the ancient Hebrew prophets were to the Kings of Israel —rebukers of wrong, spurs to right, a living conscience by the throne. But if the Democrats have no moral cohesion and no consistent constructive policy they will fall back into

the state of atomic disintegration from which Wilson rescued them. They have no strong, efficient directive oligarchy to run the party as have the Republicans; except when they are temporarily united by a crusade the Democrats are little more than an amorphous crowd of disgruntled individuals. The Republican "machine" can run either "on high" as world statesmen or "on low" as materialistic administrators, according to whether a Roosevelt or a Hanna is at the wheel. But the Democratic machine must apparently run on high or be bogged in a ditch.

# Is Theology a Sin?

## By Preston Slosson

IT is practically impossible to read five pages in a modern book or magazine dealing with religious topics without coming across such phrases as "pure Christianity freed from the fetters of creed," "real religion liberated from dogma," "the message of the gospel without theological wrappings," "the doctrines of the pulpit." The average minister is represented as deeply engrossed in the subtleties of metaphysics and dead to "the real world about him." The general impression seems to be that while "religion" is all right, "theology" is almost a crime.

The monotony of these phrases is bad enough, but their untruthfulness is worse. Whatever ills may afflict the modern world, excess of philosophical speculation is not one of them. Indeed a good, sound dose of metaphysics would be about the best thing which could happen as a corrective to the distinctive modern disease of vague and cloudy thinking; a disease of which the attack on "theology" is evidence sufficient. For what people mean by their indiscriminate denunciation of "creed" and "dogma" is really that certain creeds and dogmas seem to them false or inadequately phrased. Everyone has his own stock of fundamental beliefs, and if they are formulated and made explicit they form a body of doctrine. Haeckel's atheism, Huxley's agnosticism, Nietzsche's immoralism, Marx's socialism were just as dogmatic and doctrinal as Calvin's "Institutes." Granting that the discoveries of modern science have made the old creeds of the Christian churches out of date, why not revise them in the light of modern knowledge instead of simply dodging them? The men of the seventeenth century had the courage to say what they believed; why should we not say what we believe? Or is truth no longer important?

Some of us think it not a sign of progress but of decay that the churches are abdicating their function of teaching. Much that is good remains, no doubt, such as the welfare work of the institutional church, the eloquent invocation of the spirit of love and righteousness, the emphasis on the literary beauty of the Bible and its historical importance, the emotional appeals to be "converted" (to just what is not stated). But unless the churches can appeal to men's minds as well as to their hearts, they will sooner or later be set aside as mere temples of rhetoric or turned into secular civic welfare clubs. Their congregations, their minds still hungry for instruction, will be grazing in the forbidden pastures of spiritualism, Fifth Avenue theosophy and other fashionable cults of superstition. Swamis, mahatmas, fakirs, mediums and faith healers will glean the fields which pastor, priest and rabbi have neglected.

Theology is no inheritance of primitive religion from which we should emancipate ourselves. Indeed, most religions are hardly theological at all. Primitive man worshipped; he cared little why and hardly knew whom or what. The vague reverential fear and the propitiatory sacrifice sufficed. As time went on, religious ritual became more complex, but religious doctrine still remained indefinite. There were many gods and many legends were told of them, but you were saved by obeying the law and making the offerings enjoined by the priests, not by what you privately thought about the legends. Some religions, such as Confucianism and the earlier phases of Buddhism, are little more than codes of ethical conduct. Their philosophy is as vague and shifting as the clouds. Other religions, such as Judaism, Mohammedanism and Zoroastrianism had at least so much of creed that they ordained the worship of one God, jealous of rivals. But the creed remained simple; it was the law which was complex. "God is God, Mohammed is his prophet" is surely as concise a doctrine as one could wish; what has narrowed Islam was not excess of dogma but the minute injunctions of a divinely ordained law.

Emphasis on accuracy of belief is almost limited to Christianity among all the religions of the world. In other words, Christianity is the religion of the intellect, as compared with vaguer, more primitive or more ritualistic faiths. There have been certain times and places, it must be admitted, that the metaphysical side of religion was too much stressed. Thus in the highly civilized society of Alexandria and Byzantium, while the Teutonic barbarians were pouring down from the north, the followers of Arius and Athanasius were subdividing the fine hairs of doctrine more in the spirit of Greek sophists than of practical church-statesmen or consecrated disciples of Christ. But the trouble was not that religion was too primitive, backward and barbaric, but that it was too sophisticated and hyper-civilized; one almost might say too modern and too enlightened. Another theological "spree" took place in the age of the Protestant Reformation. Then were preached in actuality the sort of sermons that people who never go to church allege are being preached today; long discourses on predestination, the inter-relationships of the Trinity, the exact significance of the eucharist and the eternal damnation awaiting the heretic. Perhaps the overdose of theology which the Western world suffered from the time of Luther to the time of Jonathan Edwards accounts for the modern distaste for the subject.

The theological forest needed pruning; but not deforestation. Perhaps it is not important to dwell on God's predestinations, His tri-unity or even His omnipotence; we may well be modest where we know so little. But we should make clear to ourselves whether God is an active and actual force for righteousness in the universe or simply a "sort of general oneness" in things, a wish-wash of pantheistic rhetoric to cover the naked features of materialism.

We may well dispense with speculation as to the temperature of hell or the architecture of heaven. But if we say that there is a future life we should *mean* what we say; that I, Henry Jones of 313 Pine Street, will have real and conscious existence after that change known as "death," not that I will be immortal "as a part of the totality of things" or in my "influence on the Future of the Race." If you do not believe in the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopalian Church, make your own thirty-nine articles, or three, or one. But make it clear to yourself what you mean by every word. Whether your creed be as simple in its structure as the Parthenon or as complex as the Cathedral of Milan let it be of solid materials, not of mist and moonshine.

## King Charles of Hungary

All the King's horses and all the King's men
Couldn't put Humpty-Dumpty back again.

## For English Classes

CHILDREN, I will read aloud a few characteristic phrases from three Presidents of the United States. See if you can identify them:

I. De-lighted . . . strenuous . . . malefactors of great wealth . . . short and ugly . . . pussyfoot. . . .

II. May I not . . . heart-beats of humanity . . . cordially and sincerely yours . . .

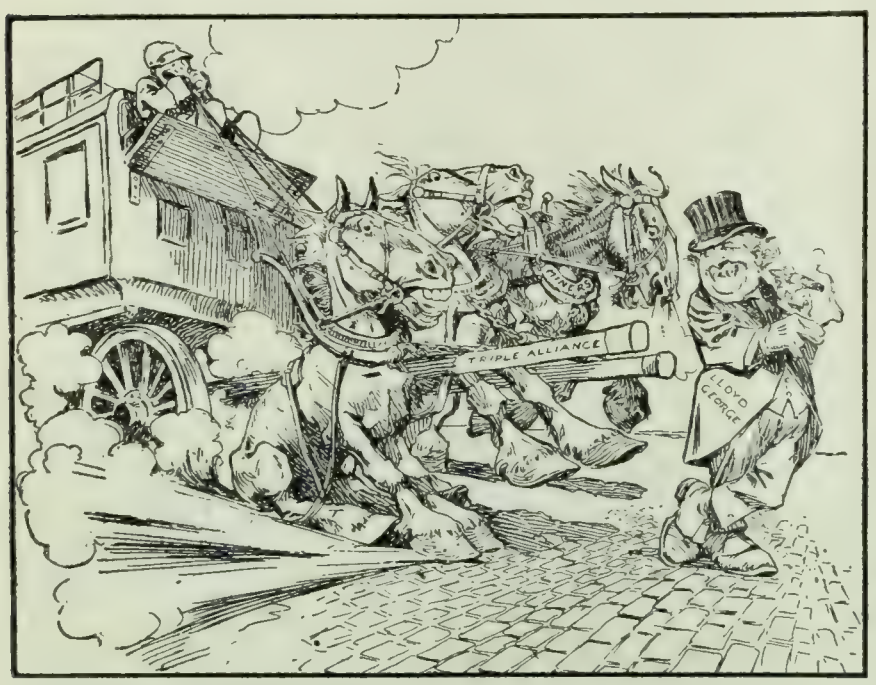
III. Commitments . . . involvements . . . readjustments . . . normalcy. . . .

# The Story of the Week

## Wreck of the Triple Alliance

WHAT is interesting about the British Empire is the way it is continually standing on the brink of disaster without quite going over. Class barriers have been as marked and class feeling as bitter in crowded, industrial Britain as in any part of the world. A dozen times in the last two centuries the specter of revolution has thrown an ominous shadow over the prosperous towns and fields of the country, but on every occasion either the Government gave way at the right moment or the labor leaders moderated their demands. Some call it the English instinct for compromize. But perhaps it is rather the long tradition of constitutionalism and self-government which teaches men when it is necessary and possible to stand firm and when it is expedient to yield. Had the ruling classes of France, Germany and Russia been as open-eyed and conciliatory as the rulers of Britain, and the leaders of labor in those countries as practical and prudent as the British there would have been no revolutions, republics, reigns of terror, communist experiments and the like. Whereby the world would have lost as well as gained; for there is some advantage in the "clean sweep" as well as in the British method of peaceful political evolution.

The latest crisis, perhaps the most serious in more than half a century, was the threatened strike of the "Triple Alliance"; that is to say, the coal miners, the railwaymen and the transport workers. The coal miners were already on strike, as they have been on more than one occasion. What was new in the situation was the action of the miners in calling out the pumpmen and engineers whose incessant labor is the only protection against extensive flooding of the mines. This difficulty was removed in conference, however; the miners agreeing to permit volunteers to pump out the mines. Then a more serious menace loomed on the industrial horizon. The railwaymen and the transport workers threatened to join the miners and paralyze industry by a general strike which would tie up all lines of transportation. Nor was this the worst. The strikers were seeking to exert pressure not only on the mine owners but on the Government, for the chief of their demands was the restoration of Government control of the coal mines. The question thus took on a revolutionary tinge: would the Triple Alliance, representing a portion of organized labor, be able to compel Parliament, elected by the whole people, to pass laws against its will by the threat of starving and freezing the general public into submission?




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Just missed him

What saved the situation was the moderation shown at the eleventh hour by the labor leaders,—first Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Federation, who offered a renewal of conference with the representatives of the Government and of the mine owners. He made this offer to a delegation of members of Parliament who had taken matters in their own hands without consulting Premier Lloyd George, in order to find out for themselves just what was the position of the miners. But Frank Hodges's offer went beyond what the miners were ready to concede, and the executive of the Federation repudiated his terms. The miners, therefore, remained on strike. It is said that Hodges offered his resignation to the Federation, but that it was refused. Mr. Thomas, chief of the railway workers, and most of the other heads of the railway and transport workers' unions supported Hodges. They informed the miners that the sympathetic strike was "off," for the immediate present at any rate. The refusal of the miners to enter an open conference and discuss, instead of demanding, as a preliminary to discussion, the "national pool" of mine profits and its corollary, the nation-wide minimum wage, lost them the support of the other unions. Should the miners' strike continue and develop phases which would again command the sympathy of the railwaymen and transport workers the Triple Alliance may once more close ranks for a general strike. But the miners counted strongly on the Triple Alliance and it may be that the failure of the other unions to support the miners may lead to a speedy end of the coal strike and a peace by negotiation.

## France Repudiates an Ally

THE French Government has somewhat brutally informed the Russian military refugees under General Wrangel that they can hope for no further countenance or recognition from France now that their attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviki has failed. Not many months ago France recognized Wrangel as the *de facto* ruler of southern Russia, supported his provisional government with moral and material aid, and relied on him to overthrow Bolshevism. Wrangel's army was not only defeated, but driven from Russia. It took refuge in Constantinople and used European Turkey as a basis for intrigues and plots against Soviet Russia. Now France was embarrassed. Her former ally was no longer useful, but was still an expense. The French Government paid out more than 200,000,000 francs for the upkeep of 135,000 refugees and received in return nothing but a few Russian vessels in the Black Sea. It is hardly to be wondered at that the French taxpayer demanded that Wrangel be written off as a bad debt and no longer treated as an ally. The Soviet Government offered an amnesty to the refugees who would return to Russia and, while the followers of Wrangel are perhaps not to be blamed for putting little trust in Bolshevist promises, this gave France a good pretext for withdrawing financial aid from the refugee colony.

There were political factors involved also. The Russians were rumored to be plotting an alliance with the Greeks to seize Constantinople from the Turks. In any case, their presence as an armed band of foreign, exiled soldiery was bound to be embarrassing to the Turkish Government; and

France, for reasons of her own, is now cultivating the good-will of the Turks. The French Government therefore informed Wrangel's men that:

> The existence of such an army on Ottoman territory is against international law and is dangerous to peace. It would be an illusion to think that Bolshevism could be effectively combated by armed forces having their base outside of Russia.

Thus ingloriously ends the latest and most promising attempt to overthrow Bolshevist rule in Russia by military expeditions using the Black Sea as a base and the Cossack armies as a means.




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

**You'll have to clean those boots before you trade in here**

## Russian "Vacuum"

SAMUEL Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, recently wrote to the Secretary of State a letter of inquiry as to the possibilities of reopening trade with Soviet Russia. In his letter he pointed out that "there is much propaganda being circulated in the United States claiming that the demand for manufactured goods in Russia is so great and the purchasing power of the Russian Soviet Government so vast it is almost impossible to determine the actual capacity of the Russian market to absorb goods of foreign manufacturers," and requested that, if compatible with the public interest, "you furnish me with such information as you might have on the matter." Secretary Hughes's reply, made public by the American Federation of Labor on April 18, was to the effect that formal reopening of trade with Russia would be useless since Russia is in no condition to export; "in fact, the devastation of industry in Russia has been so complete, the poverty of the country is so acute, the people are so hungry and the demand for commodities is so great that at present Russia represents a gigantic economic vacuum and no evidence exists that the unfortunate situation above described is likely to be alleviated so long as the present political and economic system continues."

Secretary Hughes declares that Russia shares with other European belligerents the loss of man power and the burden of the sick and disabled resulting from the war, but that Russia was worse off than other nations because "the attitude and action of the present authorities of Russia have tended to undermine its political and economic relations with other countries." Because of this, Russia could not obtain foreign credits to start her industries again. But even industries which were not dependent on imports had degenerated under Soviet rule. This applied to "the Russian production of coal, of iron and steel, of flax, cotton, leather, lumber, sulfuric acid, of copper, of agricultural products, of textiles, and the maintenance and repair of railroad equipment." Trade with the world thru the Baltic ports was reopened in April, 1920, and restrictions on direct trade with Russia were removed by the United States on July 8, 1920, but very little commerce has actually resulted.

Secretary Hughes denies that Russia can pay her way by gold. "According to the most liberal estimates the Soviet authorities do not now have in their possession more than $175,000,000 worth of gold." America's share of this sum "would not have a pronounced or lasting effect upon the advancement of American industry and trade, while its loss to Russia would take away the scant hope that is left of a sound reorganization of the Russian system of currency and finance." There are, since December 18, 1920, no legal restrictions on the exportation of money or private credit to Soviet Russia, and there are no restrictions on the importation of Russian gold save that the Federal Reserve Banks and the Mint may refuse to accept this gold if its legal title should be challenged.




*Knott in Dayton Daily News*

ANOTHER GOLD RUSH?

**Shall we follow England's lead down the trail to trade with Soviet Russia?**

The decreased production of Russian export commodities, and the total breakdown of the transportation system of the country, makes it illusory to hope for large shipments of lumber, flax, hemp, fur and other raw materials from Russia to the United States. "Even before the war, trade with Russia, including both exports and imports, constituted only 1 3/10 per cent of the total trade of the United States," and the buying power of Russia "is now greatly diminished." The United States desires a resumption of trade relations with Russia, but must await "readjustments in Russia which will make it possible for that country to resume its proper place in the economic life of the world."

It is evident that the Harding administration still holds resolutely to the position announced by Secretary Hughes shortly after the new administration took office that there would be no official trade agreements with Soviet Russia until there had been a change in the policy of the Bolshevist Government or that Government had been overthrown and given place to a more reliable one. Private persons can trade at their own risk; but apparently they do not choose to assume the risk to any appreciable extent. It is said that one reason for the American policy of non-recognition is the conduct of the Soviet Government in holding American citizens prisoner without trial in Russia.

## France and Yap

SECRETARY Hughes's note on the Japanese mandate over Yap was sent to all of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The French reply has been made public. It does not state the views of the French Government on the merits of the case, but is very friendly and cordial in tone and hints that France would be very glad to play the part of mediator in bringing about an agreement between the United States and Japan. The French note also confirms the American contention that President Wilson had formulated a reservation as to the island of Yap and the cables centering there in advance of the meeting of the Supreme Council which approved in general giving Japan a mandate over the former German islands north of

the equator, and points out that France had admitted this in a note of February 18 and that Ambassador Wallace had personally expressed his satisfaction at the French communication.

So long as the United States remains unrepresented both in the formal meetings of the League of Nations and the informal consultations of the Allied and Associated Powers, it is gratifying to know that at any rate we have "a friend at court" to speak for us in the person of the French Republic. Not to mention the traditional sympathy between France and the United States and our recent comradeship in the Great War, the French attitude is also partly determined by the desire to win American support in obtaining reparations from Germany. The Viviani mission is proof of the high value which France places on American diplomatic and moral support at the present time. But the French attitude is certainly not anti-Japanese. Japan was also an associate of France in the Great War, and the French consider that it would be an act of friendship to both countries to reconcile the divergent points of view of Japan and the United States.

The French note, handed to Ambassador Wallace on April 7, reads in part:

> Since this memorandum was sent simultaneously to the governments of Great Britain, Italy and Japan it cannot be answered until after an understanding has been reached between the governments of the four interested powers at the time of the next meeting of the Supreme Council of the Allies.
>
> I wish, however, to inform your excellency at once that when this question comes before the Supreme Council the representatives of France will broach the examination thereof with the greatest desire to find a solution which will give every satisfaction to the United States.
>
> As your excellency knows, the Government of the republic already has done all in its power to lend its aid to the American Government in this matter. By a note dated February 18, after having noted that the decision of May 7, 1919, made no reservation concerning the mandate attributed to Japan over the islands of the Northern Pacific, my department pointed out to your embassy that nevertheless President Wilson and Mr. Lansing had formulated in the course of a former meeting in the presence of the representative of Japan categorical reservations concerning the island of Yap, that Baron Makino had not objected, that the question raised by the representatives of the United States should be placed in discussion, and that consequently the Japanese Government was cognizant of the American reservations. The note concluded that thus there were elements for a resumption of conversations between the United States and Japan which the Government of the republic would be happy to see result in a satisfactory conclusion.

The successor to Ambassador Wallace will be Myron T. Herrick, former Governor of Ohio and Ambassador to France from 1912 to 1914. He is well-known and well-liked in France and his appointment is generally satisfactory.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**The curtain call**

## Japan's Side of It

THE Japanese note of February 26, 1921, which called out Secretary Hughes's reply, has just been made public. The Japanese note is a long memorandum on the claims advanced by President Wilson and Secretary Colby for internationalization of the island of Yap.

The Japanese note brushes aside the previous reservations made by President Wilson on the ground "that views expressed by the delegates previous to arriving at a decision are not necessarily to be interpreted as reservations naturally attached to the decision." Any utterances prior to the decision of May 7, 1919, allotting to Japan a mandate over the German islands north of the Equator, must be considered as being "only preliminary conversations." Moreover, Japan had never agreed to the point of view regarding Yap expressed by President Wilson and Secretary Lansing, and without an agreement of all the principal Allied and Associated Powers to except Yap from the general mandate over the Pacific islands the decision of May 7 must stand.

For the same reason, that Japan was entitled to be consulted on a question so directly affecting her interests, it cannot be argued that the decision of May 7 implicitly excluded the island of Yap, since Japan was not represented at the meeting of the Supreme Council of that date and was not informed of any such exception. "If a decision in favor of exclusion of the island of Yap" had really been made at that time "it could not but have been regarded as an act of entirely bad faith." The Japanese Government also holds that its interpretation of the scope of the mandate over the German islands north of the Equator as including Yap was supported by the French and British Governments and that President Wilson was alone in understanding the decision of the Supreme Council otherwise. The Japanese Government therefore "cannot agree in giving an extraordinary and unusual interpretation to the decision on a vague ground that certain thoughts and intentions not expressed in the text thereof existed in the mind of the delegate of one Power only."

The Japanese note contends further that the failure of the United States to file a protest against the published text of the decision of May 7 or to insist on its own interpretation and reservations for many months afterwards caused the American claim to lapse by default and subsequent protests are irrelevant. Nor can the United States claim the "open door" or cable rights in Yap on other conditions than apply to all mandated territories of the same class.



*© International*

**France welcomes as ambassador again from the United States Myron T. Herrick, who was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor for his services there from 1912 to 1914. His recent appointment by President Harding was unanimously approved by the Senate**

## Cuban Election Settled

THE United States has decided that the duly elected President of Cuba is Dr. Alfredo Zayas. The election of November, which Cuba conducted without American help, resulted in numerous charges of fraud and disputed returns. Dr. Zayas, candidate of the National or Coalition

party, claimed the election, but the Liberals, partizans of General Gomez, held that the election was invalidated by fraud and that the existing Government of President Menocal could not be trusted to hold the balance even between the two parties. Fearing lest the situation develop into a civil war, the United States sent Major-General Crowder to Cuba to investigate the situation. Acting by General Crowder's advice, special elections were held in the disputed districts. The Liberals refused to take part, alleging that sufficient guarantees had not been given that the new elections would be fairly conducted. With his opponents abstaining from the polls, Dr. Zayas naturally won a decisive victory. General Gomez again appealed to American intervention, while excitement ran high. A member of the Cuban Congress was shot dead by a political rival in the streets of Havana.

The American Government decided that the time had come to make its position plain. Mr. Long, American Minister to Cuba, therefore issued a statement sustaining the constitutionality and fairness of the special elections held in the disputed districts and expressing confidence "that if the Liberal party had gone to the polls in the partial elections on March 15 and March 26, those elections would have proceeded without organized disturbance" and that "the Government of the United States considers that the safeguards and recourses provided by the electoral code of Cuba have been placed at the disposition of the Cuban people without partiality or discrimination." In view of these facts "the Cuban people should accept this decision as final and no attempt should be made by the members of the minority in the Cuban Congress to impede the orderly procedure provided by the constitution and the laws" for the inauguration of the new President.

General Gomez then stated that he would not contest the American position by prolonging the electoral dispute. He would "retire to private life without bitterness" and permit his successful rival to assume office. This patriotic act averts the possibility of another revolution in Cuba, followed by American intervention.

Direct communication by telephone has been opened up between Cuba and the United States. At the formal opening of the telephone system President Harding and President Menocal exchanged greetings, and messages were relayed to many parts of the United States.

## Lawyer Wilson

WHEN he retired from office President Wilson announced that he would enter into partnership with his Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, in a private law firm practising in Washington, D. C., and in New York City. Altho Woodrow Wilson had a lawyer's training and had practised for a brief time at the Georgia bar he was not eligible to practise under the laws of New York State without passing a bar examination, and the press speculated as to whether he would take the examinations or permit his partner to carry on the New York end of the business. Governor Miller of New York solved the problem by requesting a law admitting the ex-President to the right to practise law in the state without further formality. In his message to the legislature he said, "A lawyer by regular admission and practise in an American state, an eminent educator and author, president for eight years of a leading university, Governor of a neighboring commonwealth, President of the United States for two terms, this distinguished citizen has a just title to a privilege the conferring of which, I believe, would be an eminently graceful act and one universally approved." The legislature acted promptly on the Governor's recommendation and passed the measure admitting the former President to the privileges of the New York bar, altho two members of the State Senate objected on the ground that all citizens should be treated alike in qualifying for the bar.

## Storms in the South

IN the spring of 1920 a series of destructive tornadoes swept thru the Southern states, destroying much property and causing heavy loss of life. This year has again witnessed the fury of the elements in the lower Mississippi valley. The storm gathered head in northern Texas and then swept eastward into Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. Before it had spent its fury it had killed at least seventy-five persons and destroyed property worth many millions of dollars. Following the storm came torrential rains, causing several washouts on the railways. The greatest damage was done in southwestern Arkansas, especially Miller and Hempstead counties. The deaths in Arkansas are estimated at fifty or more.

At the same time (April 15 and 16) that the Southern states suffered from the sweep of the tornadoes, the upper Mississippi valley and Great Lakes region experienced a belated blizzard. Snow fell heavily in Wisconsin and Chicago was visited by wintry gales. The early fruit crops of Illinois, Iowa and Michigan are thought to have been totally ruined by the storms.



*Paul Thompson*

**Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, celebrated his seventy-first year by marrying for the second time. The new Mrs. Gompers was Mrs. Gertrude Gleaves Neucheler, a music teacher, thirty-eight years old, whose final decree of divorce from her former husband was dated only four days previous to her second marriage. Mr. Gompers's first wife died a year ago**

## Hunting the Tiger

BOTH branches of the New York legislature have voted by large majorities for an official investigation into the conduct of the municipal government of New York City. The terms of the investigation are very comprehensive:

That a joint legislative committee is hereby constituted, to consist of five members, to be appointed by the temporary president of the Senate and six members of the Assembly to be appointed by the Speaker of the Assembly, with power and authority to investigate the general financial condition of the City of New York, the causes thereof and the remedies therefor, and to inquire and examine into all and singular the aforesaid matters and allegations, and to inquire into the accounts, the structure and the methods and manner of administration of any and all the departments, bureaus, offices, boards and commissions of the government of the City of New York and of the boroughs thereof, and of the counties geographically included within said city and into every matter and thing that affects or has affected the present, past or future conditions surrounding or in any way bearing upon or relating to the financial condition of said city, the structure and the administration of the municipal government thereof and of the government of the counties geographically included within said city. The investigation of the committee may include every other matter and thing not specific-

ally mentioned in this resolution relevant to the general question of ascertaining and improving the financial conditions of said city and the structure and the administration of the government thereof, and of the counties geographically included therein, as tho the same had been expressly specified therein.

Two previous investigations uncovered enough inefficiency, if not positive graft, to warrant the legislative inquiry. Samuel Untermyer's exposure of the building trades "labor trust," which resulted in the conviction of Robert Brindell, the labor leader, incidentally revealed that the city had been victimized by the grafters in making contracts for school construction. Ex-Governor Whitman, by appointment of District Attorney Swann, conducted a special grand jury inquiry into the city administration. Altho the evidence obtained by this means has not been made public, it was sufficient to encourage Governor Miller to press upon the legislature the need for a complete investigation of every phase and department of municipal activity.

It is undeniable that the investigation has its political side. Governor Miller is a Republican and the legislature has an overwhelming Republican majority; Mayor Hylan and the majority of his associates in the city administration are Democrats of the simonpure Tammany Hall variety. Moreover, the Governor and the Mayor have been sharply at odds over many public questions, such as the transit situation and the development of the port of New York. This November there will be a mayoralty election, which comes only once in four years. "Boss" Murphy of Tammany Hall has declared himself satisfied with the administration of Mayor Hylan, who has also the powerful support of the Hearst newspapers, which in some previous campaigns have been anti-Tammany. With the official backing of Tammany Hall and the support of an influential section of the press, Mayor Hylan hopes for renomination and reëlection. Should the legislative investigation uncover any considerable scandal Tammany will run the danger of defeat at the polls. It is interesting to note, as one of the complications to which "politics" give rise, that a group of Republican legislators from Brooklyn voted with Tammany against the inquiry on the ground that an investigation at this time would prevent the renomination of Mayor Hylan and drive Tammany to choose some stronger candidate, which would diminish the chances of the Republicans in the election! The Tammany legislators were in an even more awkward position, voting against the legislative investigation, tho professing that Mayor Hylan and his colleags had nothing to fear from its results.

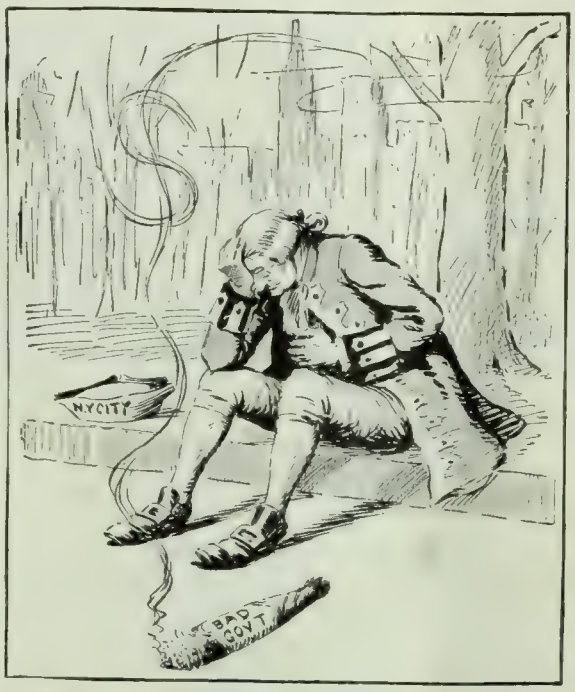
As for the people, they will "wait and see" and judge by results.



*Cesare in New York Evening Post*

THE MENACE

**This cartoon first appeared in the New York *Evening Post* of November 3, 1917, at the time when the Tammany candidate, Mr. Hylan, was elected Mayor of New York**




*Nelson Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**The penalty**

# Harding on the Monroe Doctrine

THE unveiling of the statue of General Simon Bolivar of Venezuela, liberator of Spanish-America, gave President Harding opportunity to state his policy toward Latin America and to give his interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. The statue, a gift of the Republic of Venezuela, was unveiled in New York City on April 19 with all possible ceremony. Many representatives of South American countries were present. But President Harding was easily the center of interest.

President Harding's address began with a felicitous tribute to the patriotic heroism of Bolivar. He then traced the development of the North American revolution into republican unity and the South American revolution into separate republics; declaring that even in their separation the Latin American countries had taught the world "that a family of states entirely sovereign and independent may live together in the same continental area in prosperity and progress" and that the American republics by their constant resort to arbitration in international disputes had shown the world the path to "judicial and arbitral settlement of international differences" and gave us "an assurance which will justify our purpose to invite present day civilization to cast aside the burden of armaments." Perhaps in these words is embodied some hint of President Harding's future plans for an association of nations and disarmament by agreement.

Then the President stated his view of the true meaning of the Monroe Doctrine and repudiated false interpretations of it:

> The doctrine proclaimed under Monroe, which ever since has been zealously guarded as a fundamental principle of our own Republic, maintained that these continents should not again be regarded as fields for the colonial enterprizes of Old World powers. There have been times when the meaning of Monroeism was misunderstood by some, perverted by others and made the subject of distorting propaganda by those who saw in it an obstacle to the realization of their own ambitions.
>
> Some have sought to make our adhesion to this doctrine a justification for prejudice against these United States. They have falsely charged that we have sought to hold the nations of the Old World at arm's length in order that we might monopolize the privilege of exploiting them ourselves. Others have protested that the doctrine would never be enforced if to enforce it would involve us in actual hostilities.
>
> The history of the generations since that doctrine was proclaimed has proved that we never intended it selfishly.

# The Red River Decision

THE Supreme Court has at last settled one of the few remaining boundary controversies between the states of the American Union. Its decision is that the boundary between Oklahoma and Texas follows the southern bank of the Red River.

This frontier dates back to the Treaty of 1819 be-

tween the United States and Spain, when Mexico and all Texas were still claimed as Spanish territory, while Oklahoma was a part of the Louisiana purchase and therefore belonged to the United States. Important holdings in oil lands in the Red River valley were involved in the decision, estimated in value at $200,000,000. The lands have been in the hands of a Federal receiver for a year at the initiative of the Federal Government, which intervened in the dispute between the states. Oklahoma has now gained her contention.

## Cures for the H. C. of L.

THE report of the Federal Trade Commission on the cost of living has been made public. It states that the downward trend in prices has been mainly due to the "buying strike" of the consumers. This has resulted in a sharp decline of producers' prices which "has not been adequately reflected down the line to the final consumer." The reduction of prices "is retarded chiefly at the retailing stage" because the retailer "is reluctant to take losses on goods hitherto purchased at high prices." Certain foreign purchasing agencies and domestic "open price associations" are blamed for artificially sustaining prices at a certain level by limiting the normal operation of competition.

The remedies suggested for the continuing high prices to the consumer are: (1) the passage of a law "which will meet judicial objections" giving the Federal Trade Commission the authority to obtain and publish information "respecting the ownership, production, distribution, cost, sales and profits in the basic industries"; (2) prosecution under the anti-trust laws of associations of producers who are combining in restraint of trade; (3) encouragement of agricultural coöperation and coöperative consumers' organizations; (4) laws against "unnecessary reconsignment and brokerage operations" intended to pyramid prices; (5) international conferences to promote fair competition in foreign trade; (6) protection of the farmer by "giving more adequate and timely information concerning foreign and domestic market conditions" and in affording local market and storage facilities for conserving perishable products. Thus far the part of the Government. In the general sphere of "good advice," the Trade Commission suggests that the goods be kept moving even if the retailer must face an immediate loss by accepting lower prices:

> It should be said in conclusion that following the disordered condition of the world's affairs a shrinkage in values is inevitable and that normal conditions will be the more quickly restored if the producer, the laborer, the manufacturer, the jobber and the retailer will each share at once in the unavoidable loss; and further, that any effort by any element to place its share of the common loss on the shoulders of others, and particularly of the consumer, can but result in a continuation of the conditions under which the country is now suffering.

The analysis indicates that the cost of living must come down as a prerequisite to normal business, and that the first move should be in the reduction of retail prices, accompanied by credit assistance to prevent undue financial disorders.



© Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson

**The Director-General of Railroads under President Harding's Administration is James Cox Davis, of Iowa, a lawyer who has been general counsel for the railroad administration and before that general solicitor for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad when it was under Federal control**

## Sixteen Commandments for Railroads

THE Railroad Labor Board has hearkened at last to the oft-repeated prayer of the railroad companies and abrogated the wartime national agreements which defined uniform working conditions on all American railroads. The new system comes into effect on the first of July. In the meantime employers and employees are instructed to reach direct agreements by conference and to inform the Labor Board of the progress of negotiations "to the end that the Board may know prior to July 1, 1921, what portion of the dispute has been decided." Both parties are warned not to obstruct or delay agreement:

> The board reserves the right to terminate its direction . . . at an earlier date than July 1 with regard to any class of employees of any carrier if it shall have reason to believe that such class of employees is unduly delaying the progress of negotiations.
>
> The board also reserves the right to stay the termination of its direction beyond July 1, 1921, if it shall have reason to believe any carrier is unduly delaying the progress of the negotiations.

The abrogation of national agreements permits each railroad to work out its own problem with reference to wages. This pleases the owners and executives of the railroads, but displeases the unions, who hoped to have the question handled on a nation-wide basis. The railway employees have at least one crumb of comfort, however. The Railroad Labor Board laid down sixteen principles to guide the conferences establishing the new agreements. Many of these principles are distinctly favorable to the claims of labor.

The "code" may be summarized as follows:

1. All are pledged to give the public "honest, efficient and economical service."
2. Both parties are enjoined to cherish "the spirit of cooperation."
3. Rules adopted must not be subversive of "necessary discipline."
4. "The right of railway employees to organize for lawful objects shall not be denied, interfered with or obstructed."
5. Agreement shall be reached as to the right of labor unions to act thru representatives of their own choice "whether employees of a particular carrier or otherwise."
6. Employers may not discriminate against union men; union men may not "use other methods than lawful persuasion" to bring non-unionists into their organization. Neither party may use spies on the "legitimate activities" of the other.
7. "The right of employees to be consulted prior to a decision of management adversely affecting their wages or working conditions shall be agreed to" and at least a majority of the workers affected must be represented in such conferences.
8. No employee may be disciplined without a fair hearing, knowledge of the charges against him and the right to "counsel of his choosing." "If the judgment be in his favor he shall be compensated for the wage loss, if any, suffered by him."
9. There must be "proper classification of employees" but this is not to be so rigid as to interfere with efficiency.
10. Regularity of hours of labor is desirable.
11. The principle of seniority should be adhered to so far as is consistent with efficiency.
12. "The board approves the principle of the eight-hour day, but believes it should be limited to work requiring practically continuous application during eight hours."
13. The health and safety of employees is to be protected.
14. Opportunity to become apprenticed to any craft or occupation is not to be unduly restricted.
15. The majority of any craft or class of employees may decide as to what organization shall represent that craft or class, but non-unionists have the right of presenting their grievances in their own way.
16. Employees required to report for work should be compensated even if not used.

# A Little of Everything



## Tantalizing Tongues

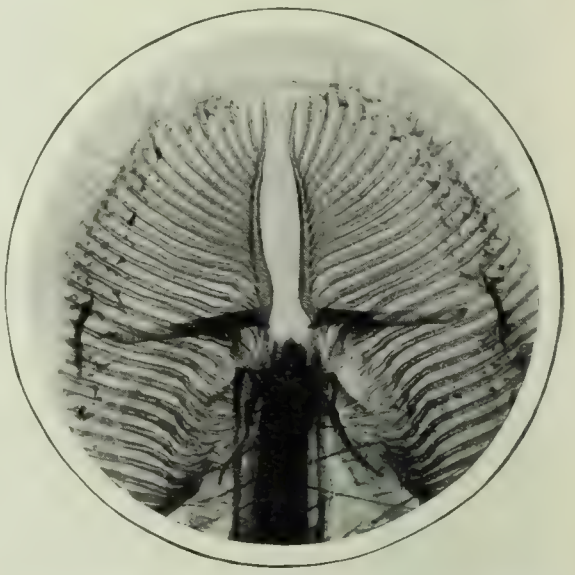
### By Edward F. Bigelow

### President of the Agassiz Association, Editor of The Guide to Nature

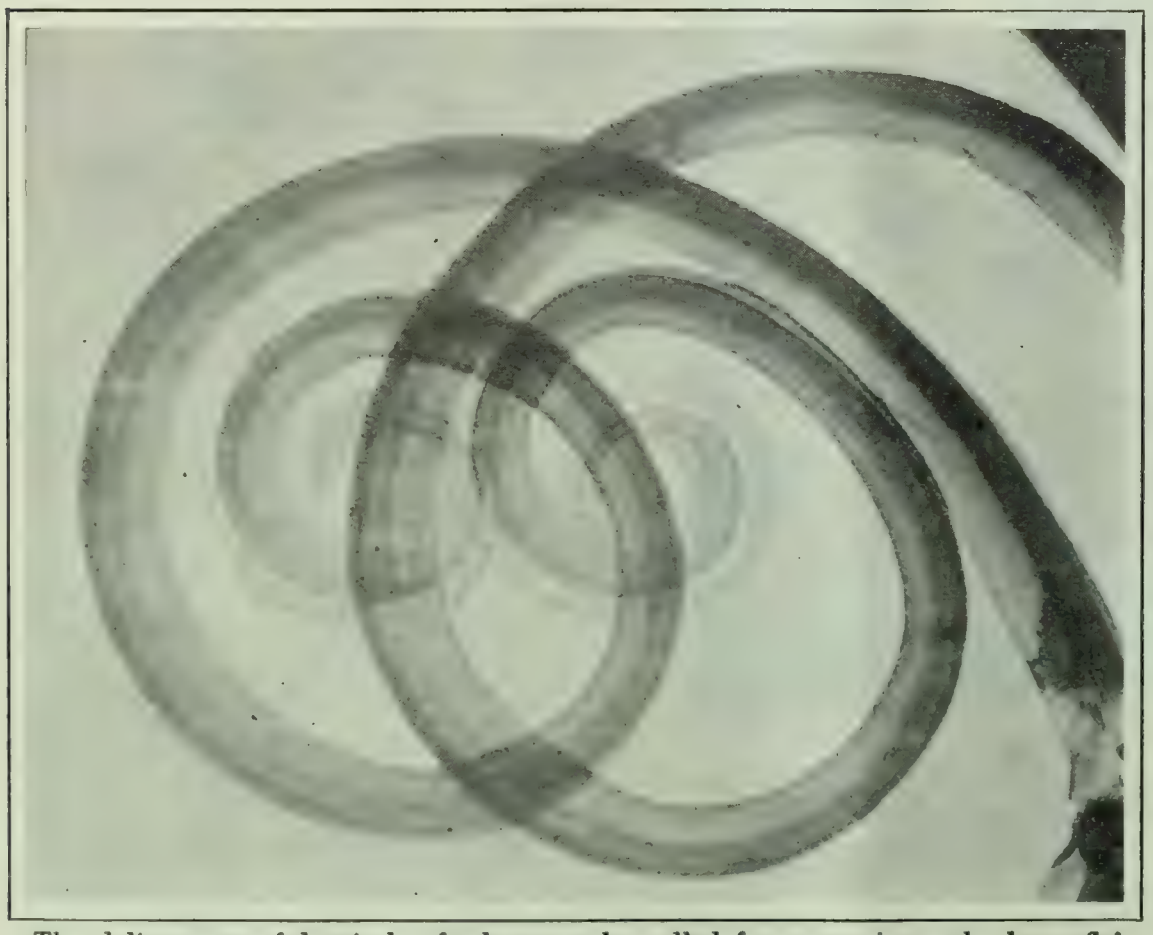
The tongue of the common house fly has been the star wonder since the very earliest invention of the microscope; a close second has been the long, coiled, spring-like tongue of the butterflies and moths. Even the most experienced microscopists, in praising the astonishingly intricate construction of the house fly's tongue, admit, as Carpenter says, that the purpose of the curious modifications of the ordinary tracheal structure is not apparent. The trouble is that a glance at the tongue, indeed the close study of it, conveys the impression that these spiral tubes should be continuous; they are not. They are broken into rings; and these rings do not surround the whole tube but are terminated by arches that pass from one to another. That arrangement suggests the question, "What is it all for?" and the microscopists say, "We do not know. We only know that under proper lighting it is a marvelously beautiful structure." Perhaps more than most other objects for the microscope this tongue has won friends to that instrument that reveals a magical world.

Perhaps not so intricate and puzzling in structure is the elongated tongue of the butterflies and the moths, that is more strictly a proboscis or, as the scientists call it, a haustellum. This is really the maxillae or what would seem to be the jaws of the insect drawn out to astonishing proportions. It is in practically the same way that we think of an elephant's proboscis, which from its multiple uses we might also call a tongue, as an elongated nose. The length of the haustellum varies wonderfully. Some butterflies and moths take no food in their perfect state and therefore in them this organ is insignificant and vestigial, while in striking contrast in some members of the family it is more than nine inches long or about three times the length of the body. When this proboscis or tongue is not in use it is coiled in a spiral beneath the mouth and is an extremely beautiful microscopical object owing to a peculiar pointed arrangement probably due to the disposition of its muscles.

This so-called tongue, like that of the house fly, has been the subject of an immense amount of discussion. Some students claim that it is wholly pump-like in action and others that it laps like the tongue of a dog. Most observers now generally agree that its action is a combination of the two. It is not a closed tube, but like two troughs or two halves that may sometimes be seen to be linked together by hooked teeth. It is probable that the action really considerably resembles sucking, and is affected by the agency of the breathing apparatus. At the tip of the tongue, very transparent and difficult to photograph, are small, projecting, barrel-shaped tubes which are supposed by students to be organs of taste.



**The amazing end of the house-fly's tongue. No one knows exactly what it is all about, but only that under a microscope it is a wonderful sight**



**The delicate graceful spirals of what may be called for convenience the butterfly's "tongue," tho it is rather a combination of tongue and proboscis**

Closely related to these tongues in beauty and interest is the tongue of the honey bee. What Cheshire says of that is peculiarly appropriate to these tongues:

> This wondrous tongue has no speech, but yet who so dull that he cannot hear its thrilling little voice, speaking as unmistakably as the stars discourse the language of the immensities?

## Reviewing Reviews

Professor P. Caspar Harvey of William Angell College suggests a number of ways of sifting out and feeling thru the swarm of reviews of current books, in order to find out with the least waste of time what books are really worth reading. In the first place, you must make sure that you are getting at the representative reviews. And next, in reading book reviews, keep these things in mind:

1. A good book review sends the reader to read the book or makes him sure that he will never read it.

2. A poor book review judges a book without reference to its own aims; finds fault in all points; quotes without careful explanation of the context and so most likely misrepresents the book; points out the "strong" and the "weak" characters; relies over much on biographical details

about the author for interpretation of the book.

3. Faith may be placed in a book review which tries to understand the purpose of the book and to rise into sympathy with that purpose; which apprehends more than technique and external features; which does not try to do the reader's reading for him; which estimates in how far the author has succeeded in what he set out to do; which guards against excessive censure or praise and has not the earmarks of the "blurb."

4. Follow the reviewers whose work appeals to you. Read their reviews of books which do not interest you.

## "Woman's Place Is the World"

Even if the world can't seem to get together on that League of Nations matter, there is another league in existence, building up strength and widening its international influence—a league which, if you think of all the implications, could actually be in the truest sense a league of nations. This is the International Federation of University Women, initiated in 1918 and organized in permanent form in 1920, in a conference in London attended by delegates from fifteen different countries.

In the first place, nothing is so naturally and essentially international, the common property of all races, as scholarship. This is saying that scholarship is an obvious point from which to work toward a general internationalism. In the second place, women are —if the phrase may be permitted— "the mothers of the race," and to a very large extent the teachers of the race. To reach them is to reach directly one of the most powerful sources of influence. It is this fact that makes a movement toward internationalizing the college woman's point of view a sane and fundamental approach to the problem of educating the international idea into the whole people.

The definite scheme of the Federation is in general something like this. It coöperates with already existing bureaus of international education in different countries. It endows international scholarships. It organizes and encourages exchange of lecturers and students between universities of different countries. This means in each case that people of two nations have a chance seriously and thoughtfully to study each other, and that the visitor takes back home with her what she has learned, and passes it on there. There is a Spanish girl at Smith College, another at Bryn Mawr. There are five Czechoslovaks at Vassar. One of the few women with a degree from Oxford is studying botany at Radcliffe. Such cases, and a corresponding shift of American students to other countries, constitute a large part of the Federation's work.

Equally important are the clubs and centers of hospitality that are being established in the cities of the world, to be meeting places for students and teachers of all races. Such clubs already exist in Washington, New York, London, Paris—and in Athens a grant



**Prof. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, of the University of London, who has lectured thruout this country in her capacity of president of the International Federation of University Women. She has also been a visiting professor of English in Columbia**

of land has been given by the Greek Government for the purpose.

Most of the nations affiliated with the Federation had the necessary machinery for becoming so in already existing national federations. This was the case with Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Spain, and the United States. It is interesting to consider that the desire for this international relationship is leading three other countries, Australia, India and Norway, to form national federations of university women for the first time in their history. The American branch of the Federation is the Association of Collegiate Alumnae; the national office is the Institute of International Education, 419 West 117th Street, New York.

## Odd Lots

A "First Church for Animal Rights" has been organized in New York.

***

Women who play golf number more than 50,000 in England and Wales alone.

***

Last year over 500 women college graduates chose Y. W. C. A. work for their career.

***

A Maryland taxpayer deducted his race track gambling losses from his year's income.

***

Increased cost of living is heaviest in Finland, where food prices are now 1,034 per cent. above 1914.

***

Senator Reed Smoot estimates that it took by actual count 21,879,647 words to kill the Versailles treaty in the United States Senate.

***

A bill has been introduced in the Philippine Senate requiring natives to wear trousers. According to its provisions the Government is to furnish trousers free to all Filipinos and punish by imprisonment those who fail to put them on.

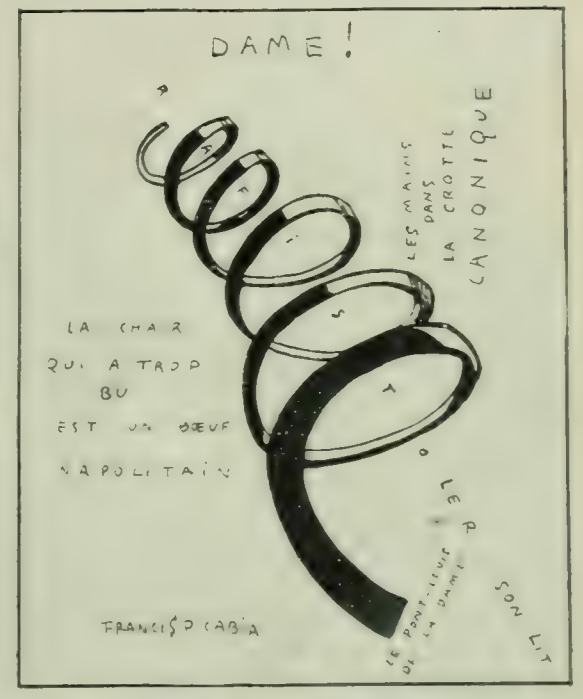
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Ravenna has just been presented with a silver bell by popular subscription, in honor of the sixth centenary of Dante, which will be celebrated thruout Italy this September. It will be rung every evening in his memory.

## Voting by Button

In the Iowa Legislature the good old days have gone out when a loud-voiced clerk called the roll and the members shouted their answers. Now it is a matter of pressing a stealthy little electric button and the thing is done, and from fifteen minutes to a half-hour saved in taking a roll call vote.

On each member's desk, locked up with a private key which the member owns, is an electric switchboard. The question is put, and the member presses the proper button. For "aye" a red light shows on the member's desk, and on a board behind the speaker's head, opposite the member's name, a corresponding light appears and the letter Y. For "no" there is a blue light and the letter N. If a member wishes to indicate that he is present but not voting there is only a white light opposite his name. Within twenty seconds after the voting an automatically taken photograph of the complete record on the board is handed to the clerk.




**A cover design from "Dadaphone," Paris, which—if it is necessary to explain—is the organ of the Dadaïstes, who—if it is necessary to explain further—are a group of moderns so ultra-modern that they aim to do away with the old not only in art, or in politics, but in everything impartially. The movement has had some spread—in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and a number of South American countries. But it is very difficult for the non-elect to get at the least idea of what it is all about, for the Dadaïstes themselves seem unconscious of any particular creed or constitution or set of principles; and they give themselves to the world in such creations as this cover design, which, pictorially, is cryptic to say the least—while the explosive statements scattered over it are no more intelligible for being translated. Dada also finds expression in poetry, the drama, and an easy variety of other forms. Any form is made the vehicle of mockery and satire, and in general the Dadaïstes seem to be enjoying themselves**

# "Save Himself Who Can!"

(*Continued from page 446*)

supreme command has failed to prevail against the powers of adversity or the elements, then—save himself who can.

Captain Foss was over sixty-five years old, a kindly, considerate master, and a prime seaman. He knew every inch of the English Channel as he did every problem in his well-thumbed epitome.

When the crew had been mustered, Captain Foss set our fearfully perilous position plainly before us. The impossibility of forcing a passage thru the storm-beaten Straights in our present condition, with a weatherworn, beaten and discouraged crew, was apparent to all. Our only thought now must be for our lives; we must wreck the ship to save ourselves.

Ten miles below us, the captain explained, there was an open cove with a sandy beach, facing a fishing village on the French coast; and beyond that a ledge of merciless rocks toward which we were rapidly driving thru the darkness and the snow at that moment. If we struck on those pitiless rocks, the master solemnly warned us, all hands must inevitably perish; but by bracing our yards, and laying our course directly for the sands, we could beach our ship without dashing her to pieces, within reach of mortal succor, and some of us at least might be saved.

Our ship was shortened down now to two lower topsails, main and fore topmast staysails and spanker. We braced our yards sharp up on the port tack, and hove to long enough to enable us to get our long boat down from the top of the deck house and launch it. Then we rigged a parsaree boom, with head lift and guys, and a gantline block at the end thru which the boat line was rove; we stepped the foot of the boom thru the port hawse chock, lashed the heel to the horns of the caverl, stayed it fore and aft with the head guys, made fast the slack of the boat line on deck, so that we could pay out as required to keep the boat clear of wreckage when the ship struck—and then we were ready for the great adventure.

We checked our yards and drove headlong for the beach.

After running thus for half an hour, we hove to again and made several casts with an "armed" lead, and when the depth and nature of the bottom indicated to the old man that we were in the right spot, he took his bearings accordingly, and ordered us to square for the beach.

Just as we were squaring our yards for the final drive, we heard a muffled and indistinct hail, and suddenly out of the obscurity of night and snow loomed our old consort in adversity, the "Niobe." She, too, was under short canvas, was burning naphtha torches, and like ourselves was preparing to drive for the beach in a last forlorn extremity.

As we paid off, the "Niobe" hauled her wind and her lights disappeared.

Then we paid out on our boat line to give it plenty of scope to clear the inevitable wreck.

As the devoted ship drove toward her doom, Captain Foss came to me, and laying his hand firmly on my shoulder: "Thee's a bowld swimmer, lad," he said. "I saw thee strivin' wi' the nagars down on the coast, an' deil a wan on 'em could best ye in the tumblers. The waters aw wee bit chilly hereabout," he added, significantly. "But some one has to fetch to the boat when we're awrack, or aw 'ands moun perish. I canna order thee, lad, in this," he said appealingly, "but will thee do it as a seaman's duty to his mates?"

We could hear the boomers on the beach by now, and I took off my stiffened oilskins and undressed, for I realized that in the roaring surf in the inlet a heavily clad man would soon become waterlogged and helpless. I stripped to bare poles and then strapped my sheath knife and belt securely around my naked waist, so that in case I should become entangled in the stray rigging among the wreckage I might cut myself clear. Mr. Burns, our old first mate, fetched a blanket and wrapped it about me, and I stood there in the waist in the driving snow, clinging to the pinrail, and watching the heavy combers breaking over our rails and breaching across our decks.

And now the roar of the boomers became momentarily more distinct, and insistent, and awful, as we neared the fatal cove. Thru the blinding obscurity of the driving snow storm we caught fitful flashes of subdued lights moving to and fro along the beach, which showed us that the vigilant Coast Guards were awake, and sensible of our approach.

As we entered the mouth of the cove the lights became more distinct, and we could faintly hear the voices of the Coast Guards shouting unintelligible orders in French.

When we were well within the inlet and could see the lights and hear the voices more distinctly, and distinguish the brilliant white crest of the breakers on the beach, flashing weird colors like an aurora thru the storm, Captain Foss ordered the helm hard aweather, and let go the lee braces.

The bark, answering obediently the turn of her rudder and the new impulse of her squared canvas, veered southward, struggled forward thru the mad surf a few moments longer, then struck with a frightful impact on the hard sand; picked up on the rush of the next roller she was tossed forward again as lightly as a shuttlecock flung from a battledore and launched on the sand again with a still mightier crash, that threw every man to the deck, however grimly he was holding on. She rose again for the last fatal throw, her great frame struck like an avalanche, masts and rigging swayed ominously a few times and then crashed over the side, with all their weight of spars and gear. The ship rolled heavily to her bilge, a dead and useless thing, and the unfeeling elements began their eternal work upon her helpless form as tho it had always been theirs to destroy.

And then, just as our ship had stranded, a wild, despairing, distant cry was borne to us on the wings of the relentless storm, and its meaning was easily divined.

The fateful tidings of the loss of the "Niobe" came to those of us who still survived a few days later. Being a narrow hulled steel ship of deep draft, the "Niobe" had stranded far out on the brow of the sand bank as she attempted to make the entrance, and stove her bow plates; then she had slid off into deep water again and foundered, carrying every soul aboard down with her, including the captain's wife and young daughter, who sailed with him on that fatal voyage. The "Wild Rose," a wooden ship of broader beam, lesser draft and greater natural buoyancy, had easily cleared the brow of the shoal and driven far up into the head of the inlet before stranding, thereby giving us a fighting chance.

As soon as the ship had stranded, our long boat, which had been towing bravely astern during our daring run for the cove, was swept around the ship's quarter and lay tugging madly at her hawser sheered off from the end of the parsaree boom, as the stranded hull lay broadside to the beach. Captain Foss's method had worked perfectly thus far in all things, and our long boat now lay safely attached to the hulk, but twenty fathoms away and safely clear of the wreckage.

A small lifeline was secured around my body and I was ready to go. Then Captain Foss took my hand.

"Now go in, lad," he shouted in my ear, "an' God go wi' thee."

I leapt over the rail and began my battle with the angry surf.

The shock of the plunge soon passed, for the water was not as cold as the atmosphere. But the task before me was one to appal the heart of a braver and stronger man.

The boat swung off twenty fathoms from the wreck, and in the tumultuous surf there was great danger of being carried beyond it, and no hope of getting back.

Great quantities of fine sand churned up from the bottom mingled with the water, and blinded and choked and distressed me. Stray pieces of wreckage pierced and lacerated my flesh, straggling bights of rope and rigging ensnarled and hindered me, great combers broke over my head, repeatedly submerging me and nearly stifling my life out every time. But every time I arose I was nearer to the boat and struggled desperately again. At last, when in imminent danger of being carried beyond, I managed by the

(*Continued on page 467*)

# The Second Coming of Christ, the Son of God, Is Imminent

By AUGUSTA E. STETSON, C. S. D.

*And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.—Genesis i., 3.*

*I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.*—CHRIST JESUS. *John viii., 12.*

*And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.*—CHRIST JESUS. *John xiv., 3.*

*Unto them that look for him [the ideal man, Christ] shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.—Hebrews ix., 28.*

*And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ.—I. John v., 20.*

*If Christ, Truth, has come to us in demonstration, no other commemoration is requisite, for demonstration is Immanuel, or God with us.*—MARY BAKER EDDY. *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures, p. 34.*

*There is but one way to heaven, harmony, and Christ in divine Science shows us this way. It is to know no other reality—to have no other consciousness of life—than good, God and His reflection, and to rise superior to the so-called pain and pleasure of the senses.*—MARY BAKER EDDY. *Science and Health, p. 242.*

*Entirely separate from the belief and dream of material living, is the Life divine, revealing spiritual understanding and the consciousness of man's dominion over the whole earth.*—MARY BAKER EDDY. *Science and Health, p. 14.*

TO-DAY the material world is experiencing the greatest revolution in thought that has ever been witnessed by humanity. The traditional religion of our ancestors, with its time-honored creeds and rituals, before which all have bowed as being unquestionable in vital conception and strength, and able to lead man to the divine source of eternal Life,—this traditional religion to-day is publicly questioned, and by many privately denounced. The ancient creeds and doctrines are said to be wanting in spiritual power, which is necessary to meet and destroy the seeming force of evil that appears to control mortals, and from which they are struggling to free themselves.

In this age, the spiritually inspired have turned from a dead faith and an undemonstrable creed, to a living, ever-present Christ, and are asking: Are we awaking from sleep, and have we been so deep in the Adam-dream, that we are only now able to hear the whisper of ever-present Truth, again asking: "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip?" (John xiv., 9.)

As the potency of the Christ-mind reaches humanity, illuminating the world with its radiance, revealing the nothingness of all material concepts, men discern the spirit of Truth —"the Comforter"—the impersonal Saviour, the "Sun of righteousness," who comes with healing in his wings, heralding the promised millennial day. As mankind awakes from the mesmeric sleep of the Adam-dream, the belief of life, substance, and intelligence in matter, in which "all die," to the consciousness of the allness of their Christ-mind, their divine individuality, in which all are "made alive"—as they begin to apprehend the allness of God, the supremacy of the divine Mind, the omnipotence of Love, Life, and Truth, and their eternal oneness with the Principle of being, they come forth from among the sleepers and send to the dreamers, who are deceived by the supposed pleasures and pains of matter, the divine message: "Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of His Christ." (Revelation xii., 10.) The awakened have seen the "star in the East," which ushers in the Christ-mind power, with which God endowed man, and are coming from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South, chanting again the angelic salutation: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." (Luke ii., 14.) "The government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." (Isaiah ix., 6.)

The present reign of terror—sin, suffering, sorrow and death—shall cease to govern humanity, for man will claim his divine birthright—Life, Love, peace and joy, the fruits of the Spirit. The mighty God, the omnipotent creator, the infinite, supreme intelligence, eternal Life, Love, and Truth, shall be recognized and accepted as the great First cause, the only real power, the only reality of being, the source and supply of man's existence. Since mankind first acknowledged a Supreme Being, whom they called God, ever since the first chant of the creedsman and ritualist ascended in praise to the omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent Father, whom they accepted as the source of life and intelligence, they have proclaimed *one* theory and practised another. Moses sang: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord Our God is one Lord." The Hebrew bard swept his lyre to the same melody; and on through the ages the God-inspired have voiced Truth, till Jesus the Christ appeared, demonstrating the words of Moses: "The Lord He is God; there is none else beside Him."

At Christ's *first* appearing in the flesh, humanity was worshipping other gods and bowing down to idols. Mortals were calling upon God with the lip, while believing in another power, the power of suppositional evil, which testifies of life in matter. To-day, at his *second* coming, Christ, Truth, the ideal man, invisible to finite sense, finds mankind bowing to a pseudo power, or god, even as at his *first* coming, he found the woman at the well, who said: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." (John iv., 20-24.)

The ever-present, eternal, ideal man, Christ, Truth, meets many to-day at the material well, the belief of life and intelligence in matter and material generation, and finds them drinking of its material waters, as their fathers did before them. He speaks to them *mentally*, as he spoke to the woman audibly, "Ye worship ye know not

what," for not in the mountain of mortal thought, nor in the belief of life and intelligence in matter, do ye find the Father, but in Spirit, or in the understanding that man is spiritual, an emanation of Life and Love, the creative Principle of being. God made man "in His own image" and gave him "dominion . . . over all the earth." (Genesis i., 26.)

For generations, mortals have lived in the material senses, the belief that sight is in the eye, hearing in the ear, sensation in nerve, and intelligence in brain, gray matter. They have continued to evolve a material generation, which ends in death. They have accepted the testimony of the material senses, believing in error's illusions, expressed in the phenomena of sin, sickness and death, which represent a mortal as a foam-crested wave, that rises for a moment, and then is forever gone—lost in the immensity of the great unknown. While the warring, mental elements of the so-called carnal senses have furiously raged, as expressed by the Psalmist, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?"—humanity has suffered from constant care and incessant watch, lest life be destroyed. Mortals have agonized with doubts and uncertainties, that fill them with dismay, from the moment they enter upon the stage of human responsibility, to the hour when they make their exit, having had nothing to satisfy their immortal yearnings for the love, rest, and peace, in the infinite Fatherhood of God, who is Life and Love, the source of man's eternal sonship.

This has been the condition of humanity, since the so-called lying, talking serpent, Satan, first deceived, with the illusion that matter was sentient substance, possessing life and intelligence. This theory has been preached for ages by the professing disciples of Christ, who have *themselves* been deceived by the siren, mental argument of the subtle lie, the so-called carnal mind, until these blind disciples have lulled all into the deep sleep of Adam. "For as in Adam [material sense] all die, even so in Christ [spiritual sense] shall all be made alive." (I. Corinthians xv., 22.) This error in premise has resulted in erroneous conclusions.

Instead of recognizing the real, the mental, or the spiritual man, who was made in God's own "image" and "likeness," Spirit, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever," mortals have been governed by the *opposite* of Truth—the so-called carnal mind, which testifies that Adam is the real man. Mind, Spirit, God, is causation, the creative power, and there is but one creator and one real creation, God and His spiritual universe, composed of spiritual ideas, which are governed by Principle, the source of all phenomena that are real and eternal. Man is not material. He is a mental, spiritual, substance-idea, the reflection of eternal Life and Love, named God.

Christ Jesus recognized the real, or the spiritual, mental man, who was made in God's own "image" and "likeness," [Spirit] "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." In this age, Mary Baker Eddy discerned the spiritual fact of scientific being, as taught and demonstrated by Christ Jesus, and recorded the eternal Truth in her book, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, the textbook of Christian Science. She says on page 107:

> In the year 1866, I discovered the Christ Science or divine laws of Life, Truth, and Love, and named my discovery Christian Science. God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing.
>
> This apodictical Principle points to the revelation of Immanuel, "God with us,"—the sovereign ever-presence, delivering the children of men from every ill "that flesh is heir to." Through Christian Science, religion and medicine are inspired with a diviner nature and essence; fresh pinions are given to faith and understanding, and thoughts acquaint themselves intelligently with God.

To-day the voice of the ever-present Christ is arousing humanity to resist the claim of a power opposed to Life and Love, God. The potency of the Christ-mind, which is man's spiritual identity, can be demonstrated, when understood. Christ Jesus proved *his* sonship with the Father, and demonstrated *his* "dominion" over the belief of death,—the "dominion" which God bestowed upon man, whom He made in His own "image" and "likeness." (Genesis i., 23.)

The truth of scientific being, as taught by Christ Jesus, and in this age, by Mary Baker Eddy, is the understanding of the supremacy of divine Mind. Truth is working through universal consciousness, stirring the claim of evil to the surface.

> The foam and fury of illegitimate living and of fearful and doleful dying should disappear on the shore of time; then the waves of sin, sorrow, and death beat in vain.—Mary Baker Eddy. (*Science and Health*, p. 203.)

Truth is soaring on pinions of light and love, fulfilling her mission of purifying and uplifting the great world of humanity. She is destroying the hallucinations, which becloud the reality of man's true being, his oneness with his creator. The understanding of the Science of being, or divine metaphysics, called by Mrs. Eddy "spiritual mathematics," is inspiring this generation with higher ideals. It is moving men to holier aspirations, and to the contemplation of their oneness with creative Principle, eternal Life and Love,—God.

Mind, Spirit, operating through the ideal man, bursts the bonds of finite sense and reveals the glories of infinite Mind, the supreme intelligence, in whom "we live, and move, and have our being." This is to dwell "in the secret place of the most High," and to abide "under the shadow of the Almighty." (Psalm xci.)

To those whose life is "hid with Christ in God," verily "the Son of God *is* come," and gives the understanding that Life is eternal, and that man is immortal.

In this hour, humanity is meeting the question, "By which influence are you governed, by Truth or by error, by the spiritual senses, or by material sense—for 'as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he'"? The humble Nazarene, whom all Christians in this era profess to follow, denounced the false thought, the so-called carnal mind, which results in sin and death, and declared he came to *destroy* the works of the devil. He further pronounced this devil a lie from the beginning. "He [so-called carnal mind] was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." (John viii., 44.) Christ Jesus' earth mission was to arouse humanity from the influence of this lie, or Adam-dream of life and intelligence in matter, to the truth of being, Mind, Spirit, God, and man as God's idea or child. He healed the sick, cast out evils, and raised the dead, with the Word, or spiritual thought-force, with which God endowed man. Of the woman who was helpless, he said that Satan had bound her, "lo, these eighteen years." (Luke xiii., 16.)

If theologians had followed Christ Jesus' example, and had rendered "unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," humanity would have resisted the fetters that have bound all to sin and death. How much we might have escaped of the sin of idolatry, of self-love, of selfishness, personal pride, malice, hatred, resentment, revenge, envy, jealousy, the result of which is physical and mental suffering —how much agony we would have been spared, had we understood our relation to God and the falsity of the belief of life in blood, sensation in nerves, sight in the eye, hearing in the ear, and intelligence in brain, to which, in the past, we have all yielded, until at times, "life seemed a blessing not worth possessing, and death a consummation greatly to be desired."

In Jesus' age mortals had other gods, as now they have. There were heathen *then*, as there are to-day. The words: "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me," mean the same now as they then meant. Christian Scientists declare that "God is All," and "There is none beside Him," and they labor unceasingly to destroy the *belief* in a power opposed to the one God—eternal Life and Love.

Humanity will *continue* to sin, to suffer and to die, so long as material organization, or the physical body, is regarded as real—as possessing life, substance, and intelligence. Mortal thought, so-called, is the generalissimo, the supreme commander of suppositional evil, and its material embodiment, which is governed by hatred, envy, jealousy, personal pride of place and power, lust, self-love, selfishness, love *of* and trust *in* gold, personal ambition, greed, personal aggrandizement, and fear. Each so-called carnal thought exercises its control over mortals, producing discord and disease.

Truth arouses humanity to the spiritual fact of scientific being, and convinces the seeker for eternal Life that a discordant body and a discordant universe are the result of dreams, hallucinations, creations of the so-called carnal mind. Thus Truth bids man take possession of his birthright, his spiritual senses, which give him "dominion" over all things, through the reflection of Truth and Love, Spirit, Mind, which dispels the mythical gods, that preside over the shadow—death.

At his *first* appearing, Jesus the Christ, the masculine representative of the Fatherhood of God, was the best exponent of Christian Mind-healing the world had ever known. He healed the sick, forgave the *penitent* sinner, opened the eyes of the blind, turned sorrow into joy, and taught his disciples to do the same. Yet for all his loving ministrations and good works, he received the crown of thorns, the gall and vinegar, and the cruel crucifixion. Why had he none to defend him but a few disciples, who slumbered while he prayed, and who at last left him to tread the winepress alone? Why did not crowds fill the temple and synagogue when he spoke, and rejoice his heart with a recognition of the Truth, which sets men free, and with loving appreciation of his unselfed efforts to bless mankind? Why was he left to be delivered up to the cruel materialists and scourged? It was because he testified *against* the carnal mind, and possessed the spiritual power to overcome its hallucinations of sin, sorrow and death. He knew that the scribes and Pharisees were worshippers of matter, and that they perpetuated a material generation. Their blindness to the spiritual facts of being and spiritual generation, hid from them their divine birthright, or power to obtain harmony, health, holiness and immortality.

Dear reader, are you pained as you recall the cruelty of the unbelieving Jews toward your Saviour, at his *first* appearing, who, to-day, you acknowledge showed the world the way to Life eternal, by his victory over death and the grave? As you recount his good works in healing the sick and raising the dead, do you understand why the materialists rose in arms against him? As you recall his sweat of agony in Gethsemane, as you follow him up the hill of Calvary, where he endured the tortures of the Inquisition, in his efforts to overcome the belief in a power opposed to eternal Life and Love, can you believe that the carnal mind holds within itself such bitter hatred of Truth's exponent of God and His ideal man? Do you not feel that had you been there, you would not have forsaken your Saviour? It was indeed a battle royal between Christ and the dragon. The evident self-annihilation of the "dragon and his angels" heralds the advent of the on-coming Christ, at whose *second* and *final* appearing, humanity will unite in the prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." (Matthew vi., 9-10.) *"Thy Kingdom is come."*—Mary Baker Eddy.

Christ said, "I go away, and come again unto you." (John xiv., 28.) In this twentieth century, again the spirit of Truth—Christ, the divine idea—through the teachings of Christian Science, appears to us. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, was inspired by God to search the Scriptures that she might find eternal Life. The light of spiritual understanding revealed to her the Science of Christ Jesus' power over sin and death, and she gave to the world the facts of scientific being in the textbook of Christian Science, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, and her other writings, and like Christ Jesus, she will demonstrate her teachings.

Christ Jesus was the masculine representative of the Fatherhood of God. In this age, Mary Baker Eddy is the feminine representative of the Motherhood of God. Christ, at his *first* appearing, said to his disciples, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." (John xvi., 12.) At Christ's *second* appearing, the "many things" which his early disciples could not "bear," his disciples of the twentieth century *are* able to "bear," and will defend, up to a final demonstration over the claim of sin and death. As Christ Jesus demonstrated to the world his spiritual power over death, so at his *second* coming, representing the Motherhood of God, he will appear, be manifest, in a final victory, a triumphant demonstration over the last enemy—the illusion of death. This understanding is Christ's *second* coming to human apprehension.

What reception has humanity given him in this twentieth century? Do not some, as of old, refuse to believe in the power of the Christ-mind, while others strive to attain it? Do the majority not say as of yore, "We will not have this man to reign over us?" (Luke xix., 14.) Again, do we not hear, "Crucify him"? Is not the suppositional carnal mind in this hour rising against Truth, and declaring for life in matter and the reality of sin, sickness and death? At Christ's *second* appearing, Truth and Love will finally roll back the stone from the tomb of belief of matter as sentient substance, and appear to the world, victorious over the illusion of death and the grave; for "man is not material; he is spiritual." (Mary Baker Eddy.)

Had the world accepted the teachings and atonement—*at-one-ment*—of Christ Jesus with Principle, God, and followed the example of our Saviour in his demonstrations of Mind over matter, of Truth over error, and of Life over death, humanity would realize to-day, that the creator of man, the divine Mind, could not be the author of this seemingly chaotic and turbulent universe, which controls mortals with its own erratic, ungovernable claim to power, leaving them trembling with fear and suffering, sorrow and darkness, and mocking them, when they resist its arrogant domination.

In that surpassing life of Jesus of Nazareth, men have recognized the supremacy of divine Love, in the man of God's creating, a revelation of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or divine Science, wisdom and understanding. Notwithstanding the resistance of the carnal mind to the demonstration of Christ Jesus, the relation of man to his maker, as taught by the Nazarene prophet, Christ, the ideal man, and in this age by Mary Baker Eddy, the feminine representative of the Motherhood of God, whose demonstration is imminent—the understanding of this relation has exerted a deeper influence over mankind, and has done more to teach the power of Truth over error, Life over death, and the healing efficacy of divine Love, than all the disquisitions of philosophers or exhortations of moralists the world has ever known. Christ declared, "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away." (Mark xiii., 31.) The "word" is God's ideal man, who voices eternal Life and Love, the Fatherhood and Motherhood of God.

The ideal man, the representative of the Fatherhood and Motherhood of God, the compound idea, is *understood* by the disciples of Christ of the twentieth century, and "to them that look for him, shall he appear the second time without sin [fleshly embodiment] unto salvation," but with spiritual embodiment, or the image and likeness of God. This is the coming of "The King of kings, and Lord of lords," and "the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace."

In this twentieth century, Christian Science has come to us to interpret the transcendent spiritual ideal, which was expressed in the life of Christ Jesus, our Way-shower to eternal Life. In this era, men and women, who have been for years endeavoring to fathom the hidden mysteries of God, that will give them their promised "dominion" over all things, which is their divine heritage; who have long spurned the empty forms and dead faith of time-honored creeds and dogmas; who have vainly striven to fathom the depths "of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God," which Christ Jesus and his disciples utilized to overcome sin, sickness and death—these seekers for a demonstrable Christianity are to-day *resisting* theological assumptions and ecclesiastical pretensions to know God, whom to know aright "is life eternal." (John xvii., 3.) The twentieth century thinkers are emancipating themselves from the power of a so-called Satan, the lie, which has deceived the whole world—and in this glad hour they rejoice, as the voice of eternal Truth assures them that mental slavery and tyrannous human material so-called law is abolished. They are asserting their deliverance from sin and death, in the name of the ever-present Christ, the ideal man of God's creating, the "King of kings, and Lord of lords."

As the power of Mind is understood and demonstrated, man will rise to oneness with the Father-Mother God, and will demonstrate the possibilities of man, when governed by God. Mary Baker Eddy says, "whatever is possible to God, is possible to man, *as God's reflection.*" (*Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 183.) Thus man will respond to infinite Mind, and be thrilled with spiritual power, the omnipotence of God, good, which will destroy the phenomena of the so-called carnal mind—sin and death. Love, reflected by each individual idea of God, will cast out fear, will destroy the false material generation, and will reveal the universe and man of Mind's creating, for there is but one God and one universe.

In this era of awakened spiritual consciousness, the Christian world believes that God, at different times, was heard through prophets, seers, Christ Jesus, and his disciples, and it denounces all who oppose this belief. God spoke through Abraham, and directed him to lead the people; but the majority in Abraham's day refused to follow. God spoke through Moses, but Pharaoh and his hosts would not obey the voice of God through Moses. Samuel, Joshua, Daniel, and all the prophets, uttered Truth. God, as of yore, continues to voice Himself through the consciousness of the men and women of the

twentieth century, who obey His law in the understanding of their relation to Him, as sons and daughters.

As God is ever-present Life, Love, Truth and Light, the light is dispelling the darkness of material concepts. Men and women of to-day, who have discerned the Science of being, namely, that "Spirit is infinite; therefore *Spirit is all.* 'There is no matter.' "—(Mary Baker Eddy)—these are demonstrating the protecting power and sustaining presence of Christ, and are fulfilling the law of Love. These are known by "signs following."

"Ah! the light of the Mind shines as bright as of old,
A type of the truly divine.
And its Word is the same sacred Truth that was told
To the seers of Israel's time.

"And man, today, must he aimlessly wander alone,
In darkness without and within,
Uncertain, an outcast, bewildered to roam
Left hopelessly cumbered with sin?

"Must he still look for wonders through dead sages' eyes,
Distrusting the light of his own,
Ere his Saviour can come, in true Fatherly guise,
And take the lost prodigal home?

"Oh! the power of Mind awakes us to-day,
And we know the bright message is true,
For it works as of old, in a marvelous way
Forever revealing the new."

This is indeed an age of unparalleled development of Mind and its possibilities. Mankind is accepting the spiritual fact, that "all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon." (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 24.) As there is but one great First cause, eternal Life and Love, the universe is the reflection, in infinite ideas, of the Fatherhood and Motherhood of God. This is the Truth of being. The effulgence of the light, which is now shining in darkness, startles humanity, whose eyes have so long gazed into "chaos and old night." Finally man will refuse to remain in bondage to the tyranny of the so-called material senses, and will turn to the "Sun of righteousness," and under the protecting rays of Life and Love, will behold and reflect the smile of God, and realize the love, peace and joy of the Holy Spirit.

The hour has arrived. The final conflict between Christ and the dragon is unmistakable. The so-called carnal mind is lurid with the dream of sin, sickness, and death. It is as the scorching simoon, which blasts and withers, and is hastening on to self-destruction. The Christ-mind is as the mountain wind, which invigorates, and reveals man's eternal oneness with his creator, Life and Love.

In this hour, the wise will not use the word *impossible.* We are reminded of Aristotle's words, that "It is a part of probabilities that many improbable things will happen." Paul left this evidence of his spiritual understanding of the nothingness of death: "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead?" (Acts xxvi., 8.) All is Life, there can be no death, and those who seem to have died will finally be revealed in a spiritual embodiment, or in the image and likeness of God.

Every new discovery, every embryo conception, every advance in art or science, every attempt to utilize forces, has been rejected by the incredulous, or by those too obtuse to discern progress. In this epoch of the world's history, everything in art and science is being tested. Scholastic theology is being weighed in the balance. It has been found wanting in demonstration of the power of spiritual thought-force over the phenomena of the carnal mind,—fear and death. Paul speaks of "them who through *fear* of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." (Hebrews ii., 15.) The truth that Jesus taught and demonstrated sets mortals free from the bondage of sin and death. Mary Baker Eddy discerned the Science of eternal being, in the teachings and demonstrations of Christ Jesus, which resulted in his victory over sin and death. As Christ Jesus demonstrated his teachings in his triumph over the claim of death, so will Mary Baker Eddy prove the power of the Christ-mind in demonstration of her divine individuality. Paul said, "Unto them that look for him [the ideal man] shall he appear the second time." (Hebrews ix., 28.)

All must follow Christ Jesus' teachings and finally overcome "the last enemy." Not somewhere in the dim unknown, but *here* and *now* mankind must attain to a realization of spiritual existence. Humanity will gradually be lifted to a spiritual altitude, and will demonstrate the power of the Christ-mind. However tempted and tried, the pioneers of Christian Science will hear the constant assurance from the Father-Mother God, "Fear not, for I am with thee." The influence of this "gentle presence" gives "peace, and joy, and power." (Mary Baker Eddy.) To-day the resistless ever-present Christ, or Truth, is sweeping through human consciousness, destroying sin and death and revealing man as perfect and immortal, with "dominion over all things."

Genuine Christian Scientists, who follow the teachings of Christ Jesus and Mary Baker Eddy, are awaking to the realization of their oneness with God. The objects of material sense are shadows, without substance. Looking through spiritual lens, the reality of all things in God's image and likeness, will be revealed. Mrs. Eddy says: "Jesus beheld in Science the perfect man, who appeared to him where sinning mortal man appears to mortals." (*Science and Health*, p. 476.) Having one God reveals the brotherhood of man and enables the Christian Scientist to love his neighbor as himself. In the hush and silence of spiritual communion with God, the source of being, our Father-Mother Life and Love, the great anthem of immortality, attuned to the chord of Christ, silences all fear, and resounds, like the eternal thunders of the deep, this truth,—God and man is one and inseparable; therefore man is immortal.

## SPIRITUAL SENSES.

There's an eye beyond the human,
That beholdeth only good,
That sees God's vast creation
And man's real brotherhood;
That looks on things supernal,
Rejoicing in the light
Which revealeth perfect Wisdom,
Omnipotence and might.

There's an ear beyond the finite,
Which hears only words of peace,
Which lists to sweetest harmonies
That never, never cease;
Which hears the constant melody
Of soul-reviving Life,
And nothing knows of finite sense,
Of sin and human strife.

There's a sense that tastes the real,
And sees that God is good,
Whose delights are rare unfoldings
Of the blessed Fatherhood;
Whose silent speech, the thought of God,
Expressed in His idea,
Has sweetest taste of Life and Love,
And never taste of fear.

There's a Power, a mighty Presence,
Which sustains immortal man,
Which he feels is Life eternal,
For he knows man ne'er began.
Forever with the Father,
He feeleth joy and rest,
Unfoldeth, as the lily
On the water's peaceful breast.

There's a sense beyond the finite,
Which inhales God's atmosphere,
And smells the sweet aroma
Of Love's flowers ever near;
Which wanders in His garden,
Drinking in the perfumes rare,
And nothing knows of planting,
Of watering, or of care.

Thus seeing, hearing, taste, and smell,
And feeling, are divine;
And prayers, like censers' perfumes rise,
"O Father, we are Thine."
Then, turning from the mortal,
And gazing on the goal,
We lose our finite sense of self,
And find our sense in Soul.

A. E. S.

The following books by Augusta E. Stetson, C. S. D., may be obtained from the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2 W. 45th St., New York; "Reminiscences, Sermons, and Correspondence" ($5); "Vital Issues in Christian Science" ($2.50); "Poems" ($2.00); "My Spiritual Aeroplane" ($1.50); also "A Tribute of Love and Gratitude to Our Faithful Teacher, Augusta E. Stetson, C. S. D." ($2.50); "Christ's Offspring or Spiritual Generation," by Sibyl Marvin Huse ($2.00); "America Triumphant Under God and His Christ," by Kitty Cheatham ($2.00).

*Advertisement.*

# "Save Himself Who Can!"

(*Continued from page 462*)

utmost exertion of a despairing man to grasp the boat line with both hands and cling to it with a tenacious grip.

After a desperate struggle with the storm-tossed boat I managed to secure a hold on the stem and clamber over the gunwale. Then I fell battered, bleeding, blinded and exhausted among the thwarts, and wished I had never been born.

I could distinctly see people on the shore now, both men and women, flitting about with torches like phantoms in the snow storm. I could hear their excited voices and eager shouts, and longed to be among them where I might find warmth and comfort and food once more. I was freezing, and miserable and famishing and almost dead. I could cut the hawser and let the boat drive ashore—no one would ever know; I could throw my belt away—the hawser parted!

Obsessed by this base desire I crawled forward to the bows of the boat to execute my cowardly design, when I glanced at the wreck once more, and beheld my helpless shipmates, and old Captain Foss standing staunchly among them.

And a great commanding voice rose up and shouted within me, "Never abandon a shipmate!" And I fell back abashed and stunned as tho I had sinned in the presence of God. Then I took the life line off my waist and made the end fast to a thwart, and hailed the wreck: "Wreck ahoy!" I shouted, "all fast in the boat! Ready to haul out!" The exertion of my lungs and the sound of my own voice inspired and warmed me wonderfully; I was back on my duty again.

Soon I felt an insistent tug on the heaving line, and a strong voice hailed me to "haul out." I hauled away lustily on the life line and soon brought out the cabin boy "Dido," gasping, choking, strangling, but safely enclosed in the center of a ring buoy, and hauled him into the boat.

By the time the buoy had been hauled back, "Dido" had recovered sufficiently to help me to haul out his principal, the cook, who came in the next voyage of the ring buoy thru the surf.

And so, one by one, all the living among the crew were hauled to safety by their fellows—thirteen in all saved, and five missing.

Captain Foss was the last to leave the wreck, and we dragged him into the boat completely exhausted.

I severed the five-inch line that held us to the boom with one slash of my knife and rising on the crest of a great comber the boat sped like a bird released from a snare toward the wild, but welcome shore. But just as we swung away from our mooring, there suddenly rose a wild despairing cry from the stranded wreck.

Straining our eyes thru the driving snow, by the dying light of the torches, now expiring in the gangway, we could just discern the familiar form and figure of our old bosun, Jack Wadhams, seated astride the end of the spanker boom and beseeching us for God's sake not to desert him.

The boat was still head toward the wreck, because in that dangerous surf it would have been madness to try to turn about ship.

We, therefore, made every effort to pull straight ahead toward the wreck and rescue our unfortunate shipmate. But from the very first it was sadly apparent that our struggle was a lost hope.

Nevertheless, as long as the wreck remained in sight and we could still hear the anguished cries of our lost shipmate, we never relinquished our oars nor missed a stroke. But hope itself vanished with the sight of the wreck and the despairing sound of Jack Wadhams's voice.

As our boat neared the beach two score strong armed life guards and fishermen rushed into the surf up to their shoulders and seized the gunwales. We threw away our now useless oars, and with a mighty shout, and a homeward-bound rush, the brave, true-hearted French seamen carried our heavy boat bodily ashore with all its occupants on the crest of a breaking ground-wave, and launched us high and dry beyond reach of the surf and tide.

The kind-hearted fisher folk, as poor as they were, fairly fought each other to get possession of us; but we were finally distributed among them, and taken care of and all our wants ministered to with the utmost generosity and kindness.

Next morning the storm had moderated, and the snow storm had passed. Everybody in the village was down on the sands early to view the wreck, now distinctly visible across the cove, and to salvage such odds and ends of wreckage or cargo as might have drifted ashore.

The hulk of the "Wild Rose" had broken up during the night. The quarter-section and stern had been wrenched away by the constant battering of the sea, and now lay turned shoreward at right angles to the body of the hull, now immovably imbedded in the sodden sands.

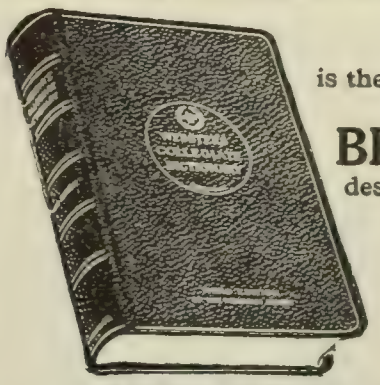
We found Jack Wadhams's body, with his arms wrapped tightly around a neatly folded spare topsail which had been washed out of the lazarette when the wreck broke in twain. In the course of the day the dead bodies of our other four lost shipmates were washed up with the tide, all bruised and battered almost beyond recognition.

The following day was Sunday, and the sun came out bright and glorious, like a heavenly benediction after the great storm.

Then all the inhabitants and the village priest turned out in solemn procession to attend the strangers' funeral.

They lie buried on the deserted brow of that barren slope, overlooking the boisterous Channel, where the once sturdy frames of the good "Wild Rose" lie grounding in the sullen sands.


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# Have You Any Imagination? Here's a Test

(*Continued from page 448*)

an object in such a manner as to individualize it clearly, to distinguish it from all other objects of the same kind."

If you find yourself inclined to classify Sweetie as "just any shop-girl," Skeine as the "usual crook," Sybil as the "everyday flirt," take yourself in hand and train yourself, as Flaubert trained Maupassant, to see individuals, not types.

5. The Particularizing Imagination. This is the imagination that the successful writer of stories must have, that is, if he has the right kind! For one may particularize in the wrong way and be the reminiscential individual, all whose imaginations are, so to speak, mere memories. Thus:

> My procedure in getting characters for Jasper and Sweetie was as follows: Whenever I hear names I instantly review my list of acquaintances and see them clearly if they have a similar name. Jasper I have described exactly as I saw him in reality; in like manner came the girl-image Sweetie. I saw her the moment I saw the name just as she appeared when I worked in the same place with her.

One may actually be so fettered by one's own past that he thinks it dishonest to make a good story better by changing the time, the place, or the girl. One should, of course, borrow from Life all that one can persuade Life to loan, but then one should put this capital out at interest. Never let your conscience interfere with literary profiteering.

The individualizing imagination seeks to create a character or incident which shall be one of its kind:

> Jasper is standing by a table. He is dressed in a large black and white-checked suit. He has a high forehead, not intellectually conditioned but due to the baldness which is encroaching upon cerebral territory. He has dancy brown eyes and a foolish large mouth. He does not stand steadily upon his feet and is holding something too daintily between his fat thumb and forefinger.

Or take this reaction to the item:

---

THE AMALGAMATED AGONY ASSOCIATION will soon be wound up. Happy results expected shortly.—Terror.

---

> Billie Blowbummell, thirty-four years old, impatient, tractable, and changeable, has learned that his divorce proceedings will soon give him his freedom. He is attempting to communicate with Mrs. Billie number 2, via press. Cautious, as well as impetuous, he would like to be discreetly indiscreet. He is large, fat, slow with a slight limp in one leg, which hesitancy of action is carried to his mental indecision and lands him in predicaments in spite of his caution. He is proud owner of a peanut-stand, in his lucider intervals.

If in addition to individualizing characters you find that your characters appear with a background and that they are *doing* something, you may feel greatly encouraged.

6. The Inventive Imagination. One other trait besides that of the particularizing touch is essential to the literary imagination, there must be some measure of mental flexibility, some possibility of invention, of striking out new combinations.

Let us return to Jasper and Sweetie. Of two score individuals who characterized Jasper and Sweetie for me, only three departed from the conventional sex-suggestion conveyed in the names and read something into the item other than a flirtation.

Possibly success in characterization is more a matter of the creative individualizing touch, success in plot, of ingenuity and invention. Let us, therefore, turn to the message sent by Skeine to Feathers and gauge the originality of our returns. This message demands more invention to handle it at all and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that more reject it as unmeaning and declare themselves incapable of weaving a plot around it.

Yet even here we find much community of ideas. The most common interpretation is one of communication between accomplices in crime, the prevailing idea being that a robbery is incubating. "One on the left" designates the house or the box or the man who is to be victimized.

Next in favor is the theater story. "Feathers" now becomes the vampish chorus-girl, in the garb of a peacock or skirted with ostrich plumes and Skeine is communicating to her the one to be watched, either the domestic encumbrance in the box "on the left," or the fatuous millionaire to the left of the cold-blooded Dives.

Other interpretations include an auction story in which the object that is to be bid in is the "One on the Left"; or the story of a man-milliner's attempt to sell to the fabulously rich lady the hat "on the left"; or a business story and the purchase of the oil-well on the left. A humorous story—rara avis—is suggested; an assault by Feathers on Skeine's enemy on the left. Only Feathers' sense of direction is confused by his approach to the scene and he beats up the wrong man! Again, since the girl walks on the left, this cryptic message refers to the girl in the case, who is in the wrong, but the man gets left, a suggestion which, in turn, needs interpretation.

Of course plausibility as well as originality needs to be graded in these reactions. Originality without plausibility lands us in the fantastic, just as plausibility without originality lands us in an amplification of the obvious.

As a sidelight upon how your imagination functions, it is well worth your while determining where your characters and plots come from, by what working of association they are called out.

"Feathers," one of my collaborators writes, "a floating bit of material, consequently one not held down to regular work or by conventions."

"Skeine, a continuous thread, often tangled in unwinding, suggests deceit."

In this connection we may consider a report which involves an assumption frequently discussed in connection with the naming of Dickens' characters and which has served as the focus of an interesting piece of experimental work on the psychology of literature. The problem may be put in a question, "Does Word-Physiognomy (the bare look or sound of a name) suggest character or personal appearance quite apart from the meaning of the name?"

Experiment shows that there are individuals so sensitive to the tiny arabesque of curves and angles or phonetic values that make up a name, that they do actually have suggestive power. Only—and here's the rub in application—there is little agreement even among those keenly sensitive to the facial profile of a word. Preoccupation with Word-Physiognomy is evidenced in the report I am now quoting:

> My process of reaction is as follows: the sound of the names suggests the pictures. Sweetie and Jasper are both light-headed, the long "e" sound of the former suggesting greater degree of near imbecility than the short "a" of Jasper. The single syllable (nearly) of the first name suggests a short figure; the delayed enunciation of the second, a taller one (just as it takes longer to raise eyes to a tall figure). No. 1 is impetuous; No. 2 is conservative, even-tempered (name is almost spondaic) and has depth (production of "a" in throat and "p" by lips), therefore wide change—gives character a sort of second dimension.

One question can only be stated here, but it is worthy of thoro-going investigation. I refer to the distinction between spontaneous and deliberate invention and to the question whether the former is a mark of the creative imagination. With the evidence at hand it is, I think, very rash to conclude that the floating into consciousness of plots or the sudden introduction to lively characters is the only guarantee of an imagination worth working. Apparently some imaginations do most of their work below the threshold of consciousness and others do their drudgery in full daylight awareness and the only thing that counts from the literary standpoint are the results.

In any case there can be no question that plot-making and character-making grow by practice and that one can acquire the habit of having inspirations. It is as an aid in the acquisition of such a good habit that we are appending a number of Personals, with suggestions as to the various uses to put them to. You can do your mental gymnastics and conduct your self-examination at the same time.

(1). First of all, you should discover whether you more naturally go from characters to plot, or from plot to characters. Do you start from the names and their suggestion of personalities or from the message with its suggestion of incident? Plot-making and character-feeling draw their vitality from somewhat different roots and knowing which tendency is the stronger

in yourself you are better able to use your talent effectively.

(2). To test the fertility of your imagination it is well to determine how many plots you can get out of one and the same message. Or how many "Personals" you can find plots for in a given time.

(3). By working over the messages as a group exercise or pastime, it is possible to get a notion of one's commonplaceness or originality in invention. We have already suggested that nine out of ten hit upon the obvious interpretation. What do you do? Undoubtedly, there are times when the obvious interpretation gives one the most interesting story of all. Never to catch the hint that is conveyed to the average reader might put in question one's rapport with human nature. Common-sense realism has a big place in literature and too fantastic invention might well land one in manifest absurdity.

(4). Ingenuity may be further stimulated by weaving a plot about several messages taken together. They may or may not be connected on the face of it.

Here are two that are:

FRED.—Any soap, any candles?—Sausage.

SAUSAGE.—No thanks, but a box of matches.

Or this:

DEAR LITTLE FRIEND.—Does Omar XXXII state the position 21st March, 1920?—A.

OMAR XXXII.—I don't think it does somehow.—Pauline.

Of course you hasten to pull out your Omar and find that Verse XXXII reads:

There was the Door to which I found no Key,
There was the Veil thru which I might not see;
Some little talk awhile of Me and Thee
There was—and then no more of Thee and Me.

Or if you would try your hand at a whole novel, something in the style of Richard Harding Davis, with hot splashes of local color, write out the story hinted at in the next thirteen messages:

ESCURIAL.—Does the muleteer approve of the proposed proceedings?—Grandee of Aragon.

MANANA.—Muleteer.

MULETEER.—Your servant awaits and is most attentive to command.—Hermes.

MULETEER.—I am not a dolt to be alarmed, what you say will happen; I do not care a rap.—Mistletoe.

GUERRA AL CUCHILLO.—The Muleteer.

NADELLE.—At present the cloud is no larger than a man's hand; I fear that it will grow and then burst upon us with all the fury of a typhoon.—Escurial.

MULETEER.—Shake off slumber and beware. Awake! Awake!

FRIENDS.—The call-bell has rung and everything is set for the great act now impending.—The Muleteer.

MULETEER.—What prudent man would beard the lion in his den?—Mm.

CHERE AMIE.—The popping of the corks made excellent music.—The Muleteer.


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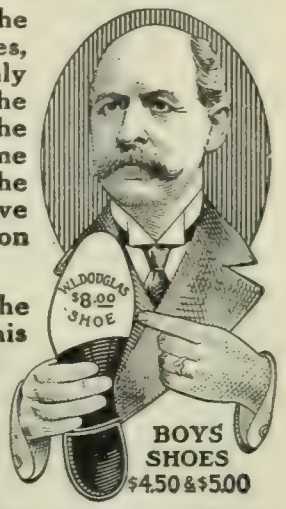
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MULETEER.—Yes! will do as suggested, and our fortunes are made.—Napoli.

C. T.—It is not for the pawn to argue with the fingers that move him from square to square.—The Muleteer.

MULETEER.—If I can.—Ancient Mariner.

(5). To exercize the imagination in controlled invention one may give the message with a particular suggestion, "Get a tragedy out of this; a comedy out of that." Or "Let this Personal be the introduction or the climax of a short story."

The giving of negative suggestion is another way of stimulating the imagination. Thus "This is *not* a detective story"; "This is *not* a flirtatious message"; "Don't look for a code in the message."

The late Professor Royce of Harvard University once reported a most interesting experiment on the Psychology of Invention, in the course of which he used what he called the Stimulus of the Unlike. He asked for a design as *unlike* the copy as possible. Invention proved to be definitely fertilized just by the attempt to be *different*. New schools have developed, producing sometimes in their effort to be different extremely bizarre and fantastic works of art which have none the less fertilized the originality of their epoch.

So our personalities might be used with some such suggestion. Choose a very obvious item as "So it was only a wonderful dream after all," and ask for a story in which plot and characters shall depart as far as possible from the one suggested.

*Laramie, Wyoming*

# The World Will Hear More of Gandhi

(*Continued from page 444*)

weaving. This is to help the production of indigenous cotton goods in order to make the boycott of such British goods most effective.

The success of the boycott of British goods in India is actually threatening the British commercial supremacy in the world. This affords a splendid opportunity for further development of American trade in India. Indian merchants, influenced by Gandhi, are flatly refusing to buy British goods. British merchants cannot sell their goods to India. The export of British goods to India has fallen beyond comprehension. Mills and factories are being closed and millions of workers are out of employment in Great Britain.

Not only the students, lawyers and the consumers of British goods are on strike, but even the prisoners of India have begun to show signs of non-coöperation with British prisons. Thus reads a London dispatch of March 26, last: "Six hundred prisoners, says an official statement, have escaped from Rajshahi jail in Bengal, India. As they fled, they seized the rifles belonging to the guards." Policemen in many cities have approached Gandhi to be allowed to strike work and do their bit for the success of this great movement. Gandhi is advising them to have patience and devote their energies to organizing among themselves, and to inducing the female members of their families to take to spinning and weaving. The policemen of Nagpur, impatient of waiting, have already gone on strike. The British courts are closed, as there are no police to escort there the men under arrest. The police guards of the British treasury walked out in a body, and the building is being guarded by Gurkha soldiers. The Gurkhas correspond to the Cossacks under the Czars.

The Indian soldiers serving in the British army, too, have approached Gandhi for his permission to strike. They have recently become so restless that the British Government has postponed the demobilization of several divisions that was ordered for the month of March. The Government is afraid that the discharged soldiers may be fierce enemies of the Government in case of an armed uprising. In other words, these men are now being interned in the British forts. Gandhi has informed the soldiers of India that when their turn comes, they will be duly notified of their duty to the Motherland. In the meantime both the soldiers and the police should refuse to obey any orders that go against their conscience.

Perhaps the most stupendous feat of constructive work Gandhi so far has been able to accomplish is to bring the Hindus and the Mahomedans together in British India in a spirit of wholehearted coöperation and mutual helpfulness in these days of India's renascence. Hindus are entering Mahomedan mosques to take the oath of fraternity, and Mahomedans are entering Hindu temples to take the vow of fighting to the bitter end India's fight for independence. During the troubled days of 1919 the Government even issued an order that no Hindus should be allowed to enter the famous Badshahi mosque of Lahore. Armed British forces were stationed to enforce the ordinance. The two principal lieutenants of Gandhi are Mahomedans—Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. A strangely significant alliance indeed, for Shaukat Ali especially is a fiery revolutionist who believes in immediately plunging the country into an armed revolution.

Lord Reading has been sent to India as the new Viceroy to use, it is claimed, his diplomatic acumen to pacify India. He reached the shores of India on April 1—the April fool's day. It is easy to predict that Reading's mission will be just as unsuccessful as the Duke of Connaught's has been. "To extend any welcome," says Gandhi, "to any representative of the sovereign would be a mistake, would be a crime, would be inconsistent with our self respect," for to him the British Government is an "irresponsible, insolent and godless bureaucracy." And he is not very anxious to keep India within the British Empire either. Thus

spoke Gandhi at the last session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur. "It is derogatory to the National Assembly to think of the permanence of the British connection at any cost. . . . If British connection is inconsistent with India's national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it." And the virulence of his opposition to the British rule in India may easily be judged from his free and frank statement to a representative of the London *Daily Telegraph* that he preferred Bolshevism to British rule.

It is not necessary to agree with all the principles and practices of Mahatma Gandhi to realize the importance of this movement that is implacably moving one-fifth of the total population of the world to a destiny that cannot yet be definitely defined, but which is sure to change the color of the map of the world.

*New York*

## "Upon Trifles the Best Gifts of the Gods Often Hang"

(*Continued from page 449*)

only to concentrate their whole time and attention on the one business in life in which they engage, but to put every dollar of their capital into it.

My experience has been that no partnership of new men gathered promiscuously from various fields can prove a good working organization as at first constituted. Changes are required.

There is nothing more profitable than clerks to check up each transfer of material from one department to another in process of manufacture.

I believe that higher wages to men who respect their employers and are happy and contented are a good investment, yielding, indeed, big dividends.

My experience is that you can always rely upon the great body of workingmen to do what is right, provided they have not taken up a position and promised their leaders to stand by them. But their loyalty to their leaders even when mistaken, is something to make us proud of them. Anything can be done with men who have this feeling of loyalty within them. They only need to be treated fairly.

"Well," I said, "Mr. Balfour, I have never known of a body of men capable of legislating for the generation ahead, and in some cases those who attempt to legislate even for their own generation are not thought to be eminently successful."

I had the great pleasure of presenting the committee to President Cleveland at Washington in 1887, who received the members cordially and assured them of his hearty coöperation. From that day the abolition of war grew in importance with me until it finally overshadowed all other issues.

It seems to me almost too much that any individual should be permitted to perform so noble a duty as that of providing means for this Temple of Peace (The Hague Peace Palace)—the most holy building in the world because it has the holiest end in view. I do not even except St. Peter's, or any building erected to the glory of God, whom, as Luther says, "we cannot serve or aid; He needs no help from us."


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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. The Song of India.**

1. What value does the poem gain by making use of so many proper names?
2. Point out examples of alliteration. Tell something concerning the history of alliteration in English poetry.
3. Point out at least five figures of speech. Name every figure. Explain the figure in full.
4. Point out two or three lines that are especially effective. Tell why the lines are effective. Read them aloud in such a way that you will emphasize their beauty or power.
5. Show how the poem makes use of the principle of repetition.
6. Prove that the thought of the poem moves steadily to a fitting conclusion.
7. Read the entire poem aloud in such a way that you will emphasize its thought, its development, and its conclusion.

**II. The World Will Hear More of Gandhi.**

1. Give a short talk in which you explain the present situation in India.
2. Write a composition of contrast concerning the people of India and the people of the United States.
3. Write a composition of contrast on the life of Gandhi and the life of an average person in the United States.
4. Write an original short story in which you tell what might happen in the United States if any definite group of people were to adopt in full, and to carry out in actual practise, the methods advocated by Gandhi.
5. Imagine that you visit Gandhi, and that you talk with him about his principles. Write a newspaper report of your interview.

**III. "Save Himself Who Can!"**

1. Make a list of fifteen or twenty nautical words used in the article. Explain the meaning of every word.
2. What parts of the article remind you of events in "Treasure Island"? Explain the similarities.
3. What parts of the article remind you of passages in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner"? Read the passages aloud, and then read aloud the corresponding passages in "The Ancient Mariner." Explain the similarities.
4. Write a character sketch of Captain Foss.
5. Write the story of the wreck as one of the people on the shore might have told it.
6. Imagine yourself in the position of Jack Wadhams. Write in the first person an account of his experiences and his emotions.
7. Show how the author makes use of direct discourse as a means of increasing the effect of his narrative.
8. Write a character sketch of the writer of the narrative.
9. Write a somewhat similar vivid account of any thrilling experience that you may have had.

**IV. "Upon Trifles the Best Gifts of the Gods Often Hang."**

1. Write at least one fully developed specific instance that will prove the truth of the title.
2. Explain Mr. Carnegie's rules for public speaking.
3. What do the quotations show concerning the character of Mr. Carnegie? Prove every statement that you make.
4. Analyze by diagram or otherwise any one of the sentences that are printed as paragraphs.

**V. Have You Any Imagination?**

1. Explain why the writer calls some of the paragraphs he quotes, the result of unimaginative reaction.
2. Draw from the article a list of rules for the writing of imaginative compositions.
3. Tell why a writer of stories must have a "particularizing imagination." Prove, by reading quotations, that the following writers had, or did not have, particularizing imaginations: Stevenson, Scott, Dickens, Poe, George Eliot.
4. Explain why a good writer of fiction must have an inventive imagination. Prove that some writer whom you admire has an inventive imagination.
5. Explain the following sentence: (1) "Originality without plausibility lands us in the fantastic;" (2) "Plausibility without originality lands us in an amplification of the obvious."

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. India—The World Will Hear More of Gandhi.**

1. Who is Gandhi? What is the nature of his influence?
2. How did the British gain control of India? What do the following words mean to you: (a) Clive, (b) Warren Hastings, (c) East India Company, (d) the Sepoy rebellion?
3. How have the British maintained their rule in India, seeing that there is no large English element in the population and that the inhabitants of India outnumber all the rest of the peoples of the British Empire? Why has it been difficult to unite India in a single movement for national independence?
4. Explain Gandhi's policy of "non-coöperation." In what ways is it more difficult to cope with than armed rebellion? In what respects does it resemble the "boycott" policy in Ireland?
5. What is the significance of the fact that Gandhi has obtained both Hindu and Mahomedan support for his movement?

**II. Labor Unrest—Social Revolution. Wreck of the Triple Alliance. Sixteen Commandments for Railroads.**

1. On what grounds does Professor Giddings consider the general strike as a revolutionary weapon, even when its leaders are not avowed revolutionists?
2. Why do the British miners object to the ending of Government control of the coal mines?
3. Why did the "Triple Alliance" fail to stand together in support of the miners?
4. Do you see some significance in the fact that certain members of the British House of Commons started direct negotiations with the secretary of the Miners' Federation without waiting for action by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet?
5. What events in English history illustrate the first paragraph of the item, "Wreck of the Triple Alliance"?
6. Imagine a general strike by all miners, railwaymen and transport workers in the United States. Write a short story on the probable condition of the country two or three months after it had started.
7. What proposals are made by the Railroad Labor Board for agreements on working conditions and rules of discipline? Which of the "sixteen points" seem to favor the employers most, and which the employees?

**III. American Foreign Policy—The Next Step. Harding on the Monroe Doctrine. Cuban Election Settled. Japan's Side of the Question. France and Yap. The Russian "Vacuum." Our Field Marshal.**

1. How could a third Hague Conference be made the basis for organizing a new "association of nations" in case the Member States of the existing League consent to abandon the Covenant?
2. What can you tell about the first two Hague Conferences?
3. What interpretation did President Harding give to the Monroe Doctrine?
4. Show how our friendly intervention in Cuba is related to the Monroe Doctrine.
5. Who was Simon Bolivar? What is his historical importance? Compare his career with that of George Washington.
6. Explain the Japanese argument with respect to the island of Yap and the cable rights involved. Compare it with the argument of Secretary Hughes on behalf of the American claim, as given in The Independent of April 23 ("Uncle Sam Demands a Front Seat").
7. What is the French attitude on the Yap question?
8. On what grounds does Secretary Hughes oppose a trade treaty with Soviet Russia?
9. What is Mr. Holt's suggestion for honoring Marshal Foch?
10. Choose as a topic for debate any *one* of the following subjects: (a) Resolved, That the United States should enter the League of Nations with reservations; (b) Resolved, That President Harding should call a Third Hague Conference; (c) Resolved, That the United States is justified in opposing a mandate for Japan over the island of Yap; (d) Resolved, That the United States should conclude a trade treaty with Soviet Russia; (e) Resolved, That it is fitting and proper to make Marshal Foch an honorary general in the American army.

# The Independent

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## "I Am the—"

*The teacher and the student have both had a chance to speak for themselves in our columns. But here they are again, so well matched in a certain amiable bitterness about their lots that they must be permitted a friendly tiff with each other and with the general state of things:*

### I Am the Teacher

I do not write the songs of our country, but I teach them to the children. This is the harder task.

I do not handle much money for I am impracticable, but I train the banker's children. That is my job.

I do not select candidates for office for teachers must not dabble in politics, but I teach history and government to future office holders. (I acknowledge that I do a poor job.)

I listen patiently while a fond mother explains that Willie is "really an unusual child" and needs special consideration and attention.

I am not a doctor, but I am supposed to be an expert on eyes, tonsils, ears and adenoids.

I am supposed to be an impartial judge, but I am constantly reminded directly or indirectly that my job is in danger unless I pursue a certain course of conduct regardless of facts.

I like books and love children. This is unfortunate, as both cost money.

My salary is inadequate, but I am constantly reminded that my "profession" ranks next to the ministry in salary and importance.

I am impractical enough to be happy in my work, tho the wolf is just around the corner, for I know that teachers are mentioned in the Bible—and even there they are doing their own laundry work. (Rev., 7th Chapter, 14th Verse, "These are they which came out of great tribulation and have washed their robes and made them white.")

I am the teacher.

CHARLES H. HAY
Sterling, Colorado

*The redoubtable student, this time, is a sophomore in High School:*

### I Am the Student

I am the product of one whose profession is as noble and indispensable as agriculture or journalism; the teacher. I am the scholar.

I am the one on whom your future depends, you noble farmers and business men. Me, I am your servant, you ill-paid school teachers and college professors, who are so highly educated, and refined, and so intellectual, and polished, that you can feed on nothing but sterilized education and pasteurized learning. I do your bidding, sometimes willingly, more often unwillingly. You try to make my already overcrowded brain absorb the fact that "All Gaul is divided into three parts," and that "Menes was the king of Egypt three thousand four hundred years before Christ."

But why do I do it then? I don't. While you are talking to me of Socrates, in the easy flowing words of Spenser, my mind is running along about two thousand years ahead of yours. My mind has no past tense of more than one hundred and twenty-five or fifty years. What I want to know is how to keep this merry, old world going at the pace it's going now without getting ditched.

But wait, you may turn out of your rebellious pupil another Cicero, Virgil, Dante or Aristotle; altho I think now I would rather be an Astor or a Vanderbilt. My brain is still young and elastic and maybe I can still crowd in a few old time happenings, and probably I will thank you with all my heart for crowding my head with learning that is hard to digest.

Nevertheless, dear teacher, do with me what you wish; I am at your service for at least two years longer, and at the end of that time I may never enter your domains again, where one is not even allowed to talk in a whisper or otherwise.

I am the student.

## Remarkable Remarks

MARY GARDEN—Americans eat too much.

WALT MASON—I have no presidential bee.

HENRY FORD—Cities have come to be unnatural.

RUBE GOLDBERG—All the dogs are wearing blue this season.

MRS. ALBERT EINSTÉIN—It is hard to be the wife of a great man.

JACK DEMPSEY—The man doesn't breathe who can whip me.

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON — The whole world will be dry in my life time.

DEAN DAVID MACKENZIE—Big universities are taking money under false pretenses.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—There is nothing more disastrous than a marriage for money.

WALTER CAMP—It is the trunk of the body with which the average man must concern himself.

ALBERT GARDNER—The not uncommon habit among dogs of walking on three legs is disappearing.

ED. HOWE—In the olden days all were expected to attend church once a week and hear about hell.




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# Babson Institute

**140 Washington Street**

**Wellesley Hills, 82, Boston, Mass.**

The Independent
May 7, 1921

# The Real Yellow Peril

## By Earl S. Parker

### Secretary of the American League of Justice

THE real "yellow peril" in California is not Japanese immigration, but yellow journalism and yellow politics.

The only test of public sentiment on the question in California was the vote on the alien land law of last November. Of the registered voters in the state over 222,000 voted against the alien land bill, while 668,000 voted for it and more than 400,000 who voted for candidates or on other issues were so indifferent to this question that they did not vote at all.



*Paul Thompson*

**Behold the Yellow Peril!—four sunny appealing little sinners the sight of whom must certainly strike terror to the stoutest heart**

The wishes of a majority of the people of a great state are certainly deserving of careful consideration, and were this a question affecting only the people of California the citizens of that state would have every right to settle it in their own way. But it may be worth while to inquire into the methods used in securing that majority, to analyze it and to see how the people of other states are affected by California's decision, before endorsing it.

During the campaign, every newspaper of prominence and every candidate for office from constable to United States Senator were actively or passively supporting the alien land bill. On the other side were a few men, without the power of money and without control of the channels of publicity, who were pleading for honor, justice and a square deal. The real issues were never allowed to come before the people, and statements of those who opposed the alien land law, over the signatures of such men as Lyman J. Gage, ex-Secretary of the Treasury; James A. Blaisdell, president of Pomona College, and David Starr Jordan, former president of Leland Stanford University, were refused publication in the leading newspapers even as paid advertisements. A member of the State Senate, a candidate for reëlection, said privately that he was opposed to such "fool legislation," but could not afford to oppose it openly for fear it might destroy his influence on other questions. Numerous bankers and other business and professional men expressed themselves in a similar way.

The constitutionality of the law remains to be proved, and its inadequacy for its purpose is admitted by the very men who fathered it. Within sixty days after its passage the California legislature was busy enacting new laws to strengthen it and the Governor was appealing to Washington for Federal aid.

The methods used in the campaign are illustrated by the map on the next page, which purports to show the control of California land by Japanese. It is an exact reproduction of the map on page 54 of "California and the Oriental," issued by the State Board of Control at Sacramento. The explanation printed with the map says, "Dark sections occupied by Orientals." Now the dark sections cover about 21 per cent of the face of the map and the inference is plain that 21 per cent of the land in California is owned or leased by Japanese. As a matter of fact the proportion of land actually occupied by Japanese is too small to show on this map; being only four-tenths of one per cent. The figures quoted from the California Board of Control bear out this statement.

The increase in Japanese population in California has also been much misrepresented. The following are the real facts from the United States census reports:

| | Total Population | Japanese | Per cent Japanese | Increase per cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | 1,485,053 | 10,151 | 0.7 | ... |
| 1910 | 2,377,549 | 41,358 | 1.7 | 1 |
| 1920 | 3,426,861 | 70,196 | 2.2 | 0.5 |

During much of this period Japanese immigration was unrestricted, and the increase during the last few years has been largely due to the necessity for business firms to send commercial agents to this country to care for the large increase in trade, and not to an increase in the number of laborers. Our purchases from Japan increased in five years from $104,453,000 to $302,137,000 and our sales to Japan in the same period from $51,474,000 to $464,456,000.

Consider what the purchase of $464,000,000 worth of goods means to the American workman. Eighty per cent of every dollar's worth of goods shipped to Japan finds its way directly into the pockets of the workmen. This means that Japan's purchases each year maintains an employed army of 204,430 men for the full year at a daily wage of $6. In other words, purchases by Japan give employment to almost twice as many Americans as there are Japanese

in this country, including women and children. The Japanese are not crowding the Americans off of the farm or out of the fishing and other industries. There is no organized movement to colonize California and a great deal of the land now occupied by them has been reclaimed from the desert and the swamps or is land on which the Americans were unable to make a living. The majority of



**The map on the left claims to show the proportional occupation of California by the Japanese, about 21 per cent of the total area. But the land actually occupied is about four-tenths of one per cent, with less than one Japanese to every two square miles, and a control by each of less than seven acres. The second map gives the proportional population, 2.2 per cent**

the work being done by the Japanese is of a character the Americans do not care to do.

Of what quality is the Japanese settler? Let those who know him best testify; calling as witnesses only men who are themselves opposed to Japanese immigration.

John S. Chamberlin, Controller of the State of California, says: "I frankly admit the intelligence, the industry and thrift of the Japanese, the wonderful strides Japan has made since Perry's time and her proud position today as one of the greatest nations of the world."

Hon. William N. Vaille of Colorado says: "The Japanese, it is universally true, are the finest kind of people, law abiding—I may say more law abiding than we are ourselves, none in the poorhouse, none in the insane asylums."

Robert Newton Lynch, vice-president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, speaks highly of "Japan's entry into the great war, her staunch rejection of German sympathy and her great service in policing the waters of the Pacific, even protecting the waters of our Pacific coast," and he adds, "It raised the Japanese in popular esteem and confidence on the Pacific coast."

Governor Stephens speaks eloquently of the many admirable qualities of the Japanese and says: "We assume no arrogant superiority of race or culture over them. Their art, their literature, their philosophy and in recent years their scientific attainments have gained for them a respect from the white peoples, which we who know them so well fully share."

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president emeritus of the State University, mentions "their good taste, persistent industry, their excellent qualities and their virtues," but strangely enough adds that these things "render their presence among us a pitiful danger." There is no record in history where the Almighty has been able to produce a race able to justify its existence and leave out the homely virtues of thrift, industry and hard work. If the possession of these qualities by any class of people in the U. S. A. constitutes a danger, the prayers of the people should be that, like small-pox and measles, it may become infectious with no quarantine laws against the speed of it.

Before going farther with this discussion let it be understood that there is no quarrel among the people of California as to the advisability of preventing immigration of the laboring classes. This cannot be stated too strongly. All are agreed, including the Japanese, that it is not desirable to admit any but students, artists, travelers and members of the professional classes.

The whole question is, "How shall this be done and how shall those who are here be treated? Shall the spirit and letter of the treaty be kept? Shall these people and the Japanese nation be dealt with as become one great nation dealing with another nation? Shall the question be handled in a way to allow America to retain her self-respect, and the confidence and good will of Japan and the other nations of the world? Or shall a shortsighted policy be followed that will forfeit the good-will so essential to America if she is to continue as the great moral leader of the nations?"

What is the menace? Is there danger from the American born child of Japanese parents?

There seems to be no danger from the parents. They have been law abiding, industrious, honest and willing and anxious at all times that their children should acquire an education and knowledge of our language. It is not surprizing that they should be a bit backward about asking their children to become wildly enthusiastic over a country that denied to them, the parents, any opportunity to become citizens. Is it surprizing that they should still cherish memories of the land that gave them birth and the only land to which they can look for protection?

The children attend the public schools and are always among the best students. They have the respect of the teachers and of their associates. They take part in the



*Keystone View*

**Native born Japanese children of the McKinley School in Berkeley, California, saluting the American flag. These children are going to carry loyalty to America into their homes and to their parents**

school activities and are staunch supporters of the athletic and debating teams and root just as loyally for their football heroes and are just as quick to crab at the umpire as are the proud descendents of the Pilgrim fathers. The east may be east and the west may be west, but when the east and the west meet under the stars and stripes to root for the same football team, the influence of the American school will have made them one, so far as loyalty to the flag and the things for which it stands are concerned.

These young American citizens are proud of their standing and are quick to associate themselves together in citizenship clubs and resent any insinuation that Japan has any claim on their services. This is true in California and in the Hawaiian Islands, and no greater punishment could be meted out to them than to compel them to go back to Japan and live under the conditions which they would find there.

The record of the American citizens of Japanese parentage during the great war is [*Continued on page 499*

# Two Dimensions vs. Three

## The Navy and the Air Service Propose to Make an Actual Test of Which Is the Stronger

### By Donald Wilhelm



This is what was left of the "Indiana," an American battleship bombed from the air in an experiment. And this is what the Air Force promises to do to a representative fleet of German warships, of later models, which will be given it to practise on

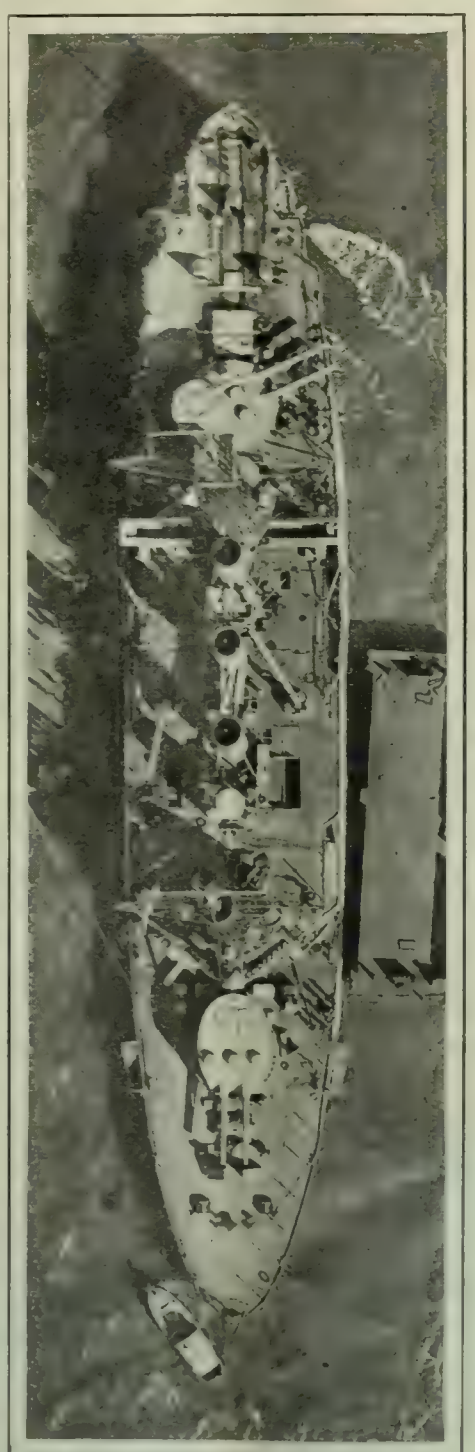
"SOMEWHERE on the Atlantic Coast," somewhere on the 200-mile stretch between Hatteras and Cape May and fifty miles or so out beyond the fifty-fathom line, there is soon to be a battle,—of a kind!

Here, in Hampton Roads, midway in this stretch, the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac" fought March 9, 1862, and the ironclad came to dominate the surface of the seas. And now a peace-time battle, simulating actual warfare, is to be fought, to determine whether the air and its craft can demolish and sink modern ironclads on the surface of the seas.

Some time between June 1 and July 15, a small fleet of former German warships, including the giant battleship Ostfriesland of old, the light cruiser Frankfurt, three destroyers and four submarines—all of which formerly flew the German flag—will be steaming, steered by wireless, off the Atlantic Coast. And on shore will be poised, ready to spot, attack and if possible sink this "German fleet," the largest concentration yet made in America of airplanes—big Martin and Handley-Page bombers, a score or more altogether, each with a crew of three or so, including a bombardier; perhaps a Caproni bomber or two; a great flock of D. H. 4 B's., some Sopwiths, and others, including some Navy planes, the whole calling for upwards of a hundred air officers.

At zero hour, as the Navy says, these American planes will, on the report of an enemy fleet off our shores, send out scouts, spot that fleet, locate it, then, simulating war conditions, the planes will swoop out after it—the light planes first, then progressively, in groups, till the big bombers come into play.





*U. S. Army Air Service*

**Brigadier-General William Mitchell, head of the Air Service, says confidently, "The planes will sink those ships." The photograph above makes it clear that a warship is an easier target seen from a plane than from any other angle. However, the Navy confidently returns the airmen's challenge**

It may be the airmen will fail to sink those ships; naturally they have had no practice aiming bombs at moving ship targets, for neither during the war nor since has there been such an experiment. But if they do, the experiment will have profound significance, not only in the question of national armament here and all over the world, but political and other significance too. And Brigadier-General William Mitchell, the Army's "Monitor" in the battle, says they'll do it—the planes will sink those ships!

The Navy bats t'other eye, for the two services feel a sportive and vying interest in this game which they connived and are arranging together, and answers "Go to it!"

The Army explains that of course it does not hope to blast all navies out of the water, by dint of this one experiment. The Navy answers that the capital ship is king, that, altho it costs these days $40,000,000 or so, if airplanes can extensively damage them here or there, ways will be found to thwart any damage they henceforth might do. Then the gobs add: "Suppose you do sink these ships! They're unmanned, therefore unarmed, altho armored!"

And the Army airmen rejoin, "Anti-aircraft guns can't stop planes anyway—during the war we learned that. You Navy men can develop ways and means, but wait—oh wait!—till we perfect aerial ships, bombs, torpedoes, gases, and ways precisely to use them!"

And so they have it out, betting their hard-to-save shekels on the big event, to prepare for which Langley Field, to which your reporter flew, looks like a war camp once more.

Moreover, for reasons of peace and pocketbook, the taxpayers of this nation and all the other—the bankrupt—nations, look on this event with solemn hope.

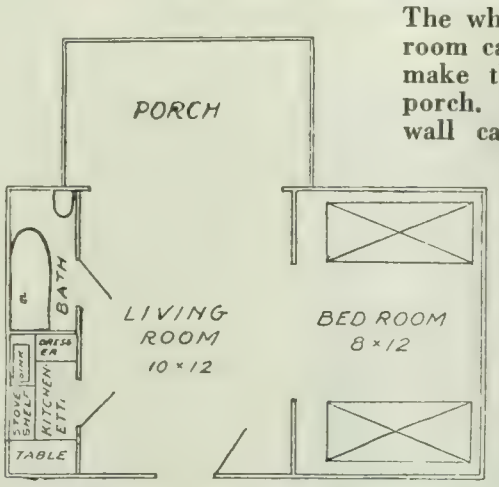
For if the airmen, with neatness and despatch, blow those ships under the water, public [*Continued on page 500*

# A House Built of Paper

## By Adelia Belle Beard

IT really is a paper house—or, more properly speaking, a paper bungalow, for there is but one floor—and it appears to be rain and weather-proof. So far as I know it is the first of its kind.

The owner is a woman who does things and thinks for herself, and the idea of putting up a little summer home of paper instead of wood was her own. She drew the plans, told a builder what she wanted and he "did the rest." I have never seen the original or working plans, but the sketch given here shows the arrangement of the rooms and approximate dimensions. The entire floor-space, exclusive of the porch, is not more than twelve by twenty-two feet, yet there are a living-room, a good-sized bedroom, a kitchenette and bath. Surely a house roomy and convenient enough for two or even three people to spend a summer in comfortably.




A small space and every inch of it available—this is the secret of the efficient and economical little paper house

Then there is the wide porch which, by a unique arrangement, becomes a part, and a most charming part, of the living-room. The arrangement is a large wooden door which reaches entirely across the end of the room and is swung from hinges, not at the side, but at the top. Weights attached to ropes on the outside lift the door up and outward where it forms a roof over the railed-in porch. It is held securely in this position by a hinged support, like a flat pillar, at the outer edge, that drops into place when the door is lifted. The effect of this living-room, wide open at one end, is delightful. On entering the front door you see the misty foliage of tree tops with glimpses of sky beyond. Going thru the room and out onto the porch, you look down on huge, broken rocks and vines and moss and ferns.



The whole end wall of the living room can be swung up and out to make the roof of a comfortable porch. And with equal ease the wall can be let down and shut

The little house stands back in its unfenced grounds, about thirty feet from the road, and nestles among trees—oak and chestnut—which cast a flickering green shade over it. There is only one step at the front door, but at the back the grade is so steep that the foundation posts lift the house many feet away from the ground.

That is one of the things which gives charm to the porch. Standing or sitting there one feels lifted up out of the ordinary onto a level with waving tree tops and swinging birds' nests. Also, being so far above the ground, rocky and treacherous for unwary feet at that point, one has a feeling of security and sleeps tranquilly thru the nights, tho almost the whole side of the house is as open as the forest itself.

A wood-pulp composition, which is first-cousin to paper, is the material of which the house is made. The sheets are held together by strips of wood, as the photographs show. It is a soft gray, a good color for the walls.

The kitchenette is furnished with a built-in dresser at one end and a built-in table, with shelf beneath, at the other. A shelf of the proper hight, under the window at the side, holds the oil-stove, and next to it is the sink with running water. There is also running water in the bathroom. The house is light and dry and, when the sun shines in, the lattice windows cast decorative shadows.

As the bungalow is in the mountains, there are occasional nights, and even days, when it is not desirable to have the end of the living-room open; when warmth rather than an unlimited supply of fresh air is the thing required, then the big door is lowered.

A wide doorway opens from the living-room into the bedroom and, since only women are in the house, the curtains which drape it are of net, white with a colored border. The filmy curtains are attractive and, while admitting plenty of air, serve to keep out stray mosquitoes.

The paper house is located at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania. Other bungalows, log houses and frame cottages are there, but only one house built of paper.

*Flushing, New York*



The little bedroom with its wide door is screened from the living room with white net curtains



Not an Elizabethan manor, perhaps—but a comfortable and attractive little house for all that



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Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, makes the point that out of Europe, associated in our minds with every form of religious laxity, have come three great leaders bringing a message of religious faith. The three are M. Viviani (left), Ambassador Ricci (right), and Bishop Nicolai Velimirovic from Serbia, in the center above. At his right is Dr. Macfarland



© Keystone View

# Must Europe Save Us?

## By Charles S. Macfarland

SHALL we look to Europe for our moral ideals and for our spiritual resources? I have begun to think that this is not an unreasonable consideration.

The newspaper dispatches nearly every morning contain, in connection with our foreign correspondence, references to impending dangers threatening "American rights," and "American interests." The various trade journals constantly bemoan our economic and business conditions. The *Wall Street Journal* pleads with pathos for the reduction of wage scales to save us from impending poverty.

Meanwhile, strangely enough, the most buoyant notes of faith and hope come from the devastated regions of France, from turbulent Italy. Their messengers never utter a note of complaint, they do not come to beg, they are reserved and dignified and, despite all their vicarious suffering, they have no mien of pharisaism. They often make no appeal except that which is inherent in the moral tone and the spiritual force of their message.

There are three of these messengers whose public utterances I have heard and with whom I have had the privilege of some personal conference. René Viviani spent a little time the other day with the Federal Council's Commission on Relations with France and Belgium. M. Viviani is not distinctively a churchman; indeed there are those who have counted him among the unfaithful because of his attitude many years ago on the relation between the church and state. But the burden of his utterance was that of gratitude for the moral and spiritual help of our churches, without which, according to Viviani, our material help would have availed little.

Speaking of the attitude of his country toward religion, he said:

> Before the war there were those who thought that we were a light-hearted, skeptical, superficial nation, without spiritual force, without moral inspiration. The true nature of our people came out in the war and the world realized that France had twenty centuries in which she has stood for the rights and liberties of mankind.
>
> Our nation is a country of tolerance, but also of profound faith. To us has been given the privilege of suffering for mankind. It was one of our great statesmen, who was also an illustrious poet, Lamartine, who characterized France as "The Christ of humanity." His word is true in a deep and reverent sense. France has suffered for the sake of the world. It is still her mission to suffer, and from you above all things she seeks moral and spiritual help in prayerfully and reverently fulfilling her mission.

She means not only to protect, but to respect religious faith. She believes in Christianity.

Again, perhaps one would not look to a lawyer and diplomat coming from Italy, for spiritual ideals, but the recent address of Vittorio Rolandi Ricci was a most unusual diplomatic utterance. It was somewhat different from what we are used to hearing from foreign ambassadors, and while it was being spoken in the music of the Italian tongue, I felt rather glad, on the whole, that the destinies of the world are not altogether, as some of us are fond of acclaiming, confined to "the English-speaking" people. Both the spirit and the words of the utterance were at one and the same time simple and lofty. Our messenger from Italy repudiated in vigorous language both the epicurean and stoic views of life. He refused to accept a materialistic view of social development. "We can still make our own the consoling words of St. Paul, 'We are saved by hope.'" He made an earnest plea for unselfish coöperation in industry and set forth among his highest tributes to his people the fact that, "On signing the armistice, before the grass had grown on the graves of their dead, while their crippled soldiers were still limping thru their streets, they rushed with a mother's pity to help the little children of Austria —their conquered enemy. And today they are relieving that misery with brotherly charity. When did history ever record a nobler act of human fellowship—of Christian love?"

In his splendid note of hope, he refused to exclude Russia —expressed deep faith in her remarkable people and closed one of his most effective passages with these apostolic words, "If God be for us, who can be against us."

He stood for that element in his nation which believed that, "Not by the subjection of one class to another, but by the reciprocal coöperation of all classes, is order obtained and the authority of the state made the moderating sovereign over all."

I have never felt more deeply and reverently impressed than when this messenger of moral ideals and spiritual hope from Italy closed his address with Whittier's prayer:

> And grant, O Father, that the time
> Of Earth's deliverance may be near,
> When every land and tongue and clime
> The message of Thy love shall hear.

Another of these messengers of light from Europe comes from little Serbia—the bishop of his church. Like the Am-

bassador from Italy he presents no appeal nor claim of rights, holds forth no hand inviting alms. He simply revealed the depths of his heart and has shown to those of us who have had the privilege of listening to him how great souls in Europe, tried as by fire, have emerged with deep spiritual power.

Messages from across the sea by the mails which lie before me, from such men as Hymans, president of the League of Nations, are devoid of all complaint. They all breathe a splendid idealism; they never fail to sound the note of hope. They appeal, not to our "interests," but to our faith.

That there are, in Europe, intrigues, moral lapses, ungodly diplomacies and many other evils, we are well aware. But no one can touch the deeper life of our brethren across the sea, amid their patient suffering, without deep respect, a new confidence in God and man and, above all, without profound humility.

Three years ago America became the moral stay of Europe, but I now find myself again and again asking the question, is Europe now going to save us! Shall we not look for our moral ideals as a nation and for the awakening of our spiritual impulses to our suffering brethren across the sea? May not they, in the last analysis, rather than ourselves, receive the Master's reward, in that it is more blessed to give than to receive?

## Who Called It the "Pacific"?

YAP . . . Shantung . . . Bolshevism in eastern Siberia . . . Japanese exclusion . . . cable rights . . . mandates . . . the Philippine problem . . . the ukulele. . . . Seems to us that a more appropriate name could have been found.

## Politicians' Paradise

IN the state of New Jersey there is an incorporated village named Tavistock which contains nineteen residents, nineteen voters and nineteen office-holders. It is the only town in the United States where there is no unemployment problem and no complaint of the indifference of good citizens to public affairs.

## The Turk Wins the Peace

IN most directions we are optimistic, but the failure of the Allied and Associated Powers to settle decisively with the Turk blackens the eastern sky in very ominous fashion. The Armenians have in no way deserved the treacherous desertion which Russia, England, France, Italy—yes, and the United States—have dealt them after so many fair promises of liberation. As for the Greeks, it may be said that they deserve nothing since they ungratefully turned against Venizelos who led them victoriously thru the Great War. The United States also had a statesman who led us victoriously thru the war; how have we treated him? Greece deserves our fellow-feeling if not our admiration.

## Bolivar

THE recent ceremonies in honor of the liberator of Venezuela draw attention to two facts. First, that it is a great thing for a nation to have as its founders and heroes men who were not only skilled warriors and shrewd statesmen, but also unselfish patriots. Men like Bolivar and San Martin in South America or Washington in the United States are more wholesome heroes for school children than selfish brigands like Frederick the Great or Napoleon, however great their genius. It is a good thing for the moral health of Italy that the nation was liberated and united by idealists such as Mazzini and Garibaldi and not by one of the Borgias, as Macchiavelli had desired. It required the war of 1870 to purge the French soul of the poison of Napoleonism and the war of 1914-1918 to purge Germany of the Hohenzollern legend—if the cure is even yet complete.

The second fact is that a great tradition is not enough to save a nation. There must be stability and civic sense in the rank and file. No one would claim that the United States is a nation of George Washingtons, but at least we have maintained in spirit as well as in form the institutions which he fought to establish. But tropical America has fallen into anarchy and military despotism while vainly invoking the name of republican liberty. Our path has been on the high road; Latin America has fallen among thorns and jungle weeds. But both peoples have the same ideal, the same tradition, the same ultimate goal, and if Venezuela wins her way to sane constitutional government it will be because the people have caught something of the divine flame that fired the martial spirit of Bolivar.

# How to Build Utopias

### By Preston Slosson

BUILDING Utopias is a profitable industry; not for the architect, who seldom gets either pay or credit for his blueprints, but for the commonwealth. It is true that the ideal is never fully realized in practise, but it is only by comparing the Good with the Best that we can get the Better. Unfortunately the technique of the architects of Utopia is often faulty. Their "castles in Spain" are so ill-constructed that even if they could actually be built they would collapse of their own weight.

Now the architect of the ideal has the advantage over the architect of the real that he does not have to square his structure with current politics. He has an unencumbered plot of land and can start with the very foundations of society. The practical statesman must reckon with the efforts of his predecessors who have cumbered the land with their incomplete and often ill-planned buildings; he must use the materials furnished him and the sort of labor which he is able to hire. Hamilton at work on the constitution of the United States, Bismarck constructing the German Empire, Wilson planning the League of Nations, even Lenin ruling Soviet Russia are in a very different position from Plato or H. G. Wells dreaming of what a wonderful world might be made "if only people had more sense." Yet the freedom of the Utopian is not unlimited. Utopians do not have to reckon with temporary political prejudices and complications, but they must make allowance for the permanent weaknesses of human nature. They do not have to shoulder the problems of our competitive and capitalist industrialism, but they must recognize that the bounty of nature is not unlimited and that even Utopia is not a Lubberland where roasted pigs run about crying, "Come and eat me!" Even the ideal state will have real problems. Let us ask what these are.

In the first place, Utopia must be self-sustaining economically. Some Utopias are open to objection on this score. Morris's delightful "News From Nowhere" shows a race dwelling splendidly in noble mansions and wearing artistic clothing. Such a Utopia is very satisfactory, but one naturally inquires "where does the money come from?" To raise everyone's standard of living to such a point there must be enormous productivity. But Morris repudiates industrialism and the machine; all this is done by hand labor. Evidently, then, people must work very long hours indeed; what will be the incentive? There is no wealth-incentive, for all property is held in common and the very concept of "money" has vanished. There is no compulsion to labor, either by industrial conscription, such as Bellamy advocated in "Looking Backward," and William James in his "Moral Equivalent of War," or by slavery, as in More's "Utopia," or by a servile working class, as in Plato's "Republic." Apparently you can loaf if you want to. What is Morris's solution? Why, simply that everyone is filled with a passionate love of labor; work has magically become play. This is not solving a difficulty; it is invoking a miracle.

In the second place, Utopia must deal with the possible criminal who attacks society from within and the foreign foe who threatens it from without. Too many Utopias, as Chesterton says, take for granted that no one will want more than his fair share and then use great ingenuity in deciding whether that share will be brought by boat or balloon. Anyone who says that if "conditions were put right everyone would be good" or "if children were properly trained they would all be unselfish when they grew up" is imagining not a new commonwealth but a new race of beings. *Homo sapiens* is, biologically, a species with a very wide range of individual variation. Whatever eugenics may do to diminish the element of the defective and degenerate, and whatever education may do to train good citizens, there will always be some people less trustworthy than others. In Utopia you may abolish the prisons, if you like, and put the lawbreakers in hospitals, or follow Wells's hint and isolate them from civilization in island communities, but you cannot let them run around loose to endanger the rights of decent folk. Nor is the criminal the only problem. The mental defective, the dull and slothful, the thriftless and incompetent present serious problems. Will you make them work? Will you support them in public institutions? Will you permit them to marry or not? How will you keep them from sinking to a low standard of living and creating centers of poverty and disease?

THERE are two ways of dealing with the possible foreign foe. You can defend your Utopia, either by isolation or by an effective military system, or you can make your Utopia a world state in which all nations and races are included. Plato, More, Bacon chose the former alternative. Utopia was armed, and on the defensive. But moderns like Wells insist on a world state. That solves the question of war, but raises the new question of race. A limited Utopia may be homogeneous and have no problem of racial and national differences, but a world state must be one adapted to all sorts of people. What will you do with the backward races? Will you admit them at once to full citizenship and trust that they will "find their level" as individuals in a world commonwealth, or will you keep them under some sort of benevolent guardianship as wards of the Government, or will you simply kill them off?

In the third place, Utopia must deal with the fact that the human race is made up of men, women and children and that no alteration of institutions will change the fact. If, like so many Utopians from Plato to the modern communists, you attempt to abolish the home you will face serious difficulties that are independent of the present economic system. Instinctive mother love will resent the placing of all children in great public institutions, and instinctive jealousy will make any kind of legalized polygamy a source of general misery. What many young radicals term "conventions" are often instincts older, deeper and stronger than civilization itself.

In the fourth place comes the question of government. You can have an anarchistic Utopia, but you must have some arrangements for administration of common affairs; if not thru the State then by voluntary organizations, such as gilds, corporations and coöperative associations. Will you have public affairs run democratically or by a special class? If you choose aristocracy, on what will it be based? Race, wealth, profession, personal qualifications or what? If it is a hereditary ruling class, how will you weed out the inefficient and keep your aristocracy true to its original meaning of "the rule of the best"? If you have a democracy, in what manner will public officials be chosen? What inducements will there be for the ablest men to enter public life?

Fifthly, Utopia should be progressive. All the early Utopias were established with permanent constitutions and made no provision for change. But no social state can remain permanently on the same level. Unless it makes progress it degenerates; witness China during the centuries of isolation from foreign influence. The modern note of an alterable, adaptable Utopia enters literature with Bacon's "New Atlantis," the chief feature of which was a vast institution for scientific research. Our great Utopia specialist, Mr. Wells, has depicted at length or sketched by inference a score of future commonwealths which have little in common but the one feature of being open to change and new developments. But how are you going to promote progress? What is to prevent your world-wide Utopia from "getting stuck" at a certain level of uniform well-being in which the ferment of discontent and the stern despotism of that necessity which mothers invention is too much lacking? Utopia must beware the fate of the Lotus Eaters.

Finally, and most important of all, your Utopia should be attractive. Since it is the whole idea of Utopia writers to present an ideal state of being, this seems a strange and unnecessary qualification. But how often it happens that the architect of a Utopia concentrates so much on the machinery of his plan that he forgets the purpose for which the plan exists. There is too much machinery about some Utopias; they seem more like factories than homes. If Morris extended individual liberty to impossible lengths, Bellamy, Campanella and Plato limited it unduly. One has the feeling that life so strictly regulated—even tho for one's own good—would become intolerable. If Utopia is to *be* Utopia it must be a jolly place, full of laughter, adventure and variety. It must have "all the comforts of home," besides eliminating the discomforts. The final test of sincerity and ability in the inventor of a Utopia is to ask: "Honest, now, and 'cross your heart,' would you really *like* to live there?"

## Two Questions

When will Ireland have peace? Will she like it?

## Hobson

AN imminent war with Japan is predicted by our leading specialist on Japanese wars. This is the ninth or tenth imminent war with Japan he has announced. The others were called off—on account of rain or somethin'—but hope springs eternal in the Hobson breast.

# Our Moral Countenance

## By Franklin H. Giddings

IF there were any way by which we could obtain a composite photograph of the American people that would reveal to the skilled physiognomist the moral nature and habits of this amazing aggregation of almost one hundred and six millions of human beings, what type of moral countenance should we behold?

Perhaps the portrait painter or the dramatist could seize upon and record the significant lineaments. The data we have. They show a character strangely indifferent to "the weightier matters of the law," and highly solicitous concerning "mint, anise and cummin." For men and women struggling against hope to get an economic foothold without dishonesty or dishonor there is no mercy in law or in business if they suffer misfortune. For thugs and thieves there is boundless sentimentality and powerful political and legal backing. For criminals who actually get into prison a reformed penology sees to it that life behind the bars is made more comfortable, at taxpayers' expense, than it normally is for law-abiding men and women who earn the taxes.

Here are bits of the data by which these assertions are justified. Within the last two or three months all of the following news items have appeared in the New York press.

Henry Barrett Chamberlain of the Chicago Crime Commission in an address before Chicago business men declared that crime is an established business in Chicago,

centralized, organized, commercialized, as steady a business as any, and followed by ten thousand professionals. In 1919 this crime trust did a twelve million dollar business in Chicago.

The Homicide Bureau of the district attorney's office of New York County investigated last year 679 killings reported as possible homicides. Of this number 130 cases were presented to grand juries, seventy-eight indictments were returned, and one conviction for murder in the first degree was obtained. Following up this investigation First Assistant District Attorney Banton looked into the records for the preceding twenty years and discovered that the whole number of convictions of murder in the first degree in New York County in that period was only ninety-three, or an average of less than five a year.

WHAT then do we do with or for professional criminals and occasional criminals of the brutal sort that we so successfully save from punishment? Here are indications. A wealthy young man at Westfield, New Jersey, was tried and sentenced to a year in jail for manslaughter in running down and killing a pedestrian. After killing his man he had tried to get away and was not arrested until the following day. With the jail sentence a fine of $1,000 was imposed. On appeal the sentence was affirmed by the Supreme Court. The Board of Pardons then took the case in hand and liberated the offender. Thereupon the State Motor Vehicle Department at Trenton restored his license to drive an automobile!

This sort of thing, so far from being an exceptional incident, is nearly typical. Chief City Magistrate William McAdoo of New York City recently stated publicly that detectives who had investigated the records of 14,363 chauffeurs that had applied for licenses to operate automobiles in New York City since 1918 found that 875 of them were criminals. Going into detail he said that in 1920 242 chauffeurs out of 4945 who applied for licenses were convicted felons. Of 1395 applicants to March 22 of this year 112 had been found guilty of felony. Out of approximately 7500 chauffeurs who had applied for renewal of licenses between August, 1919, and January, 1920, more than 500 had criminal records. Among them twenty-seven men had been convicted of assaulting women passengers whom they were conveying in their cabs.

What do we do for or to the small percentage of criminals that we convict of felony? It is a well established fact, known to every student of these matters, that most of the serious crimes, including murder, burglary, highway robbery and criminal assault, are committed by very young men. The great majority of them are of ages from seventeen to twenty-three or twenty-four. Notwithstanding this fact, whenever one of these young thugs is convicted of murder every newspaper heads up the story in lines that contain the words "boy murderer," and enormous pressure is brought to bear by well meaning persons, including often highly reputable individuals, for remission of sentence on the ground that the murderer is of tender years, has unfortunately been under bad influences, and ought to be given an opportunity to reform!

And what of men actually sentenced to the prisons and incarcerated? More and more we are turning them loose after a merely nominal confinement under our parole laws. That in certain instances parole is wise is undeniable. That it is being abused is equally undeniable. Chief of Police Fitzmorris of Chicago, making public a remarkable array of statistics of crime by paroled criminals, sums up his own view of the parole law as follows:

> It is the criminal's best friend. By these records the parole law stands convicted of being accessory before the fact to most of the recent crimes. It is outrageous to think that these men, sentenced to long terms, could have secured their freedom in such a short time. A cold-blooded murderer released after serving only thirteen months! Can you beat it?

So far the weightier matters! Of devotion to the mint, anise and cummin, the examples that could be picked out of the newspapers in any winter month when legislatures are in session would easily fill all the columns of an issue of The Independent. Representative specimens must suffice. The enactment and repeal of laws forbidding the sale and smoking of cigarettes goes on steadily year by year. On March 8 last a bill forbidding the sale of cigarettes and forbidding any smoking in public places was signed by the Governor of Utah. On April 11 the Governor of Iowa signed a bill permitting the sale of cigarettes to adults. In Kansas, a branch of the American Legion having demanded repeal of the law prohibiting the sale of cigarettes, Dr. William A. McKeever, author of the law, charged that the Legion's move was "inspired by certain big interests" and appealed to the Legion to "turn from the selfish cigarette" and "come out on the side of Christ and Kansas." During the winter session of the legislature of Utah a bill was proposed to prohibit shoes with heels higher than one and one-half inches. It provided that any person found with a pair of shoes with heels of offending hight in his possession should be subject to a fine of from $25 to $500 on first conviction, and of $500 to $1,000 and imprisonment for thirty days to one year for subsequent offenses. This bill, of course, was not meant to be passed, or taken seriously. But the fact that it was thought funny was sufficiently significant of the sort of thing to which we have come. In nearly every state sporadic attempts by municipal authorities are being made to enforce unrepealed ancient ordinances by shutting down soda fountains, ice cream parlors, news stands and gasoline stations on Sunday. These spasmodic experiments, however, are not as yet strengthening the cause of the blue law propagandist.

Into the causes of these perversities of moral reaction in America it is probably well not to inquire too closely. Defects of character or of intelligence, or of both, may be involved, or possibly we have only fallen into bad habits and mischievous fads. Let us hope that as we recover from the shell shocks of the war we shall get back to something more like "normalcy."

## Page Senator Penrose

PRESIDENT Harding declares that it would be "objectionable" if Congress or the Senate "should assume the function of the Executive" and assume the initiative in foreign policy. Let's see, wasn't there a Senator from Pennsylvania who declared that it made no difference who would be Secretary of State since the Senate would control foreign relations in any case?

## The Dilemma

THE Allies are in a difficulty. Germany must grow strong and prosperous and develop a great foreign trade in order to pay anything worth collecting by way of reparations. But a powerful Germany with tentacles of trade in every world market might refuse to pay. The situation can perhaps be illustrated by the one act farce which we append below:

> (France enters the room with a revolver and discovers the burglar, Germany, making off with loot. There are spoons in his pocket, but also a pistol.)
>
> Householder—Hands *up!* (The burglar raises his hands way above his head. Pause for ten minutes.) Well, are you going to give up your loot or are you not? Shell out! (The burglar lowers his hands and sticks them into his pocket.) Hands *up!* Do you want your head blown off? Try to reach for your pistol, will you? (A long pause.) Say-y-y, how long are you going to keep me waiting for that money you owe me? Hand it over and be quick about it. (The burglar again obediently reaches for his pocket.) Pulling your gun on me, are you? Hands up, way-y-y up. That's right. Now keep them there. If you make another move it will be the last of you. . . . Well, do you want to keep me here all night? How many times have I got to tell you to pay me for robbing this house? . . .

We find it a little difficult to suggest a logical ending for this situation.

# The Story of the Week

## Pay!

AS the fatal first of May approached the Allies grew more and more insistent in their demands on Germany. These demands may be grouped under two heads. One was that Germany agree to the Allied program for reparations or present an acceptable substitute; the other, that Germany immediately make good on the payments alleged to be already overdue. The German Government answered the first demand by sending fresh proposals to the United States for transmission to the Allies. It answered the second demand by new protests against the estimates by the Allied Reparation Commission of German payments already made.

The demand for immediate payment, it should be understood, is quite independent of the demand for a general settlement of future payments. Many of the French who admit it to be possible that Germany may make a satisfactory reparations offer are none the less of the opinion that there should be a military occupation of the Ruhr valley to punish Germany for not paying the whole sum already due (20,000,000,000 gold marks or its equivalent in goods) and, in general, to "teach her a lesson" to be more careful in the future to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

To make up, in part, the unpaid balance of the sum due by May 1, 1921, on reparations the Reparations Commission ordered the German Government to transfer "to the branches of the Reichsbank at Cologne or Coblenz the total of the metal reserve of the Reichsbank." This sum, the entire gold reserve on which the German paper currency is based, was not to be confiscated by the Allies forthwith, but to remain as a sort of pledge or security that the payments due would be met. This demand was rejected by the German Government. In reply, the Reparations Commission sent a sharp note demanding the surrender of the gold reserve to the Bank of France on or before April 30.

Germany's latest proposal, as transmitted to the United States, goes much beyond any previous offer, tho it does not seem to be regarded as adequate by the Allies. Germany undertakes to pay 50,000,000,000 gold marks, present value, which with interest over the expected term of years necessary to meet the debt would amount to 200,000,000,000 marks. To aid in raising this sum an international loan would be necessary. Interest on the reparations debt not covered by the loan would be limited to 4 per cent only. As a part of the reparations payment Germany is willing to furnish labor and materials, as desired, to the reconstruction of the devastated departments of France; and to assume part of the Allied indebtedness to the United States.

Unfortunately the German offer, generous as it sounds, has attached to it certain conditions which, whether or not reasonable in themselves, are contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and to the wishes of the Allies; these are:

Execution of the above proposals would wipe out all other obligations of Germany in respect of reparations. The private property of Germans abroad would be also freed. Germany only considers these proposals as capable of acceptance if the régime of penalties ends immediately; if the actual basis of German production is not further restricted, and if Germany is admitted to world trade and relieved from unproductive expenses.




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

**Will he use the key to reopen the door?**

## The "Appeal to Caesar"

WITH the first of May impending and the consequent threat of Allied coercion the German Government in its extremity turned to the United States, the one nation still technically "at war" with Germany, as arbiter and mediator. Chancellor Fehrenbach and Foreign Minister Simons delivered a memorandum to Mr. Dresel, American Commissioner at Berlin, for transmission to the American Government. In this note the United States Government was asked to fix the amount of the indemnity, Germany agreeing to abide by the decision of President Harding, whatever it might be:

In the name of the German Government and the German people, the undersigned, notwithstanding the still existing technical state of war, respectfully petition the President of the United States of America to mediate the reparation question and to fix the sum to be paid by Germany to the Allied powers and eagerly urge him to secure the consent of the Allied powers to such mediation.

They solemnly declare that the German Government are ready and willing to agree, without qualification or reservation, to pay to the Allied powers, as reparation such sum as the President after examination and investigation may find just and right. They formally pledge themselves to fulfill in letter and spirit all the provisions of any award that may be made by him.

With abiding faith in the righteousness of this request and with undeniable sincerity of purpose the German people, thru their constituted Government, submit their appeal to the President of the United States with the confident hope that it be granted to the end that a final award may be made in accordance with right and justice to meet the heartfelt wishes of all civilized nations, to avoid the immeasurable consequences of imminent coercive measures and to promote the peace of the world.

To this Secretary Hughes replied at once that the United States Government could not undertake to act as umpire in fixing the indemnity on its sole responsibility, but that it would gladly offer its good offices in bringing about a renewal of reparations negotiations between Germany and the Allies.

Secretary Hughes said:

This Government could not agree to mediate the question of reparations with a view to acting as umpire in its settlement.

Impressed, however, with the seriousness of the issues involved, as they affect the whole world, the Government of the United States feels itself to be deeply concerned with the question of obtaining an early and just solution. This Government strongly desires that there should be an immediate resumption of negotiations and reiterates its earnest hope that the German Government will promptly formulate such proposals as would present a proper basis of discussion.

Should the German Government take this course, this Government will consider bringing the matter to the attention of the Allied governments in a manner acceptable to them in order that negotiations may speedily be resumed.

# Tirol Votes to Join Germany

IN the western corner of Austria there is an Alpine district dividing Germany from Italy. In former times it extended farther south than it does now and included Italians as well as German Austrians. The fortunes of war have given to Italy southern Tirol with a mixed German-Italian population; what remains to Austria is purely German. The Tirolese are a race of simple, sturdy mountaineers; very much resembling their western neighbors, the German Swiss, tho they are so far from sharing the Swiss republican traditions that they have cherished a sentimental loyalty to the House of Hapsburg and are royalist and Pan-Germanist in politics. They feel very little kinship to the more or less Socialist Government at Vienna which is directing the affairs of Austria; moreover, diminished Austria no longer gives them the economic advantages they enjoyed under the old Empire. Switzerland shows no disposition to take them in; in fact the Swiss definitely rejected an opportunity to annex the little Austrian province of Vorarlberg, which lies between Tirol and Switzerland. What remains to Tirol? Simply the choice between clinging to starving Austria in expectation of better days, or of uniting with Germany.

All this is in explanation of the remarkable plebiscite of April 24. The province of Tirol voted in favor of union with Germany by 86,600 votes to 928. The capital, Innsbruck, favored union by 33,000 votes to 476. Such an overwhelming verdict has rarely been recorded on a question of national allegiance in a fairly conducted plebiscite.

The Tirolese plebiscite differs from the plebiscites held in Upper Silesia and elsewhere since the war in that it has no legal standing. Indeed, so far from being authorized by treaty, it goes counter to treaty stipulations. In the treaties with Germany and with Austria any fusion of Germany and Austria are specifically forbidden without the unanimous consent of the Council of the League of Nations. The plebiscite must therefore be considered simply as a popular petition; a demonstration of sentiment.

France and the other Allies are opposed to a union of Austria with Germany for two main reasons. First, it would add to Germany more land and population than was lost in the Great War to France and to Poland. Second, it would thrust German power into the heart of the Danube valley and threaten the strategic security of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy. The first objection would not apply to the union of a single province, such as Tirol, to Germany. Germany would not gain much in population or wealth by annexing the mountains and valleys of the eastern Alps. But the second objection is strong, even as against an annexation limited to the province of Tirol. It would bring the frontier of Germany south to the frontier of Italy; to the benefit of Italian trade but to the peril of Italian security. An independent Tirolese buffer state, or Tirol as a part of Austria, reduced as Austria is, or Tirol as a part of Switzerland would any of them mean that Italy has no menace on her northern frontier. But with the full weight of mighty Germany pressing down to Italy thru the Tirol—no wonder the Allies are nervous. For this reason it is probable that they will ignore the result of the Tirolese plebiscite.

# Lloyd-George on Ireland

IN spite of every discouragement Premier Lloyd George is determined to put into effect his new system of Home Rule for Ireland. He announced that elections for the two Parliaments (the one for the Protestant part of Ulster and the one for the rest of Ireland) would take place on May 3 and that the Ulster Parliament would meet on June 21. Whether the Parliament for southern Ireland would meet so early as that is uncertain, since the Sinn Feiners will do their best to keep it from meeting.

Several bishops of the Church of England urged the Government to establish a truce in Ireland. To this petition Premier Lloyd George sent a long reply, outlining his views on the Irish situation. He began by denying the charge brought by the bishops "of indiscriminate and unauthorized reprisals by the irregular forces of the Crown." To this he answered categorically that "There are no irregular forces of the Crown. The auxiliary division of the Royal Irish Constabulary, to which you no doubt refer, is a regular force" under strict discipline and it was not organized until "after fifty-six policemen, four soldiers and seventeen civilians had been brutally assassinated" by Sinn Feiners.

Then he turned to a discussion of the general question. He declared that on two points there could be no compromize; secession could not be permitted, since it would be "incompatible with the security of Great Britain," and Ulster must not be coerced into an unacceptable scheme, because it would mean civil war. He then compared the Irish situation with the Civil war in America and identified his own position with that of President Lincoln:

> At the outbreak of the American struggle nearly every one in these islands sympathized with the South. Even Gladstone took this view and only John Bright did not waver in his adherence to Lincoln's cause. That war lasted four years and cost a million lives and much devastation and ruin. There was more destruction of property in a single Confederate county than has been caused by all the so-called reprisals thruout Ireland.




*Frank Holland in John Bull*

**The Irish Derby**

Lincoln rejected truce and compromize, as he often said he was fighting for the Union and meant to save it, even if he could only do so at the price of retaining slavery in the South. Is there a man or woman today who does not admit that the North was right, and who does not see the calamitous result which would have followed the breaking up of the American Union? I doubt if there is a responsible man in the Southern States today, however much he admires great figures like Jackson and Lee, who is not glad that the Union was preserved, even at that terrible cost.

Is not our policy exactly the same? It is, by reason of the contiguity of the two islands and their strategic and economic interdependence, to fight secession and to maintain the fundamental unity of our ancient kingdom of many nations. I believe our ideal of combining unity with home rule is a finer and nobler ideal than excessive nationalism, which will have nothing less than isolation—which is the Sinn Fein creed and which, if it had full play, would Balkanize the world. I believe that once the struggle is over, bitterness forgotten and unity preserved, all will agree that in the fundamentals the Government was right and the Sinn Fein wrong.

# Colombia Treaty Ratified

THE Senate has ratified the treaty with Colombia which puts to rest the claims of Colombia arising from the rebellion and secession of Panama and the consequent loss of the Canal route.

The chief provision of the treaty covers the

payment of $25,000,000 in annual instalments of $5,000,000 each to Colombia. Colombia is also granted the right to transport mails, products of the soil and war materials over the Panama Railway and the Canal route on the same terms as the United States. On the other hand, Colombia agrees to grant formal recognition to the independence of Panama. One clause that stood in the treaty as brought before the Senate during the Wilson administration expressed the "sincere regret" of the United States at the interruption of friendly relations between the two countries on account of the canal controversy. This was later eliminated, as it might be construed as an admission that President Roosevelt had acted contrary to international law in obtaining the Canal route.




*Stimson in Dayton Daily News*

**Oil is thicker than justice?**

Even as it stood, the treaty with Colombia did not escape criticism. In spite of President Harding's recommendation the Republican side of the Senate was greatly divided on the question of ratification. The Democrats gave twenty-nine votes for ratification and only four against; Senators Dial of South Carolina, Reed of Missouri, Simmons of North Carolina and Watson of Georgia constituting the minority. Forty Republican Senators, for the most part loyal "organization" men, supported the treaty; fifteen were opposed. These fifteen Senators were mainly from the west and of the insurgent or progressive wing of the party. The main ground of their opposition was that any payment to Colombia was either "blackmail," the payment of an unjust claim for reasons of expediency, or else was an admission that the United States acted wrongfully in supporting the Panama revolution which made possible an American canal. They objected to the latter inference in loyalty to the memory of President Roosevelt. Senator Borah attempted to secure an amendment to the treaty declaring that in making the payment to Colombia the United States did not admit any share in bringing about the Panama revolution or any breach of international law. This amendment, and all others that were offered, met defeat. Senator Lodge, formerly an opponent of the Colombia treaty, led the fight for ratification. His stand was important not only on account of his influence in foreign affairs, but because his long friendship with Theodore Roosevelt encouraged some Roosevelt men to follow his lead on the question.

The struggle over the Colombia treaty was the hardest fight the Harding administration has yet experienced, and the decisive victory in which it ended will increase the prestige of the new President. He has succeeded in persuading the Senate to ratify a treaty which President Wilson labored in vain ever since 1914 to secure. It will be noticed that there is more "continuity of foreign policy" between the Wilson and Harding administrations than seemed to be possible during last year's campaign. On three important questions, trade relations with Soviet Russia, the dispute over Yap and the Colombia treaty, the Republican administration has followed in the footsteps of President Wilson. In fact, with the solitary exception of opposition to the existing League of Nations, President Harding and Secretary Hughes have at no point altered the American attitude toward the various problems in international relations which interest the nation.

## "No Dumping Here"

THE bill limiting immigration from each country to 3 per cent of the number of foreign-born persons of each nationality resident in the United States as determined by the census of 1910 has again been approved by the House of Representatives. The measure is substantially the same as that to which President Wilson gave a "pocket veto" at the close of last session. It passed the House in the new session on April 22, without a roll call and without any important amendment. An attempt was made to amend the bill so as to permit political refugees to enter the United States, but this was defeated. The measure is one of rigid restriction, but it is not intended to be permanent. Its purpose is to prevent the "dumping" of refugees and pauper immigrants on the United States until Congress can frame a permanent immigration law, which, it is hoped, will be based on selective standards less crude than an arbitrary percentage limit.

One effect, an intended effect, of the bill would be to shift the current of immigration from eastern and southern Europe and western Asia to northwestern Europe. The reason for this is that the "old immigration," including the bulk of immigrant residents in the United States, came from Germany, Ireland, Great Britain and Scandinavia. The "new immigration" since the opening of the twentieth




*Knott in Dallas News*

**Do we want any more trash dumped into our back yard?**

century has come largely from Italy, Russian Poland and the old Austro-Hungarian empire. Immigration from these countries would be heavily reduced by the 3 per cent law, should it receive the approval of the Senate and the President as well as of the House. Of course, the literacy test for aliens which is already in effect had a similar purpose and result, as illiteracy still widely prevails among the Italians and the Slavs, while it is almost unknown in Germany, England and Scandinavia.

Something of a flurry in political circles was caused by the rumor that Secretary Hughes had made the statement that refugees rendered destitute by the war should be rigorously excluded from the United States; "Reference is especially made to Armenians, Jews, Persians and Russians, all of whom have been so driven hither and thither since 1914 that they cannot be regarded as desirable populations for any country." Aside from the very brutal and inhospitable character of these remarks, it would have been undiplomatic in the extreme for a Secretary of State, in charge of foreign affairs, to single out particular nationalities as "undesirables." Several Congressmen expressed surprize that so prudent a man as Secretary Hughes should have been guilty of such unguarded remarks. As it turned out, the statements in question were not made on the authority of Secretary Hughes at all, but were simply summaries of consular reports transmitted by the State Department to Congress in response to requests for information.

The Census Bureau announces that the foreign born population of the United States increased by only 2.6 per cent from 1910 to 1920; the smallest proportionate increase for any decade of American history. This relatively slow increase was almost wholly due to the Great War, which practically shut off immigration from the European belligerent countries since August, 1914. For the decade 1900 to 1910 the increase amounted to over 20 per cent. The total foreign-born population in the United States is now 13,703,987.

Considering the totals by countries, Germany leads with 1,683,298 citizens transplanted to America; but Germany also shows the greatest decrease in the number of residents. In 1910 there were over 2,500,000 persons of German birth in the United States. Italy comes a close second to Germany with 1,607,458 contributions to the living American population. Russia now holds third place; there are 1,398,999 Russians in the United States. Poland is fourth with 1,139,578; Canada fifth with 1,117,136, of whom 307,681 are French Canadians; Ireland is sixth with 1,035,680. These are all the nations in the "millions class." Next in order come England with over 800,000; Sweden with over 600,000; Austria, Mexico and Hungary. The Mexican-born population nearly doubled in ten years, perhaps because the civil disturbances of that country drove many Mexicans to the safer, if duller, life of the United States. Other countries showing an increased contribution to the American population are Italy, Denmark, France, Finland, Greece, Holland, Rumania, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Asiatic countries; on the other hand Germany, Austria, Hungary, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Switzerland, England, Scotland, Wales, Canada and Bulgaria showed varying degrees of decrease.



*International*

**"Big Bill" Haywood, secretary of the I. W. W., has left America for Russia, where he thinks his turbulent ideas can find more elbow room—certainly more than in a twenty years' residence in a Federal penitentiary**

# A Bolshevist Chief From America

WILLIAM D. Haywood, secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, has emigrated from the United States to Soviet Russia. In Russia he hopes to find a wider sphere of action; certainly a much wider one than would have been his had he remained in the United States, since he was under sentence for seditious activities in wartime and faced a twenty-year sentence in the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. He fled while out on bail.

There had been some tendency in labor circles to consider such bail-jumping cowardly. But Charles Edward Scott, speaking as secretary of the Pan-American Agency of the Communist Internationale, explains how from the Bolshevist point of view Haywood's conduct was quite ethical. "Comrade Haywood did not leave the United States of his own accord, but at the direct command of the Communist Internationale, of which he is a disciplined member and whose authority he recognizes as the highest in the world." It appears that the Moscow chieftains of revolution were so impressed by Haywood's successful organization work for the I. W. W. that they were determined that such a gem of purest ray serene should not waste its brilliance in the prison air. They therefore summoned him to Russia to serve "as a trusted adviser of the general staff of the world revolution." He went to Russia "openly and undisguised" (which, if true, points to some laxity on the part of the authorities) "and openly and undisguised he will return to America; but the time and manner of his coming will be determined by the requirements of the revolutionary class struggle, and not by the decrees of capitalist courts." Federal District Attorney Clyne states that Haywood will probably be put in charge of propaganda work in Germany and Scandinavia. American superiority in press-agenting and all forms of publicity work and advertising is recognized the world over, and it is but a deserved tribute to this American talent that the Russian Bolsheviki, tho no mean propagandists themselves, should go to this country to gain the services of a director of propaganda.

# House Approves Farm Tariff

ON April 15 the House of Representatives passed without amendment the Emergency Tariff bill. It contains the provisions of the tariff bill on farm products which was passed last session but vetoed by President Wilson; also provisions directed against "dumping" and making allowance for the rates of exchange in computing tariffs. The bill is not intended as a substitute for the general tariff measure planned by the Republican leaders; it is a "stop-gap" designed to shut off foreign competition from the American farmers in the American market and will be

superseded by the permanent schedules, covering manufactured products as well as agricultural produce, in the final tariff law. The vote in the House was decisive; 269 supporting the bill and only 112 opposing. Results of the vote followed party lines in the main; a few Republicans opposing it as liable to increase the cost of living to the city consumer, and a few Democrats representing agricultural constituencies supporting it because of previous pledges to their constituents.

The Democratic caucus had decided to oppose the bill by a vote of 77 to 29. Altho all attempts to secure amendments in the House were decisively defeated the bill may not be permitted to pass the Senate until some changes have been made considerably affecting it.




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

**The farmers' Friend—?**

## Volstead Again

REPRESENTATIVE Volstead, whose name is known wherever liquor is drunk—or is not drunk—has introduced into the House of Representatives a measure amending his National Prohibition Act to meet the situation created by Attorney-General Palmer's decision that beer could be prescribed as "medicine." Many prohibitionists feared, in Mr. Bryan's phrase, that the decision of the former Attorney-General tended to restore the liquor traffic by simply substituting "dose" for "drink." The proposed bill declares that "Only spirituous and vinous liquor may be prescribed for medicinal purposes, and all permits to prescribe and prescriptions for any other liquor shall be void." The quantity of spirituous and vinous liquor prescribed for any patient may be limited by order of the Prohibition Commissioner.

Other clauses of the new bill are also designed to strengthen the law. It is provided that there should be no more importation or manufacture of any spirituous liquor, even for non-beverage purposes, until the amount of liquor now in distilleries and bonded warehouses has been reduced to an amount not in excess of the need for all non-beverage uses. New restrictions are placed on the withdrawal of liquor from warehouses ostensibly for medical use, but in reality for beverage purposes. The Attorney-General is given increased power over the issuing and cancelling of permits.

## Our War General

SECRETARY of War Weeks is experimenting with an interesting plan. There are to be two chiefs of the army. The Chief of Staff will occupy the position held by Major-General Peyton C. March, now retiring, as the administrative head of the army. General Pershing will head the army if mobilized on a war footing and in time of peace his duty will be to prepare an organization fit to act as the General Headquarters of a field army or expeditionary force when need arises. A similar duplex organization existed during the war; the novelty lies in maintaining it in time of peace. The official announcement of the plan is thus worded:

> The Secretary of War stated today that he proposed to inaugurate in time of peace a skeletonized general headquarters, the purpose of which is to be instantly prepared for active military operations in time of war. The details of the organization will be given out later. General Pershing will be the head of the skeletonized general headquarters. It will be ready in time of peace to act in time of war.

## Rent Regulation

ON April 18 the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a far-reaching decision on the power of legislation to fix rentals of private property. The test cases involved the District of Columbia law, enacted by Congress, and the law for New York City, enacted by the New York State Legislature. Both laws were based on an alleged "emergency" due to the post-war housing shortage in the great cities. Their object was two-fold: to prevent excessive or "profiteering" rentals, and to prevent the dispossession of tenants either by forcing them to relinquish possession at the expiration of their leases in favor of new tenants willing to pay higher rents or by inducing them to abandon their leases by depriving them of the services (such as heating and janitor service) which ordinarily go with the lease.

The decision was one of those "five to four" verdicts which have become so unpleasantly frequent in the Supreme Court. Justice Holmes delivered the opinion of the majority upholding the District of Columbia rent law, and he was supported by Justices Brandeis, Clarke, Day and Pitney. Chief Justice White and Justices McKenna, McReynolds and Van Devanter dissented. The minority rested




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**The boy stood on the burning deck**

their case on the provisions in the Constitution forbidding the taking of private property without just compensation and the passing of laws impairing the obligation of contracts. They held that such regulation of the control and use of property as was involved in the rent laws was in effect a confiscation of property, and that extensions of leases beyond a fixed term was interference with private contract.

The majority opinion held that the housing emergency was "a publicly notorious" fact and created a situation sufficiently serious to warrant legislative action. Precedent for such action might be found in the legal regulations in the public interest of irrigation, mining lands, the construction of new buildings and other regulations of private real property. "If the public interest be established, the regulation of rates is one of the first forms in which it is asserted, and the validity of such regulation has been settled."

# A Little of Everything



## The Trolleys Slow Down

### By William B. Bailey

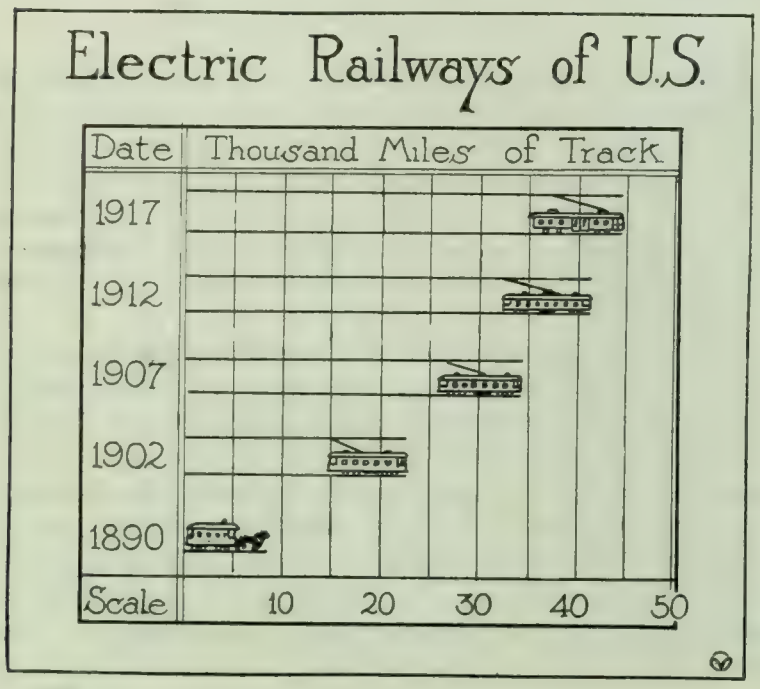
#### Professor of Practical Philanthropy in Yale University

The story of most industries in the United States is one of continuous development accompanied by an acceleration of growth in recent years. A rather striking exception to this is offered by the history of the electric railways in this country. The following table shows the miles of line in this country at five dates from 1890 to 1917:

| Date. | Miles of single track of electric railways in the United States. |
|---|---|
| 1890 | 8,123 |
| 1902 | 22,577 |
| 1907 | 34,382 |
| 1912 | 41,065 |
| 1917 | 44,835 |

There had been some development of street railways in this country previous to 1890, but most of it was of horse cars. In fact in 1890 out of a little over 8000 miles of street railways nearly 5700 miles had animal traction. In 1917 horse cars were in use upon only eleven miles of track. The rate of increase in track mileage has steadily diminished until from 1912 to 1917 it amounted to but 6.9 per cent. The street railways of this country have had a hard time to make ends meet during the past few years, to say nothing of paying dividends. The public felt that a nickel should pay for a trolley ride of almost indefinite length, and by means of transfers a ride of over twenty miles could sometimes be enjoyed for this amount. With rising cost of operation the nickel shrank until it no longer met these costs and the companies were forced to ask for a six, seven, eight, and sometimes ten cent fare. To increase their troubles came the jitney competition, and it will not be surprising to learn that in 1920 the street railway mileage in actual operation is less than in 1917.

Over fourteen and a half billions of passengers were carried by the street railways in 1917. This meant an average of 109 paid trips for each person in this country, and 264 trips for the urban population. The average person takes about twice as many rides as was the case twenty years ago. Notwithstanding the increase in traffic, the net income of the street railways was in 1917 twelve millions of dollars less than in 1912. Since 1917 it is probable that there has been a further shrinking in net income. What the future has in store for the trolley companies it is difficult to say, but certainly their prospects are by no means rosy.




## A Harnesser of Boy Power

### By Robert L. Macconel

*Here is a tribute from far Honolulu to a Boy Scout Organizer as "the best man" in his community.*

It is indeed a very difficult task to select a single person from seventy-five odd thousand or more to represent the community of Honolulu, the capital of the Hawaiian Islands, as its "best man."

With all apologies to any worthy competitors in this territory for the title, I have chosen Scout Executive William Henry Hutton, affectionately called "Pop" by all who know him, because of his unsurpassed qualities as a leader and also for his indomitable energy in training the youth of the country to be better citizens.

Many times a man who has been smiled on by old age has sorrowfully said, "If I only had been taught when I was a lad." Do you not then respect a person who is training poor and rich men's sons, young and old boys, all for the one thing—Good Citizenship? Where is the mayor or even the Governor, when either is placed alongside this leader of "Boy Power"? And we simply reward our friend with the title of "The Best Man."

For the past year I have been intimately associated with "Pop" and consequently I have taken the opportunity to make a friend for life. He has a very benign and humorous disposition; he looks on all his trials and sorrows with the greatest optimism.

The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Liberty Loans were greatly aided thru the efforts of the three hundred Honolulu Boy Scouts and it was thru the unselfish energies of Scout Executive Hutton that the Boy Scouts of Honolulu went "Over the Top." And again, when our country raised money by having people buy War Savings Stamps the Scout Executive was the one who worked night and day during the last week in December, 1918, in pulling Honolulu over the top. Two hundred thousand dollars worth of stamps were sold by the Scouts and every cent was checked by our friend.



Scout Executive Hutton, or "Pop," or Honolulu's "best man"—whichever you like—who makes boys his business and makes his business thrive

I could mention numerous other instances where "Pop" strained every nerve to pull a thing thru. A big banquet was to be held in the National Guard armory some weeks ago for the reception of the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, and seventy-five Scouts were wanted to serve as waiters. The notice came a day before the banquet. Mr. Hutton rang up or per-

sonally saw a hundred Scouts that day, and seventy-five Scouts donned the Fifth Liberty Loan banner for aprons and were on hand punctually to serve the Secretary and his staff. This does not seem like much of a herculean task, but when the majority of boys in a town are working in pineapple canneries, business offices, or out of town, the task swells and a person is apt to get a few gray hairs overnight thinking about such matters.

The army posts and other large gatherings are often entertained by our friend and if by chance you happen to be walking along the street with him you will often hear a passerby greet him with a "Hello Pop."

As people get to love, respect, and understand the great men of the days gone by so the dwellers in a village or the multitudes in a city grant one or more of its citizens a marked respect.

It is so that I have selected William Henry Hutton.

## Making Typewriting an Art

Typewriters are now being made which, in addition to the work ordinarily demanded, produce an amazing variety of designs, from which display letters and figures, florets, borders, music composition, and intricate rulings and interlacings are rapidly made by operators. For this purpose unessential characters are discarded, their places being taken by callitypic outlineals which, typed connectedly end to end or combinationally one kind over a different kind, produce results evidently usable, thru photo-engraving or stencil medium, for reproductions similar to printing.

Our illustration shows a few of these patterns. Each outlineal is so sized and positioned as to fill space from underscore to underscore, straight characters being of such length or slant that unbroken lines of any desired length can be typed at will in different directions. The original of the illustration is sixty-eight typewriter-pica characters wide and thirty-four lines deep.

Callitypic outlineals are unpatented, and procurable for all kinds of typewriters. Except as to results obtained, the mechanisms are ordinary in keyboard and manipulation.

The word callitypy was coined by the inventor, Jacob Backes, a New York City printer, who contributed a poem to The Independent for March 12, 1908, and who at one time read proof on this magazine. At a period when his experimentations had not reached their present range and quality he coined the word, in all unabridged American dictionaries dated 1913 or later. Callitypy is *Kallitypie* in German, and *callitypie* in French.



*Ewing Galloway*

**When China decided finally to graduate from the jinrikisha into trolleys, it did the thing thoroly and had ultra-modern trolleys without tracks. Here is one of the streets of Shanghai, with a street-car, an impressive showing of automobiles, and not a jinrikisha in sight. But, of course, the 'rikshas have not been banished, by any means**

## Sparks

A Georgia taxpayer paid his income tax of four cents in four instalments of a penny each.

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In some parts of Central Africa it is a mark of respect to turn the back upon one's superior.

***

A French schoolmaster punished a naughty boy by making him copy the whole Treaty of Versailles.

***

A "National High School Honor Society" has been founded "to promote in the schools the spirit of endeavor, to develop qualities of resourcefulness and initiative, to discover and select in a scientific manner pupils of unusual and superior ability, and to provide the intellectual competition that will develop their powers to the utmost."

***

There were more motor cars in New York State alone in 1920 than in the whole United States in 1910.

***

Dew is most abundant in exposed situations, there being less to arrest the radiation of the earth's heat.

***

The number of motor cars registered in the United States in 1920 was 9,211,295; an increase of 22 per cent. over 1919.

***

The Chinese, of all peoples, attach most importance to etiquette, their Book of Rites dating back to the first century B. C.

***

The two extremes in human hair are that of the negro, flat in section and curly, and that of the Mongolian, which is round and straight.

***

During the course of the war, 750 English and 800 French airmen saved themselves from burning balloons by means of parachutes.

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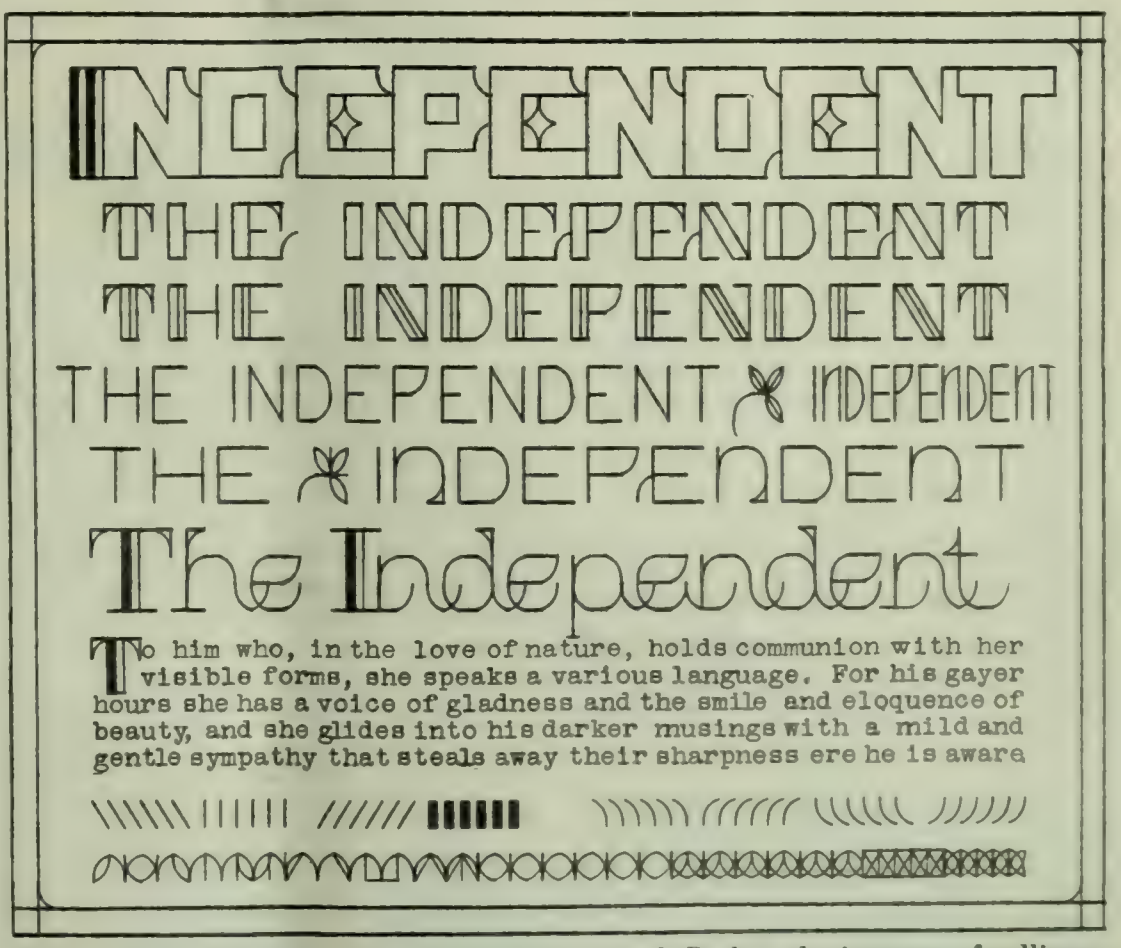
The French War Museum at Paris has provided space for 100,000 books about the Great War and two and a half miles of shelves for magazines and newspapers bearing on it.

***

A New York judge refused to admit blondes on a jury; alleging that "the blondes are fickle." He did not state whether or not this also applied to peroxide blondes.

***

Miss Agatha Harrison, Editor of the Social Service and Administration Department of the University of London, is going to China to make the first industrial survey of that country.




**The original of this illustration was made by Jacob Backes, the inventor of callitypy, a process of printing from plates made from photo-engravings of ordinary typewritten copy. The illustration shows a further very suggestive development of the process, in a collection of outlineal characters which may be combined in an infinite variety of ways to make ornamental heads, titles, borders, etc. These characters may be substituted for non-essential characters on the ordinary typewriter keyboard. Readers of The Independent may remember that during the printers' strike in the fall of 1919 we were able to get out the magazine each week by adopting a modified callitypic process**

# Your Garden in May

## Another Bag of Tricks for the Countryside Dweller

By Hugh Findlay, Lecturer in Horticulture in Columbia University

### Fruits and Berries

**Timely Warnings** This is the month to clean up the orchard. It is the last call. Burn all brush. Spread with lime sulfur and arsenate of lead after three-fourths of the petals fall. This will hold in check the apple scab and destroy the codling moth. Spray on calm days. A beehive is of greatest benefit to the peach, cherry or plum orchard. If the orchard is cultivated this is the month to keep the implements busy. Do not let the weeds grow up around the trunks of the young trees. Do not forget that the young orchard should be inspected at least once a week. Because the trees are not bearing is no reason why they should not be sprayed for scab and insects. Use care in intercropping. Do not shade the fruit trees or rob the soil. If in doubt about treatment of trees or land, call into council a practical orchardist and follow his advice in regard to your conditions.

**Blackberries and Raspberries** Do not fail to stake these plants in such a way as to allow clean cultivation. All suckers appearing between the rows should be destroyed. Cultivate freely until the flower appears. After the fruit is set and before a rain, a liberal sprinkling of bone dust in the rows will result in large berries. The fertilizer must not get on the fruit or foliage.

**Strawberries** All cultivation should cease with the coming of the bloom. Spread straw or grass under the bloom to prevent the soil from washing on the fruit. Mulch early that it may hold the moisture. Pot runners early so that they may be transplanted in August. To produce extra fine berries keep the plants in single hills and cut off all the runners.

### The Flower Garden

**Perennial Asters** This is the month to plant the perennial asters for fall bloom. The soil should be rich in humus. They precede the Japanese anemones and late chrysanthemums and fill in a gap between the summer bloom and that of the late fall.

**Seed and Seedlings** For mid-season bloom sow the seed of aregatun, alyssum, anterrhenum, African daisy, balsam, candytuft, cockscomb, cosmos, nasturtium, mignonette, verbena, phlox drummondi, zinnias, marigold and poppy. The seedlings of the tender plants may be set out the last of the month. Shade the plants with boards, shingles, paper or strawberry baskets, especially if the sun is high. Never use flower pots for shading, for there is always the danger of scalding the plant. Transplant in the evenings or on dull days. Water the plants as soon as they are set in the open. If the pot seedlings of sweet peas are transplanted to the open begin to cultivate as soon as possible. Do not feed seedlings liquid manure or nitrate of soda. Allow the plant to become established before feeding.

**Bulbs** Tuberous begonias, canna, caladium, calla, dahlia, and tuberose may be planted out this month. Gladioli bulbs planted this month will bloom in September. The soil for all bulbs should be rich in humus and nitrogen. Start to cultivate as soon as the tops appear above the surface. Stake and tie such plants early to prevent breakage by wind. Never use fresh manure for bulbs. Feed a little liquid manure as soon as the plants are well formed.

**Lupins and Rhododendrons** Do not use lime on the soil of lupins or rhododendrons. The lime causes the plants to sicken and in some cases kills them. The bloom is always poor and weak.

**Stocky Plants** On transplanting anterrhenum, coleus and other plants of a similar nature, pinch back the leader bud, and this will cause the plant to branch and become stocky.

**Carnations** Pinch back and remove all field carnations. Cultivate freely and spray with Bordeaux if any sign of rust appears.

**Roses** Start feeding the hybrid perpetuals with liquid manure. Mulch the plants heavily with a compost of decayed manure and decayed sod chopped up fine. As soon as the buds swell watch for aphis (green fly), and spray with whale oil soap, Black Leaf 40, or dust with tobacco dust. Rose nicotine or sulpho-tobacco soap are both good checks in controlling the aphides. One-half ounce of arsenate of lead to five gallons of water will control the rose beetle.

### The Greenhouse

**Easter Plants** Azaleas should be packed in peat and set out in some protected place. Pots of rhododendron should be plunged out-of-doors. Hyacinths and tulips which have been forced may be dried back a little and planted six inches deep in the garden. The bloom the following spring will be small.

**Roses** The resting plants should be free from leaves. Ventilate freely. New benches to be used for roses later should be white-washed. The solution of lime should be fairly thick, containing some carbolic acid and sulfur mixed in. This will keep in check insects and disease. Scatter dry lime under the benches. Turn over the rose compost heap and chop up the sod fine. Pot plants should be kept moist and free from bloom.

**Cyclamens** Shift the cyclamens into five-inch pots and plunge in the cold frames in a shaded place. Water freely.

**Fern and Palm house** All foliage plants should be washed with whale oil soap and sprayed with clear water previous to placing out of doors in June. Cut back the Adiantum ferns and apply a little lime to the soil. Sprinkle lime and salt freely under the benches to keep the slug in check. Keep the house moist. White-wash the glass. Ventilate freely on clear days.

**General Advice** Ventilate early and close before sundown. Do not have the plants or walks moist late in the day. Do not let the fire go out. Be prepared for a cold night. Harden off all bedding plants. Wash all pots before storing them away. Soak them in water over night and use a piece of coarse burlap in washing them. Soil taken from the greenhouse should be scattered in the garden, but never applied to the compost heap. Remove hose from faucet when not in use, and keep it straight on the side of the walk. Water plants thoroly before transplanting.

### The Vegetables

**Salads and Greens** Feed the head lettuce and parsley a little liquid manure. Do not wet the foliage with this food. Cultivate freely. Fill in all misses with radish or Grand Rapids lettuce. Keep the garden ranks well filled.

**Hardy Vegetables** It is good practice to buy such plants as Early Jersey Wakefield cabbage, Early Snowball cauliflower, Big Boston or Early May King lettuce, Golden Self-Blanching celery, Long Island Improved brussels sprouts, and plant them out. Insist on healthy, stocky plants, free from disease and insects. Do not buy plants where the leaves are sickly and yellow. Keep a succession of planting peas, carrots, beets, etc., every two weeks.

**Late Potatoes** Plant the main crop of potatoes. Plant five to six inches deep in a light soil and do not hill. In a clay soil the tuber must be planted nearer the surface. Spray the early crop the last of this month if sufficiently grown with Bordeaux mixture plus arsenate of lead.

## Pebbles

Culture is got from books—usually check-books.—*Buffalo News.*

Teacher—John, your mouth is open.
John—I know it. I opened it.—*Octopus.*

I see you have a new girl. Who is she?
That's not a new one. That's just the old one repainted.—*Princeton Tiger.*

Speed Cop—How's everything in court this morning, Judge?
The Judge—Oh, fine, fine.—*Stanford Chaparral.*

A dumb man once picked up a wheel and spoke.
A blind man once picked up a hammer and saw.—*Boys' Life.*

Jack—I don't think I should get a zero on this exam.
Prof—Correct, but that's the lowest mark I know of.—*Froth.*

Old Dear—What relation is a doormat to a doorstep?
Old Thing—Dunno, what's answer?
Old Dear—A step-father.—*Orange Peel.*

I hear your father is ill.
Yes, quite ill.
Contagious disease?
I hope not; the doctor says it's overwork.—*Puppet.*

Lunatic (entering asylum with attendant)—Is that clock right?
Attendant—Yes, quite right.
Lunatic—Then what on earth is it doing here?—*North China Standard.*

The girlie saw without dismay
Her water-wings float far away.
She simply smiled and said with poise:
"Oh, well, you know buoys will be buoys."
—*Sun Dial.*

With deep respect I doff my hat
To Ipswitch Oswald Parr.
He says that he can fall asleep
When in a sleeping car.
—*Sun Dial.*

A Chink by the name of Ching Ling.
Fell off a street-car, bing-bing.
The con turned his head, to the passengers said—
"The car's lost a washer, ding ding."
—*The Drexard.*

The inspector was examining the class in geography, and addressing a small boy in the back row, he asked:
"Now, sonny! Would it be possible for your father to walk around the earth?"
"No sir!" replied the boy, promptly.
"Why not?" asked the inspector.
"Because he fell down and broke his leg yesterday."—*New York Globe.*

A farmer had come up to town for a few days. Before he started he had promised to bring his daughter a present, so he went into a jeweler's shop and said to the assistant: "I want a pair of earrings, cheap, but pretty."
"Yes, sir," said the jeweler; "you want something loud, I suppose?"
"Well, I don't mind if one of them is a little loud," replied the farmer. "My girl is slightly deaf in one ear."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

I love to soak my cookies in my tea,
I love to dip my cigarettes in rum,
I slumber well upon fromage de Brie,
I love to elongate my chewing gum;
I love to lop my sundaes when they're soft,
Ripe olives with raw onions I adore,
I love to toss my caviar aloft
And snap it ere it tumbles to the floor;
Loud music spoils my appetite for soup,
I have a flair for drinking tepid beer,
I love to make an oyster loop the loop—
And yet some people think my tastes are queer.—*Orange Peel.*




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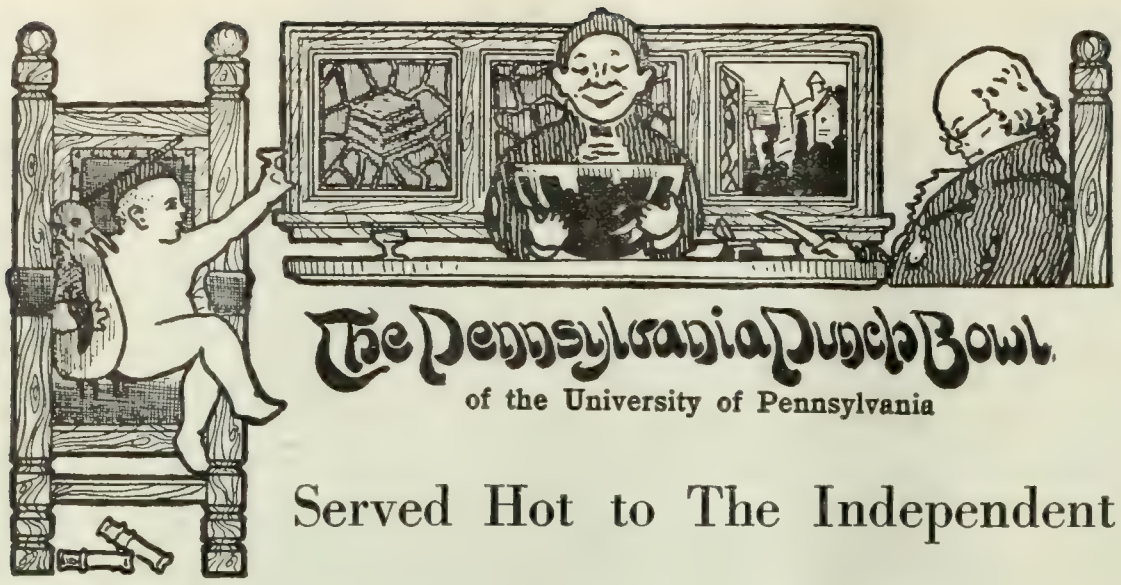
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# Served Hot to The Independent

## Collegiate Viewpoint

There's a heavenly sensation
  Coming somewhere from above,
And the wise man calls it passion,
  And the stupid name it love.

The wise man says it's senseless
  And the foolish say he lies,
But in my own opinion
  It is folly to be wise.

—♠—



"BARE-BACK RIDERS"

—♠—

## Literally Speaking

*When a fellow puts a few lines of foolish verse together, so that there is some sort of harmony of sound, and so forth—*
*That's a rhyme.*

*When he follows the same plan except that he takes some serious theme, expresses himself in flowery language, and so forth—*
*That's a poem.*

*When, according to Webster, he employs his words to "portray real life by means of characters depicted," and so forth—*
*That's a novel.*

*But! When, on some lovely evening, into the ears of a charming maiden, he pours beautiful thoughts, and so forth—*
*That's a long story!*

—♠—

## A Harbinger of the Sea

All was calm and peaceful down by the placid sea. Hardly a ripple disturbed the quiet peacefulness of all. I cast my eyes out over the waters in preparation for an enjoyable swim. Not more than a hundred yards from shore I could faintly discern the neck of a bottle bobbing serenely up and down.

I swam out to get it, remembering the thrilling messages that are often carried by these harbingers of the sea. I brought the beer bottle back in. With trembling fingers I pulled out the cork and gazed inside. Yes, there was a note. I could hardly control myself, so excited was I. I pulled out the scrap of paper, yellowed with age, and feverishly spread it before me. I read, "Whoever finds this bottle"—my eyes in my excitement could hardly make out the words—"will find the beer all gone."

—♠—

## After a Year

**The U. S. A. has been prohibited now for thirteen months. And where are we?**

**Every paint store clerk is a bartender and doesn't know it.**

**Varnish is considered a soft drink.**

**The cabarets have begun to serve molasses and wheat cakes. Luxury tax on the molasses.**

**A man's best pal is the flivver that shares its last gallon of gas with him.**

**Medicine has really become a profitable profession.**

**The Democrats have learned that scraps of paper are worth something—if signed by an M. D.**

—♠—

## A League of Rations

Everything the President says goes. He has just been talking to himself.

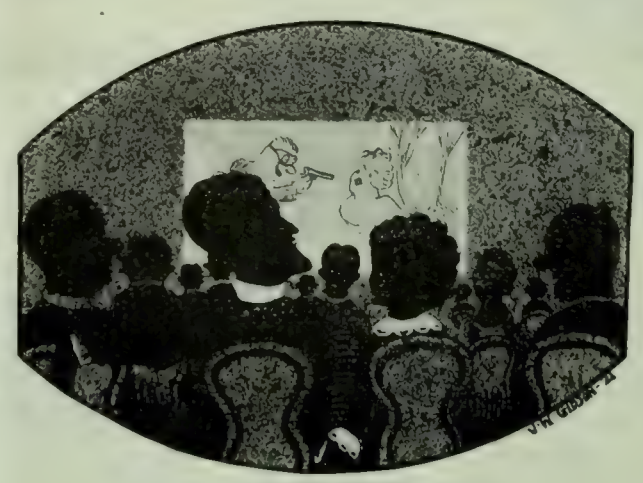
A rolling stone gathers no boss.

The Shortest Short Story: She was loved and lost in one evening.

Here's to the Dorms — where they Proctor and Gamble.

Cursed be the cheese that binds.

When responsibility rests on a man's shoulders in day-time, he likes a feminine head there at night.




MODERN INCONVENIENCES: THE DRINKING FOUNTAIN

Some persons couldn't wax eloquent even in a candle factory.

The full-dress is the lounge-lizard's long suit.

Woman—a perpetual novelty!

Evening dresses are all figured out beforehand.

The newly forming intercollegiate bridge clubs should have lots of loyal supporters from the engineering students.

A person's train of thought depends upon his station in life.

Things that aren't done in the best circles aren't done on the square, either—but a block dance is.

Most any fellow likes something or other about his best girl. Usually it's his arm.

The percentage of girls who are really chic to the number of girls who look chic when seen from the rear is very, very low.

It often happens that an accomplished person doesn't accomplish much.

—♠—

## A Sure Method

The secret Annabel has heard
She whispered to me in a word,
And said, "Oh! guard it, guard it well!"
I crossed my heart and hoped to die,
And murmured loyally, "Not I!"—
And so you see I cannot tell.

But if the secret interests you
There's just one thing that you can do,
Since I am pledged, and cannot tell—
Go make a date with Annabel.

—♠—

## At The Prom

*Mary had her chaperone*
*Well trained without a doubt,*
*When Mary went inside to dance*
*The chaperone stayed out.*

*And when she came out on the porch*
*Because the room was hot—*
*Well—everywhere that Mary was,*
*That chaperone was not.*

—♠—



ON THE SCENT
HE (SNIFFING)—"DJER KISS?"
SHE—"OH, NOT HERE, HENRY!"

## Me, Too

The editor-in-chief asked me to do something for this page.

"The others are doing stuff typically *Punch Bowl*," he said. "Suppose that you do something typically Independent."

I did.

I handed in my copy two days late.

# Independent Opinions

"The time will come when our people will realize the real service Woodrow Wilson has rendered his country and humanity," said the leading editorial in The Independent of March 5, 1921. And the multitude of letters that poured in endorsing this appreciation of the passing President suggested a significant forerunner of the fulfilment of the prophecy. The comments which we quote below are representative of the attitude of a large number of our readers. Here, for example, is a letter from a Congregational minister:

I want you to know that I was delighted with your editorial on Woodrow Wilson in the issue of March 5. I think that history will vindicate what you wrote. I, a Republican, have been an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Wilson. I believe that this great man and his great plan for international progress have both been assassinated for political expediency.

EDWIN R. GORDON

*Greensboro, Vermont*

And this was written by a man who was a first lieutenant in the A. E. F.:

Every breath you took, and every throb of your mental processes was in tune with mine when you wrote what you did on "Woodrow Wilson, and the service he has rendered his country and humanity."

OLIVER OLSON

*Washington, D. C.*

The following is from a member of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma:

Your article on Wilson's service to his country and humanity is impressive in its prophetic perspective of our time. The repudiation of Wilson is of small consequence, but a deep shadow of remorse will spread over our nation when we awake to realize that we have repudiated the spirit and trend of world democracy.

I am immensely gratified that you have the courage and ability to place yourself against the overwhelming current of misdirected public sentiment.

JEROME DOWD

*Norman, Oklahoma*

The two following letters are from teachers in our public schools:

Permit me to express my appreciation of your article on Woodrow Wilson, in The Independent for March 5. I have read a number of articles on our former President but yours was the most fair and comprehensive of them all. Before the war, during the war, and after the war, you wrote the sanest and best balanced articles of any American I know. Your judgment was right on all problems confronting our country, in my opinion. I hope you will continue to bring before the public the splendid character and achievement of Mr. Wilson. . . . Only thru a League of Nations can the world progress.

ANGA M. BJÖRNSON

*Visalia, California*

May I not express to the Editor of The Independent my sincere appreciation for the manifest fairness and unbiased attitude of the magazine on important public questions?

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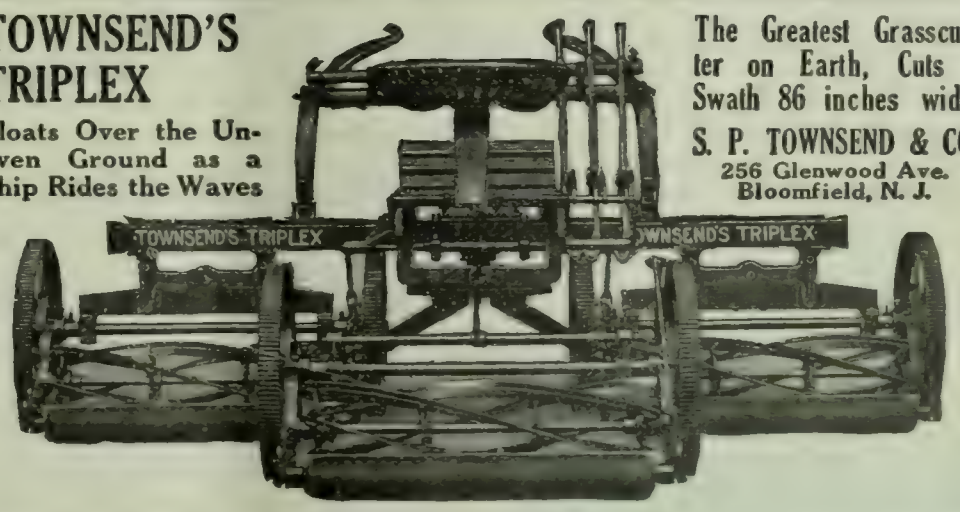
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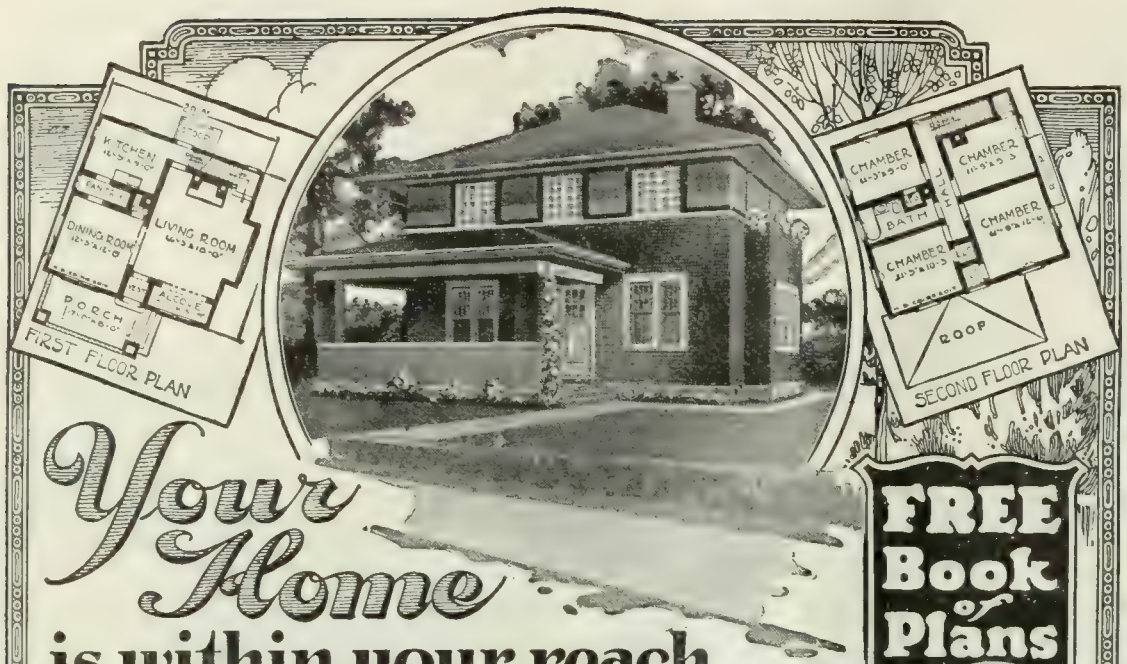
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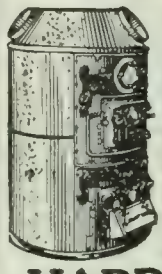
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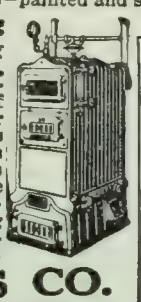
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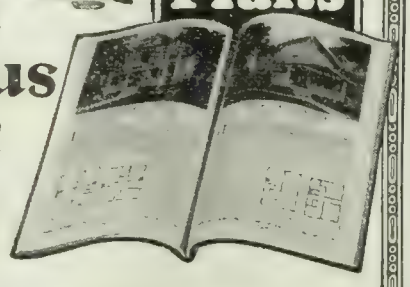
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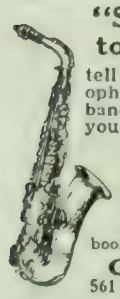
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which makes it of inestimable value as reading material in our public schools.

The article, "Woodrow Wilson," by the Editor, is one of the most accurate appraisements of the man, President and statesman that I, so far, have seen published. And I am grateful that there yet are men, with a large public influence, who rise above and defy the small-minded, bigoted politicians, and give due credit to a man who has tried earnestly, with all that is in him, to save man from his own madness, and deliver humanity from what Sherman called "Hell."

CLAUS S. ASP

*Lewis, Iowa*

The bishop-coadjutor of California sends this commendation:

I have just read your appreciation of President Wilson and cannot forbear writing you a line to tell you how fine and just it seems to me to be. It is not as glowing as some of the tributes but it is the most admirable summary of the solid grounds upon which the final appraisement of Mr. Wilson's work must rest which I have anywhere seen. Thank you for it.

EDWARD L. PARSONS

*San Francisco*

The next is from the former United States Minister to Belgium:

That was a stunning article on Wilson you wrote last week. I was particularly gratified at the justly severe characterization of the action of the Republican Senators under Lodge's leadership as constituting "the worst action of public men," etc., in the history of the country. Germany was encouraged by it to do what she is doing today.

THEODORE MARBURG

*Baltimore, Maryland*

A famous lawyer adds his approval:

I have just read your brilliant eulogy of Woodrow Wilson the Democrat, and I cannot refrain from saying "I thank you."

When Taft and Root responded to the call of the politicians and went back on all they had stood for and evidently believed—you stood out bravely for the right.

I cannot but recall that splendid undying courage of Mr. Wilson who could say "I would rather be defeated in a cause that some day will triumph than triumph in a cause that some day will be defeated."

We count on you to keep that issue before the people and to fight on for that triumph which must come.

CHARLES WELLES GROSS

*Hartford, Connecticut*

And so on thru a long and varied list:

I have felt that later the verdict of students of history would place Wilson among our great statesmen, especially for his international work. Perfect? No, neither are other great men. Naturally I warmly appreciate your article on our ex-President. And I have deeply deplored the action and lack of action of our Senate, with a suffering, starving world hanging on its decisions. I am glad you had courage to express what many must feel.

J. ARDELLE MANN

*Millville, Massachusetts*

I have voted for more Republicans than Democrats for President, but I believe you have spoken history's true verdict on Mr. Wilson.

W. M. DYER

*Sleepy Eye, Minnesota*

One reader is stimulated to a careful consideration of the whole ques-

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tion of Woodrow Wilson's defeat and the American people's attitude toward the League of Nations. We quote only a part of his letter:

I think we are mistaken if we assume that the election last fall was a verdict against the League. I have three brothers and two sisters who voted for Harding and did so because they thought that was really the best and "quickest" way to get into the League. The large vote against Cox was really the result of a combination of all the dissatisfied elements, including almost a solid German vote, these people thinking that perhaps a separate peace would amount to our withdrawal from the Allies, the radical Irish vote, these people being led to believe that the League was a British scheme that would perpetuate British control over the Irish and the money situation with the low prices for corn, hogs, cattle and wheat swung a tremendous vote to Harding as those people thought the time had come for a change.

However, the great underlying principles of the League of Nations strike too deep in the human conscience not to be able to survive a temporary setback. The whole world, the people of the world, are going to demand, sooner or later, some sort of an international concert for the settlement of disputes between nations in order that wars may be done away with and such an association or concert will be based on the same principles as brought forth the present League of Nations.

F. B. MORGAN

*Wagner, South Dakota*

There were hardly enough adverse comments to justify a minority report; however, here is one speaking up for the anti-Wilsonites:

In common with all "Americans" I greatly prefer the Patriotic Lansing to the Neurotic Wilson.

I am on my Indiana farm that has passed down exactly 100 years from primeval forest to its present state in our famity. And Indiana was but five years old when my folks came here—we date back in America to 1656. So you see I do not care for any internationalism nonsense—even to honor Woodrow or brighten his tarnished brass.

JOHN E. HARPER

*Morristown, Indiana*

A Mexican, who has taken one degree in an American university and is now studying here for another, makes the following earnest criticism of Theodore Marburg's proposal for "A Mandate Over Mexico," presented in The Independent of March 19:

Deeds speak louder than words, but in the case of Mexico the echoes of a revolution are much louder to the American people than the fact that not in spite of those upheavals but because of them Mexico has reached a degree of development that she never knew in her days of peace. And so it has become almost a habit on the part of well-meaning Americans to devise different methods whereby the United States could settle the Mexican problem to the benefit of both Mexicans and Americans.

The latest plan comes from Mr. Theodore Marburg, a former ambassador to Belgium, who advocates that the League of Nations give to the United States a mandate over Mexico.

There is a strong probability that the Latin-American nations represented in the League would oppose any plan that places a Hispanic-American country under the protection of the United States, not only on account of the traditional fear of North





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If you do, please keep in mind that it will not be necessary to get your copies ready for the bindery until the end of June. Beginning with the 1921 issues, our publication will be indexed and bound in two volumes instead of four. The index for volume 105, which will cover from January 1st to June 30th, will be printed in July and mailed to the subscribers who requested it as soon as it is off the press. With the changed plan it will be necessary to get copies ready for binding but twice a year, and there will be two bindery bills to pay instead of four. Further than this, it will be more convenient to refer to two volumes instead of four.

American supremacy, but also because none but the people of the United States and England considers Mexico a backward country in need of a mandatory power.

But let us have facts. Only a few weeks ago, a commercial exhibit under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture and Industry of Mexico was giving to the people of New York an example of what Mexicans have done while Americans in this country thought of them as killing one another, eating chile con carne, or at best, sleeping their siesta. In this exhibit we saw everything from beans to bed room sets, lace curtains, toilet articles, cotton and leather goods, shoes, hats, etc.—all of them the product of Mexican soil and Mexican workmanship. The papers did not take the trouble to call the attention of their readers to this aspect of Mexican activities.

We may be perfectly sure that if a brigand had made a few people scream with fear, American newspapers would have issued extras urging the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, and the President's cabinet to hold special session and decide how to settle Mexico "in the name of liberty, humanity and democracy."

And while we are giving facts, why not inform the American people that "Revolutionary, Barbarous Mexico" has now twenty times as many schools as in the time of President Diaz, and that in one state alone there are now 2,400 schools where in 1914 there were 200; that last year Mexico's exports were more than twice as large as her imports; that gold and silver currency have replaced the paper money so freely issued during the revolutions; and that even during the most critical days of our political turmoils Mexican educators and students were touring the United States and Europe in order to carry back to their country the latest ideas in education, industry and agriculture.

Villa himself, the universally hated bandit, in a moment of vision sent fourteen young men to American universities and paid all their expenses for four years. These "silver linings" in our cloudy sky have been hardly noticed.

That Mexico has tremendous problems to solve is only too evident; but so have all the nations of Europe, especially those situated in the central part of the continent, and nobody advocates mandates for them.

The Mexican problem is to be solved thru reform from within and coöperation from without. This will be possible when Americans try to consider Mexican affairs with viewpoint unobscured by the smell of oil and the fever of the scramble for concessions.

CONCHA ROMERO
*Columbia University, New York City*

From a Hungarian now living in New York comes this defense of royalty in answer to the article on "King Charles and Hungary" published in The Independent of April 18:

There was no ruler in the annals of history who bore the welfare of His people closer to his heart than Charles of Hapsburg. His character being noble and sincere, he is King amongst men, by the greatness of His heart as well as by His condition.

The fact is, that we Hungarians *do want Him* to be our King, Ruler and Leader in this hour of despair, and *do worship the very ground where He walks.* We await Him to be the Saviour of His people and today millions of His subjects are praying for His safe return.

I have not the slightest doubt that were it permitted to vote on this issue in Hungary, without any agitation pro or contra, the King would carry an enormous majority.

# The Unplumbed Bible

## By Dean James S. Stevens

### The College of Arts and Science of the University of Maine

One who is teaching English literature to college students has a right to expect a certain fundamental preparation upon which he can build. A study of "Hamlet," "In Memoriam," or the "Intimations of Immortality" should not in college classes be hampered by the necessity of first making the student reasonably familiar with these pieces of literature.

When we come, however, to a study of the English Bible we meet a distinctly different situation. Instead of being prepared to take up the study of the literary form of the various books of the Bible it becomes evident that the students have little or nothing upon which to build the course. A lack of familiarity which would produce a certain degree of shame if it related to Shakespeare seems to bring no discredit upon one's knowledge of literature if it relates to the Bible. This is true not only of students, but, inexplicable as it may seem, of college teachers and even of teachers of literature.

In order to bring about this desired familiarity on the part of classes of college students I selected 751 scripture passages which seem to have a distinct literary value. It is proposed that the members of the class shall be at least exposed to all of these passages.

It was found a somewhat difficult matter to determine just what was meant by the literary value of a passage of scripture. This may depend upon the frequency with which it is quoted in the best literature, or the loftiness of the sentiment it expresses, or its own literary form. If one were asked to select the best short passages from certain of the poets he would be likely to include "God's in His heaven—all's right with the world!" from Browning; "The child is father of the man," from Wordsworth; "The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world," from Tennyson; and "To be, or not to be; that is the question," from Shakespeare.

These illustrations will perhaps assist in making clear the method employed in choosing the scripture passages. Those which have value chiefly as sermon texts or which are conspicuous for their doctrinal teaching were eliminated. From the complete list of passages eighty-six were selected which seemed to be conspicuously outstand-

ing in their literary value. Copies of this list of passages were sent to a number of professors of English or Biblical literature in colleges and universities and to others whom I knew to be especially familiar with the Bible and to have a good sense of literary value.

These people were asked to check once the twenty-five passages and twice the ten passages which seemed to them especially noteworthy. Selections were made by forty-one different people and if they read this article I trust they will consider that they are cordially thanked for their courtesy. They represented members of the faculties of the following institutions: Harvard, Yale, Williams, Brown, Tufts, Boston, Colgate, Rochester, Knox, Albion, Pennsylvania State College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Miami, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Mt. Holyoke, Franklin and Marshall, Leland Stanford, Syracuse, Union, Swarthmore, Trinity, the Universities of Michigan, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Maine, Kansas, Wisconsin and North Carolina. Each passage which was counted among the best twenty-five was given the rank of one and each included among the best ten a rank of two. By this system of valuation the twenty-five passages which received the most votes are the following:

The valley of the shadow of death, Ps. 23.4..54
They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind, Hos. 8.7.....46
Man shall not live by bread alone, Matt. 4.4..46
They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, Is. 4.2 .....46
Am I my brother's keeper? Gen. 4.9.....41
A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, Matt. 13.57 .....37
No man can serve two masters, Matt. 6.24..35
The wages of sin is death, Rom. 6.23.....35
Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things which are God's, Matt. 22.21 .....33
Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, Ps. 8.5 .....31
Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, Ex. 21.24.....30
The days of our years are three-score years and ten, Ps. 90.10.....30
A little child shall lead them, Is. 11.6.....30
By their fruits ye shall know them, Matt. 7.20 .....30
He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city, Prov. 16.32 .....29
There is no new thing under the sun, Ecc. 1.9 .....29
Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days, Ecc. 11.1...27
Ye are the salt of the earth, Matt. 5.13.....27
A land flowing with milk and honey, Ex. 3.8 and 17.....26
The stars in their courses fought against Sisera, Jud. 5.20 .....26
Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Jer. 13.23.....26
The stone which the builders rejected the same is become the head of the corner, Matt. 21.42 .....26
If a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand, Mark 3.25 .....26
As a drop in the bucket, Is. 40.15.....25
How are the mighty fallen! II Sam. 1.19...24

It would be difficult to determine the general principles of selection which underlie the list of passages chosen. "The valley of the shadow of death" lends itself readily as a quotable passage in literature. Its use in "Pilgrim's Progress" is especially noteworthy. It has moreover in itself a striking literary charm. "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind," was doubtless chosen because of its profound philosophical meaning. Readers of this article would probably be inclined to select a very different list from the one given here. No one, however, will deny their literary charm.


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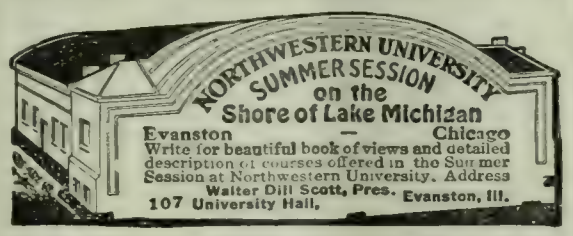
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## Something New in American Ports

### By Felix Riesenberg

Editor of *The National Marine*

The Great War has brought an economic revolution to America. Today we are no longer a debtor nation but a creditor nation, surrounded by a high wall of exchange. Save from dire necessity, foreigners cannot afford to buy freely of American goods, but must dispose of their goods to us in ever increasing volume to restore the normal balance of trade. And to facilitate this balance we must take their goods.

But—how about American industry? How will a flood of foreign-made goods affect the marketing of our own products?

The answer is the employment of our war-built merchant marine to redistribute these goods over the world.

But it would not do to take the product of German factories and dispose of it directly to other foreigners. Practical difficulties stand in the way of carrying shipload after shipload of foreign goods to customers abroad without first landing them on our shores. And the landing, inspecting and paying of duty on such foreign goods thru the regular channel of the customs presents further difficulties.

The solution to the problem lies in the establishment of free ports at certain points on our seaboard and perhaps at such a port as the island of St. Thomas in the direct line of trade routes from Europe to the Panama Canal.

The free port, of which Hamburg afforded the most striking example in pre-war days, consists of an area adjacent to tidewater and fitted with all facilities for the rapid discharge and loading of ships. In such a port no duties are collected. Warehouse facilities are provided and the packing, assorting, mixing and blending of products is carried on, and sometimes, as at Hamburg, manufacturing plants are established.

Already dozens of bills have been presented in Congress for establishing free ports at various points. The idea seems to prevail that a free port will give someone something for nothing. But like any other large-scale business a free port demands considerable outlay before operations can begin. In Hamburg the free port consists of many stone quays along which steamers can lie. Discharging cranes lift the cargo directly from the vessels' hold to the warehouse floors and these, in turn, are connected by railroad with other parts of the free port area and the country without. Dolphins, or mooring posts, are provided in the basins for vessels lying in the stream and bunker fuel is supplied directly at the port. Shipyards and repair plants are included in the port area and numerous exporting industries throve there before the war.

Many readers will see an analogy between the free port and the bonded warehouse; and, indeed, a free port is

nothing more than a bonded warehouse indefinitely extended. In a free port merchants may establish their sample and consignment stocks and all its activities are free from the control of customs officials, who have no other duty than to see that business is confined to the legal limits of the port.

It might be thought that a free port would injure the trade of the regular ports of entry, but as a matter of fact goods imported for use in the country or exported from it would not seek the free port. Aside from docking and port fees and warehouse rentals, the nation would gain in the facility afforded to its merchants in doing business abroad, in providing cargoes for American ships on both outward and homeward passages, and in bringing to the United States supplies of raw materials needed by our people.

## The Real Yellow Peril

(*Continued from page 476*)

an honorable record and there is no reason to fear, in case of another war, that they will not be found shoulder to shoulder with other American sons, doing their bit for Old Glory, in spite of the scant encouragement given them by the political clique that now holds California so firmly in its grasp.

Senator Phelan discovered one menace in the Japanese children; their number. He charges that "Japanese women give birth to a child every year." According to Governor Stephens's report the Japanese woman of child-bearing age gives birth to a child on an average of once in four and a half years. The birth rate is not so high as in the rural districts of several American states.

Japanese foreign policy has not met with the approval of the American people, but her aggressions in China, Manchuria and Korea should be judged by the example set by European Powers whose conquests in Asia and Africa make Japan's puny efforts at empire building seem child's play. In spite of her mistakes, which have been no greater than those of other nations, there is a strong progressive and democratic spirit in Japan. Every act of injustice and every false and misleading statement on the platform or in the press in America tends to strengthen the Japanese militarists and to weaken the growth of democracy.

In case of war the United States with its superior resources would doubtless be the victor. But who would profit from the victory? Would the humiliation of Japan and the destruction of her government, the only stable and organized native government in Asia, solve the Far Eastern question? Is it desirable that the white race, outnumbered by the so-called yellow races, alienate the only nation of the Orient which has shown capacity for adopting our Western civilization?

It is safe to say that the progress of the world depends upon the issue of peace or war between America and Japan.

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American citizen is to come out openly for suppression of war talk, for suppression of the agitators and alarmists, and for the enactment and enforcement of laws for the protection of all aliens without discrimination, to the end that America may deserve and get the respect of the nations of the world. When she has done this, her councils will be heeded and her example will be followed without the necessity of an appeal to arms.

America must clean her own backyard.

*Los Angeles, California*

## Two Dimensions vs. Three

(*Continued from page 477*)

opinion will look with increasing doubt on naval expenditures for capital ships. Taxpayers yearn for any port in the present storm when they realize, as Americans more and more clearly do, that tho our revenues in the present year are incomparably greater than they have ever been in the history of the nation, still 93 per cent of all that revenue goes, in the present fiscal year, to pay for past and future wars, and only 3 per cent—three cents of every taxpayer's dollar—goes to normal governmental expenditures, and only one cent to scientific research for the upbuilding of agriculture, commerce and education.

It follows, then, however accidental the result of this battle may be, that public opinion and Congressional opinion will rear up on its heels if five-thousand-dollar, ten-thousand-dollar and twenty-thousand-dollar airplanes seem able to blast out of the water ships such as the six battle cruisers we are soon to have, costing $39,000,000 each, six battleships costing $38,000,000, along with many others.

The event, then, is of more than sportive importance!

If the airmen win, conclusively, very likely they will have induced a halt in the competitive international struggle to arm competitively. At least, alteration in plans and purposes will be in order.

At least, too, a prodigious argument will be provided in favor of a united Air Department analogous to the War Department for land operations and the Navy Department for water operations. That, of course, has been the immediate issue, and that, achieved, will mean in the end a ministry of national defense, with an Air Department, War Department, and Navy Department subordinate thereto.

The airmen's victory will mean in all directions vast stimulation of aviation. And that in turn will mean not only growing recognition of the fact that America, with its great distances, its freedom from interfering boundary lines across which the airman may not pass, is the natural and native home of airmen and their craft. It will mean also, as you see when you ponder the question more, the restoration, in a sense, of our old time isolation and security.

*Washington, D. C.*

## Good News for the Farmer

What may prove to be a revolutionary development in the fertilizer industry of the world has been reached by the Bureau of Soils, United States Department of Agriculture, which has just solved the problem of extracting phosphoric acid from phosphate rock by heating mixtures of this mineral, sand, and coke to a smelting temperature in a fuel-fed furnace. The new process has been worked out at the department's experimental plant at Arlington, Virginia.

The phosphate used for fertilizer in the United States comes largely from the deposits of rock in Florida. The established method for producing soluble phosphate has consisted in treating the rock with sulphuric acid. In practice, a quantity of sulphuric acid equal to the quantity of rock is used, and the resulting product which is known as acid phosphate contains only one-half the percentage of phosphoric acid contained in the rock.

The United States Department of Agriculture has been experimenting for some time along the lines of freeing the phosphoric acid by means of a high degree of heat. The first work was done in an electric furnace, which was thought to be required to generate the high degree of heat necessary, about 1600° C. or 2900° F. At this temperature mixtures of phosphate rock, sand, and coke were reduced to a molten slag which was tapped off at intervals, the phosphoric acid escaping in the form of fumes which were afterward collected.

It soon became evident that this process would be prohibitively expensive with an electric furnace, except in localities where electric power could be obtained at a very low cost, about $25 per horsepower a year, and the department therefore turned its attention to the possibilities of using crude oil, the cheapest fuel obtainable in the vicinity of the large phosphate-rock deposits of Florida.

The practical value of the new development is indicated by the fact that, in the experimental runs at Arlington, the department chemists were able to recover a 64 per cent phosphoric acid (47 per cent $P_2O_5$) as against the 16 per cent product ordinarily obtained by the sulphuric-acid process. By passing ammonia gas into this phosphoric acid, solid ammonium phosphate, a very concentrated material containing two valuable fertilizer ingredients, results. This material can stand heavy transportation and handling charges. It is also practicable to mix the phosphoric acid with phosphate rock in such proportions as to give a product containing 50 per cent of soluble phosphoric acid. This product is similar in its properties to ordinary 16 per cent acid phosphate, is convenient to handle, and may be used by an intelligent farmer who has the technical knowledge to reduce the quantity placed upon the soil, and to guard against direct contact with seed.





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# A Number of Things

## By Edwin E. Slosson

Margot Asquith's autobiography has been criticized for various reasons, but the most original comes from the Libraries Committee of West Ham, England, who refused to buy a copy because it was "dull and uninteresting."

***

The reaction time of the human race is very slow. It takes 150 years or more after a good idea is suggested for it to be generally accepted and put into practice. Nowadays all live teachers in civics, geography and history are using periodicals in the classroom, but this is not such a new idea as most of them think. The value of this method was recognized as early as 1740 by John Clarke, who in his "An Essay Upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools" advocates teaching of geography and history in addition to classics and suggests:

By that time boys are fit to be entered in *Greek* or sooner, it may be convenient to bring them acquainted with the *Public News*, by making them read the *Evening Post* or some other *newspaper* constantly. These the master may at first read along with them, explaining, as occasion offers, the Terms of War, and whatever else he apprehends they do not understand.

Congressman Mann in discussing the postal bill in the House of Representatives last winter quite rightly said:

We spend every year in the United States hundreds of millions of dollars in primary education and a very large amount in college education for the youths. I am not sure but that the advertisements are fully as educational as the literary news articles in these publications.

But now that the educational influence of journalistic literature is universally recognized the next step is to improve its quality. Some newspapers and magazines educate the wrong way and not every teacher or reader exercises sufficient discrimination in his selection.

***

"The days of romance are not over," said the lady across the table from me. "Did you ever read anything more thrilling than Caruso's defense of Fiume?"

***

The old custom of strolling about the cemetery reading the inscriptions on the tombstones has fallen into desuetude, chiefly because epitaphs have lost their pep. Nowadays the inscriptions give nothing but names and dates, the bare bones of a life. But in the days of our forefathers they used to be edifying, instructive, and interesting, sometimes even amusing. One would go a long way to read a character sketch as graphic as that upon a stone in the graveyard of Horsley-Down Church, Cumberland, and published in *The New Statesman*:

Here lie the bodies
Of THOMAS BOND and MARY his wife.
She was temperate, chaste and charitable;
BUT
She was proud, peevish and passionate.
She was an affectionate wife, and a tender mother;
BUT
Her husband and child, whom she loved,
Seldom saw her countenance without a disgusting frown
Whilst she received visitors, whom she despised with an
Endearing smile.
Her behaviour was discreet towards strangers;
BUT
Independent in her family.
Abroad, her conduct was influenced by good breeding;
BUT
At home, by ill temper.
She was a professed enemy to flattery,
And was seldom known to praise or commend;
BUT
The talents in which she principally excelled,
Were difference of opinion and discovering flaws and imperfections.
She was an admirable economist,
And, without prodigality,
Dispensed plenty to every person in her family;
BUT
Would sacrifice their eyes to a farthing candle.
She sometimes made her husband happy with her good qualities;
BUT
Much more frequently miserable—with her many failings:
In-so-much that in thirty years cohabitation he often lamented
That maugre all her virtues,
He had not, in the whole, enjoyed two years of matrimonial comfort.
AT LENGTH
Finding that she had lost the affections of her husband
As well as the regard of her neighbours,
Family disputes having been divulged by servants,
She died of vexation, July 20, 1768,
Aged 48 years.
Her worn-out husband survived her four months and two days,
And departed this life, Nov. 28, 1768,
In the 54th year of his age.
WILLIAM BOND, brother to the deceased, erected this stone.
As a *weekly monitor*, to the surviving wives of this parish,
That they may avoid the infamy
Of having their memories handed to posterity
With a PATCHWORK character.

***

It was very inconsiderate of the military authorities to select for the decisive battle of the Great War a town whose name none but a born Frenchman could rightly pronounce. The Sydney, Australia, *Bulletin* gives an instance of the trouble it creates:

It was after the Flanders business that she came into our ward—a tall, buxom matron in gray, with an unfashionable hat and a graceful carriage. She was unannounced and unescorted, and she had a trick of repeating the last word of our answer to her question, which was the usual thing. "On which front did you get

your wound?" she asked Lance-corporal Waddy. "Wipers, missus," was the reply. "At Eep'r," she rejoined, giving the word the correct French and Walloon sound. then novel to us and a source of mirth. "And where were you hurt?"—this to Private Hooker. "At Ee-per, mum." "Ah! Eep'r. And you, young man," proceeding to the bedside of Sergeant-major Pipeclay, who prided himself on his Parisian accent. "At Ee-pray, madam," replied Sergeant-major Pipeclay. "Eep'r," the lady said. Distributing "Eep'rs" right and left she paced into the next ward, and an excited Sister came fluttering in. "Did you see the Queen, boys?" she asked. "Did you see the Queen?" "Wot queen?" demanded Lance-corporal Waddy. "The Queen, our Queen, the Queen of England!" responded Sister; "she's wearing a gray costume and she's just gone out of the ward." "Blime!" ejaculated the hard case of the establishment, "it must ha' been the ole girl with the 'iccups!"

***

One of the most poignant bits of war-psychology is that expressed in the following octave by Henry Baerlein, an Australian poet attached to the Chasseurs Alpins, better known as the "Blue Devils":

I can remember
Very, very well
How the man of Baden
Reeled and fell.
Fell, as I killed him,
Down in the dirt,
And I was fearing
That he was hurt.

***

The most perplexing problem that confronts the baggage agent as well as the custom house inspector is to classify the unclassified. The railroad man who ruled that "pigs is pigs" even when they come from Guinea made the reputation of one of America's most popular humorists. An English porter, called upon to decide whether the old lady who carried a tortoise on the car should be required to pay a dog fare, delivered this verdict: "Cats is dogs, and rabbits is dogs and parrots is dogs. But this 'ere tortoise is a hinsec' and there won't be no charge."

The judicial decisions in these celebrated cases have been supplemented and surpassed by the ruling of the London Underground Railway (what we call Subway) that a typewriter is a bicycle. A member of the *Times* staff carrying a portable typewriter to the office was held up and forced to buy a bicycle ticket at a cost of 2s. 4d., which is about fourteen times what his own fare cost him. The fact that his pen arm had been so badly damaged by a German shell that he had to use a typewriter did not let him off. A workman can carry his bag of tools free on the Underground, but an editor can't carry a Corona!

But this is merely an instance of legal hysteresis, which is even worse in England than in America. It was not many years ago that British law required that an automobile on a road must always be preceded by a man carrying a red flag. And British courts still require that a woman who wants a divorce must sue for the opposite, *i. e.*, for restitution of conjugal rights.


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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

### I. The Real Yellow Peril.

1. Imagine that you are preparing to take part in a public debate on the subject that is the basis of the article. Write that part of the debate in which you take up and refute the arguments that your opponents are likely to present. State your opponent's views very clearly. Then give a sufficient number of points to establish what you believe to be the truth.
2. Tell exactly what is meant by "yellow journalism." How does the spirit of "yellow journalism" sometimes appear in school compositions? What steps can you take to avoid that spirit in writing school compositions?
3. What are some of the causes of exaggeration and of misstatement? What results are likely to follow?
4. Write an original short story in which you narrate a series of interesting events, concerning either individuals or nations, that might be brought about by the sort of misstatements named in the article.
5. Compare the amount of exports and imports in our trade with Japan with the amount of exports and imports between England and the American colonies as given by Burke in his "Speech on Conciliation."
6. Define in full the words, "Intelligence, Industry, and Thrift." Tell why it is necessary for every good citizen to have all three characteristics.
7. Consult an encyclopedia or a United States history for information concerning Admiral Perry's Japanese expedition. Write an original short story in which you make use of the information you obtain. Make your story center around an American boy or girl.
8. What is meant by "arrogant superiority of race"? Why is that feeling distinctly anti-American?
9. Summarize what the article says about the character of the Japanese in California.

### II. Two Dimensions vs. Three.

1. Tell in what respects the opening sentence is exceedingly effective.
2. Imagine that a tramp, or a stowaway, or a mischievous boy hides on one of the old German warships just before it sets out for the experiment that the article says is to take place. Write, in that person's own words, a narrative of what occurs. Give your story every indication of reality and of actual emotion.
3. Tell what important changes may be brought about by the experimental battle.

### III. A Number of Things.

1. Read the second item about old-time schools. Imagine yourself with all your present information spending a day in one of those old schools, as Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee spent time in the days of King Arthur. Tell the story of your experiences in such a way that you will emphasize the difference between the past and the present.

### IV. A House Built of Paper.

1. In a short exposition tell the advantages of a paper house.
2. Write a short, entertaining story based on an imaginary visit to the paper house. In your story make use of the details given in the article.

### V. A Little of Everything.

1. Read "A Harnesser of Boy Power." Write a somewhat similar article concerning a school coach, or any good friend of young people. Give your article the same appreciative spirit that characterizes the printed article.

### VI. How to Build Utopias.

1. Consult an encyclopedia, or "The Warner Library of the World's Best Literature" for information concerning More's "Utopia," Plato's "Republic," and Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Tell in what ways the books are alike and in what ways they are different.
2. Summarize the criticisms of the Utopias that have been proposed.
3. Explain in full the six necessities for a satisfactory Utopia.
4. Show that the United States approaches the ideals mentioned by Mr. Slosson.
5. Explain the following sentence: "Utopia must beware the fate of the Lotus Eaters." Read Tennyson's poem entitled, "The Lotus Eaters."

## History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

### I. Immigration — The Real Yellow Peril. "No Dumping Here!"

1. Outline Mr. Parker's argument against anti-Japanese legislation.
2. On what ground does Mr. Parker explain the increase in the number of Japanese in America? What advantage does he find to compensate for this?
3. What does the article on "The Real Yellow Peril" tell about the Americanization of the Japanese children born in the United States?
4. What is the purpose of the immigration bill? What countries will be most affected by it?
5. Why has there been so slight an increase in the foreign born population of the United States during the last ten years? What nationalities bulk most largely in the foreign-born population of this country.
6. The question of Japanese immigration and of European immigration are both, at bottom, questions of "assimilation." Think it over and consider what tests of "assimilation" you would apply in distinguishing between desirable and undesirable immigration. Is race an insuperable barrier? Is the learning of the English language the most important factor? What is the American standard of living? What social customs and traditions are essential to Americanism? What peoples of the Old World are, in your opinion, most easily assimilated to our American civilization? Can any immigrants contribute elements of positive value to raise the level of American culture?

### II. Law Enforcement — Our Moral Countenance.

1. Why do so few murders and other serious crimes lead to convictions in this country? Is it due in your opinion to defects in the courts, inefficiency in the police, a wrong popular sentiment, or to the mixture of races and nationalities in the big towns which makes detective work difficult? Do you think that our lax enforcement of law is partly responsible for the custom of lynching?
2. Do you agree with Professor Giddings that the American attitude toward criminals is too indulgent?

### III. Reparations — Pay! — The Appeal to Caesar.

1. What are the immediate demands of the Allies on Germany? What are their demands for future payment of reparations?
2. What is the latest German offer?
3. Why do you think did the Germans appeal to the United States to mediate in the reparations dispute?
4. What was the position taken by Secretary Hughes?
5. Prepare a brief for debate on the question, Resolved, That the United States should take an active part in the negotiations concerning Germany's indemnity debt to the Allies.

### IV. Ireland—Lloyd George on Ireland.

1. What is Premier Lloyd George's defense of his Irish policy?
2. Do you think the historical parallel he draws between his position and that of President Lincoln is a sound one? Can you think of any points in which the two cases are not parallel?

### V. Austria—Tirol Votes to Join Germany.

1. Look up Tirol (sometimes spelled Tyrol) on a map. Find out what you can about the country and the people.
2. Why do the Tirolese want to join Germany? Do you think they should be allowed to or not? Give reasons for your answer.

### VI. The Colombia Question — Colombia Treaty Ratified.

1. Review what you know about the circumstances under which the United States acquired the Panama Canal route without the consent of Colombia.

### VII. The Rent Laws—Rent Regulation in the Courts

1. What was the line of argument of the Supreme Court in upholding the rent laws passed by Congress and by the New York legislature? On what grounds did the minority of the Court object to the laws? Does a bare majority of the Supreme Court suffice to establish the constitutionality of a law?
2. Show why the rent law decision is important in extending the power of legislation in the public interest over the right of private property.

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## Pebbles

"Speaking of bathing in famous springs," said the tramp to the tourist, "I bathed in the spring of '86."—*Orange Peel.*

Mary—I suppose your father will be all unstrung when he hears about your exams.
Jack—No, I wired him last night.—*Columbia Jester.*

Miss Bean—My father saw your father steal our gate last night.
Miss Bohn—Why didn't he say something to my old man about it?
Miss Bean—'Cause he was afraid your father might take offense.—*Virginia Reel.*

The Man—Please come out in the garden with me.
The Girl—Oh, no, I mustn't go out without a chaperone.
The Man—But we don't need one.
The Girl—Then I don't want to go.—*London Opinion.*

A drunkard of long standing has been reformed by an operation which removed a bone that pressed against the brain. The Detroit *News* also reports a number of cures effected by the removal of a brass rail that was pressing against the foot.—*Kansas City Star.*

A Frenchman learning English said to his tutor: "English is a queer language. What does this sentence mean: 'Should Mr. Noble, who sits for this constituency, consent to stand again and run he will in all probability have a walkover?'"—*The Watchman-Examiner.*

"Gee, no," explained the pretty cash girl, "I wouldn't marry you if you was the last man on earth. I don't want nothin' to do with you. Is that plain English?"
"Well, your language is plain enough," said the mortified man, "but it isn't English."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

Roomie 1—Last night I was out with May when the car broke down six miles from home and I had to spend the rest of the evening repairing it. What would you have done?
Roomie 2—The same thing you did, only I wouldn't have lied about it.—*Cornell Widow.*

The Senator was back home, looking after his political fences, and was asking the minister about some of his old acquaintances.
"How's old Mr. Jones?" he inquired. "Will I be likely to see him today?"
"You'll never see Mr. Jones again," said the minister. "Mr. Jones has gone to heaven."—*The Non-Partisan Leader.*

An Englishman, a Scotsman and an Irishman were indulging in sporting reminiscences.
"The closest race I ever saw was a yacht race," said the Englishman, "in which one of the boats that had been recently painted won by the breadth of the coat of paint."
"The closest race I ever saw," declared the Scotsman, "was one in which a horse, stung by a bee, won by the hight of the swelling on his nose."
"The closest race I ever saw," said the Irishman, "was the Scotch."—*New York Globe.*

## Remarkable Remarks

HENRY FORD—The worst is over.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS—We genuflect to none.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW—I have faith in tomorrow.

GRANTLAND RICE—The universe is replete with bunk.

W. J. BRYAN—The nations are rushing towards bankruptcy.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—They can never get a good picture of me.

R.R. VICE-PRESIDENT E. E. BUCKLAND—This nation was not built by eight-hour men.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—There are few things so important as the selection of a wife.

MRS. LYDIG HOYT—It is fine to wake up in the morning feeling you have something to do that day.

HELEN ROWLAND—Most proposals are so unromantic that half the married women can't remember how or when they happened.

DR. B. F. REA—When the styles of coats are long, I have mine made long. I keep in style by cutting off the tails one inch annually.

## Opening Nights

*The Sacrifice*—a seriously intended play which attains only the burlesque. The time dates back to '76; Benedict Arnold is featured; he deserts the heroine and the plot hinges on how she was revenged. (Greenwich Village Theater.)

*The Play Boy of the Western World*, by John Millington Synge, is presented by the New York Repertory Theater, which gives an admirable interpretation of the Irish play that caused riots when it was presented some years ago. (Bramhall Playhouse.)

*Dream Street*, feebly accompanied by a phonograph, differs from *Dream Street* served plain only in being a little worse. The canned dialog fails entirely to create the illusion that the lines come from the actors, and consequently is only in the way. A D. W. Griffith picture. (New York Town Hall.)

Walter Hampden, in *Hamlet* as in the rest of his Shakespeare repertory, does not create a part so much as expound, lucidly, intelligently, and with a sense of their poetry, Shakespeare's great self-sufficient lines. It is a refreshing contribution to present-day Shakespeare performance. (The Broadhurst Theater.)

The Theater Guild has scored another important success in its production of Franz Molnar's *Liliom*, a genuinely worthwhile blend of sentiment, fantasy and humor. Joseph Schildkraut and Eva Le Gallienne in the leading roles set a high standard of acting which the rest of the cast maintains. But chief honors go to Frank Reicher as director of the piece. (Garrick Theater.)



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*Underwood & Underwood*

## Wages Come Down in "the Basic Industry"

**On May 16, 150,000 steel workers employed by the United States Steel Corporation will have their wages cut down 20 per cent. This is only the second cut in the twenty years' history of the corporation, the first occurring in 1904. On the other hand, there have been, since 1915, nine wage increases, amounting to a total increase of 150 per cent. The wage average thus reached, which was $5.06 for a ten-hour day, is now reduced to $4.05—which means a total saving for the corporation of $58,000,000 a year, since all day workers in all corporation plants are involved**

The Independent
May 14, 1921

# The Story of the Steerage

## The First of a Series of Articles on the New Europe

## By Edward A. Steiner

Dr. Edward A. Steiner was born in Austria, educated in Germany, received his degree of Ph. D. from Heidelberg. He emigrated to the United States in his early twenties and he ran the gamut of hard experience which befalls strangers to our shores, working in coal mines, steel mills, plow factories and the harvest fields.

Born a Jew, but converted by the sincerity of the lives led by Christians in a small Ohio town, he entered Oberlin Theological Seminary and was pastor in Congregational churches in Minnesota and Ohio from 1891 to 1902.

While in Russia preparing a biography of Tolstoy he received a call to accept the Chair of Applied Christianity in Grinnell College, Iowa. He accepted, and since then has spent the first semester in the class room and the rest of the year delivering lectures and writing books upon the Immigrant, whose ardent champion he has become. Upon Immigrant problems he is a recognized authority. His usual lecture tour this Spring was interrupted by an invitation from the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia, asking him to visit their relief stations in France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Poland and Russia.

Dr. Steiner will record his observations on this trip in a series of articles written exclusively for The Independent. His wide knowledge of European affairs, racial differences and language, and the problems of the peasant class, qualify him to speak with authority. Dr. Steiner is as well known an author as a lecturer. Some of his more important books are: "On the Trail of the Immigrant," "The Immigrant Tide," "From Alien to Citizen," and "Sanctus, Spiritus and Company"

CROSSING the ocean was a habit of mine which was cured by the war. It was a poor and wasted year which did not include a trip to Europe, and the various ocean lanes seemed as familiar to me as the main line of the Rock Island Railroad, whose stations between Chicago and my home in Iowa I can recite more easily than the multiplication table. Tho I rarely ventured above the steerage, and on the continent traveled third class, in countries unblessed by a fourth, I had to mortgage the future of unwritten books, and many a time my next year's salary was spent before it was earned.

Eight long years on this side of the Atlantic have made me a landlubber, the war and a more disastrous peace have anchored me to the black soil of the corn belt, and tho the immigrants are pouring in again thru the "unguarded gates," while Congress and high school debating teams are discussing the menace, I have had no hankering for the odors of the steerage, and the sailing lists in the newspapers have become as uninteresting to me as the reports of the stock markets.

Why should I wish to go to Europe, to the Mother Continent, which I knew in her voluptuous strength, now haggard and wan, while her hungry children vainly seek nourishment at her leathern breast? Why should I care to see Paris again, after seeing her in 1900, the World's Fair year, unmaddened and unexhausted by war, and but for the touch of *revanche* in her brain, as sane as that international pleasure market ever could be?

They say that there is disorder and dirt and dismay in Berlin. Impossible to believe! For I saw her two millions, marching over the spotless pavements to the tune of the Grenadier March; while the guardians of the city's peace and order wiped the dust from the nostrils of the Hohenzollerns, standing in bronze and marble in that insolent Sieges-Alle.

Why should I wish to go again to Vienna, whose honey of music and song I have tasted so many times, and whose coffee and crisp rolls are the acme of my epicurean memories? She was my first love among the cities, and I want to remember her dancing to the "Blue Danube" waltz, a ravishing German, Slavic, Semitic, Magyar beauty, living for unrestrained pleasure. Why should I want to see my young love wrinkled and old and homeless, begging for bread?

I do not care to see dismembered empires any more than I care to see amputated legs and arms; and the new self-determined, undetermined kingdoms and republics are no doubt as unattractive as babies born before their time, and their future as precarious. I have no desire to visit war zones and ruined cathedrals, lest my respect for the human race be entirely destroyed.

Who would care to see Budapest after the Red and White Terror have ravished her, and Latin mongrels have stolen what the mob left undamaged? Humbled and defeated Magyars must be as sorry a sight as Samson with gouged eyes, treading the mill.

I want to remember Petrograd with her long streets and broad squares up to the knees in freshly fallen snow, the frozen fog like a gauze curtain, thru which one swathed

*Ischvodjik* after another drove his *troyka* madly. I want to hear always the laughter of the gay women, their blood a-tingle from the bracing cold; and of the solemnly merry gentlemen, their stomachs pouchy from the abundant food. Even then there were enough starving people, their half-naked bodies exposed to the biting winds; but they had the decency to be humble and ask God's blessing upon you even if you gave them no *kopeks*. Petrograd's poor were mostly saints who knew no envy, and were content with the riches of heaven.

Moscow, now the Red Queen, I knew as the Holy City, the bells from a thousand steeples bellowing metallic sound, so that the air became hard as steel and vibrant as a watch spring. Who now would care to see her if he had seen her on Easter eve and Easter morning, after the suspended, holy hush, lasting thru a long and lean and penitent Lent? A dark night of waiting, the throng around the *Kremlin* so dense that it moved like a huge creature pregnant from holy joy. Sacred fire burst thru cathedral gates swung open to a loud Te Deum, and like a myriad fireflies, candles burned and swayed and leaped. There followed among the multitude warm, Christian embraces, holy and undiscriminating kisses and triumphant rejoicings. "Christ is risen!" And jubilant replies: "Christ is risen indeed!" After the long fast, the feasting; weeks of suppressed desire breaking forth in a mad outburst of eating, drinking and embracing. Drunk they were to the glory of the risen Christ, dead drunk and joyously drunk for "Peace on earth and good will to men."

Who would care to see Moscow turned Bolshevik? No holy Easter, heavy from the odor of burning wax candles, the frying of long denied meats, the stupefying fumes of alcohol, the chants of the priests and the maudlin praises of the tipsy multitudes.

I do not want to see Central Europe torn, bleeding and not even decently bandaged, and being fed milk by the spoonful. "I wouldn't go to Europe for anything or anybody!" I said it a thousand times. And here I am setting forth, tho reluctantly and with a heavy heart. I am to follow the victorious trail of the Quakers, who went in the wake of the war to build houses when the German guns were still menacing; who went into the beaten enemy's lines as friends, when the blockade had fastened its iron fingers upon the tender throats of little children; who went in the spirit of Jesus when Caesar ruled the embittered hearts of mankind.

I want to follow the "Sowers who went forth to sow," I want to search the furrows for signs of the new life and see what hope there is for the Old World and what hope for the New; for they are more closely linked than parliaments allow or statesmen believe. I want to voice that hope, if I but find it. If I fail I shall be silent; for such great sorrow knows no speech.

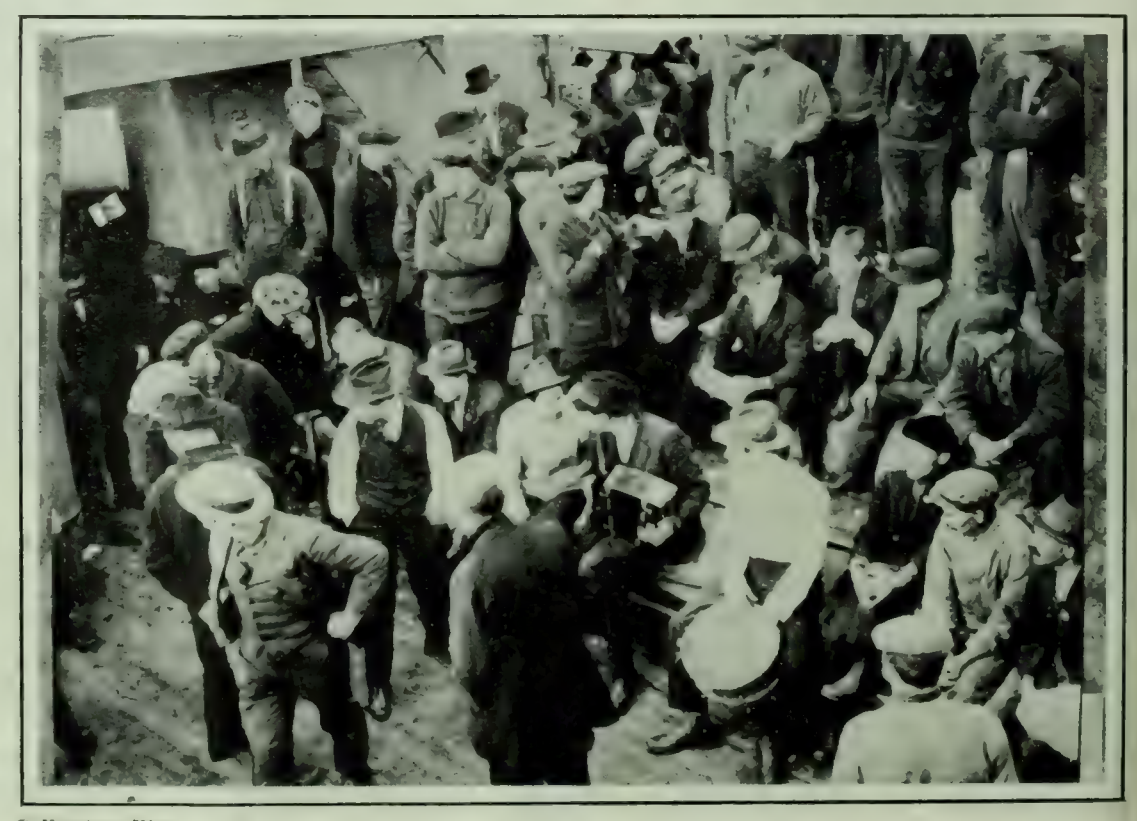
My way lies across the ocean and "there is no more sea." The Apocalyptic vision is fulfilled for those of us who travel on this ship and in the first cabin. Forty-five thousand tons, in hight topping the Woolworth Tower, in splendor not only rivalling Rome, but making the "Ritz-Carlton" look cheap and tawdry. In steadiness like a Venetian palace on the shores of the Grand Canal, in spite of half a gale blowing across starboard.

Habit is stronger than the lure of the luxurious lounge, and tho it was the second day out and my sea legs not yet established, I sought the steerage. On this ship both ends never meet nor see each other. In between travels the doomed middle class which sees the striking contrast and feels the pressure from both sides.

I found the way to the steerage unerringly. My "nose knows" and—with shame I confess it—I feel at home. The steerage never changes, neither its location nor its furnishings nor its *tout ensemble*. It lies over the stirring screws, sleeps to the staccato of trembling steel railings and hawsers; narrow, steep and slippery stairways lead to it, dishevelled women emerge with the unfailing babies in their arms (there are none in the first cabin); crowds of burly, surly men, ill smelling bunks, uninviting wash rooms presided over by unofficially untidy stewards and stewardesses. The odor of scattered orange peelings, tobacco, garlic and disinfectants meeting but not blending, no lounges or chairs for comfort, and a Babel of tongues. "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be." My friends in the cabin say: "But the steerage thinks differently." They are singing, and in the singing lies their hope and our menace, that "The last shall be first and the first last." They are new songs born in the [*Continued on page 524*



**"The steerage never changes," says Dr. Steiner—"neither its location nor its furnishings nor its *tout ensemble*. It lies over the stirring screws, sleeps to the staccato of trembling steel railings and hawsers, steep and slippery stairways lead to it, there are crowds of burly, surly men. The odor of scattered orange peelings, tobacco, garlic and disinfectants, meeting but not blending, no lounges or chairs for comfort, and a Babel of tongues"**



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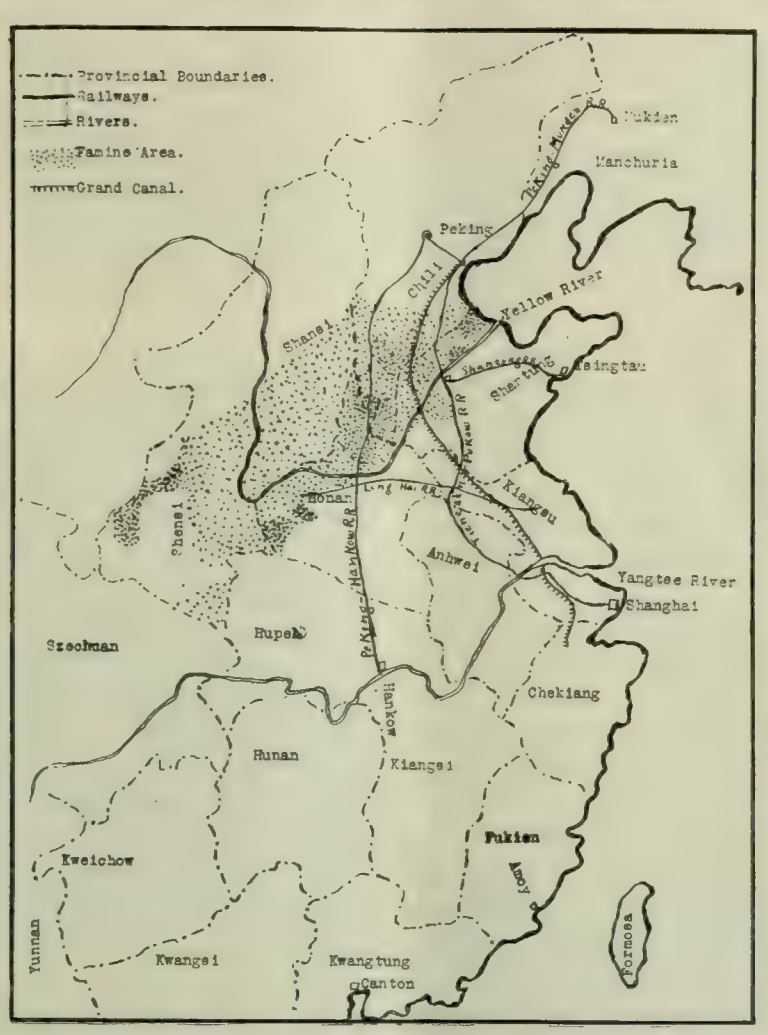
# China's Constant Terror

## By Paul Jones

### Some First-Hand Observations of the Famine That Claims Fifteen Million Victims

DURING the four years of the Great War sixty million mobilized soldiers killed approximately seven and a half million men. In four months, unless thwarted in her plans, Nature will slay fifteen million hungry Chinese. The contending hosts of the late war carried on their slaughter amid the deafening din of numberless guns and rifles, grenades and bombs. Nature does her work without spilling a drop of b l o o d, unobtrusively, relentlessly, silently.

Imagine the inhabitants of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas all in the grip of a deadly famine! You will then have a true picture of the number of Chinese being driven toward or into their graves by hunger. Altho the famine covers only parts of the provinces of Chili, Shantung, Honan, Shansi and Shensi no one estimates the number of famine victims at less than 15,280,000.




**A famine district as big as the area of fourteen of our largest states combined, and a railroad system so inadequate that much of the district is a hundred miles from lines of communication with the rest of the country—this is the situation in China at the present moment. Unless these districts are somehow reached with aid, over fifteen million Chinese, about twice the total number of the men killed in the Great War, will during the next four months have died from starvation**

From the extent of the calamity let us turn to its severity. Suppose you walked all the way from Chicago to Rockford, Illinois, or from New York City to New Haven, and saw only two cows, an occasional donkey and not a pig! You would then have repeated in part the experience of some famine workers treking from Tehchow to Lintsing in Shantung. Where normally there are horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, goats, sheep and pigs in abundance, one is now impressed and depressed by the striking absence of animal life. Toward the end of January the writer made some investigations in the village of Bei Hsu Chuang. This hamlet of 250 people had sold all its animals except two cows, one calf, one donkey and one horse.

Here is the story of the Wang family. Two years ago Mr. Wang owned thirty "mou"—ten acres—of Shantung land and was counted well-to-do. Droughts, floods and grasshoppers robbed him of his crops and reduced him to penury. As the fall of 1920 approached the outlook for supporting his family of eight mouths darkened. Bit by bit, for a fraction of its real value, the unhappy farmer sold his land. After this had passed into the hands of profiteers, he disposed of his farm animals, many of whom he virtually gave away. To have kept them would have meant robbing his boys and girls of their daily bread. When the proceeds of these various sales had been spent in fighting off the wolves of hunger, the father pawned the family bedding for 600 cash, or about fifteen cents. This last pittance drove him to desperation. To save the lives of his loved ones was impossible; to prolong their living death was unbearable. Arsenic would bring quick relief. With the few coppers given him by the pawnshop shark, Mr. Wang bought a quantity of the fatal drug. Just before a meal he secretly mixed the arsenic with the contents of eight porridge bowls. A few hours later eight corpses convinced the neighbors that poison had brought relief.

Some weeks ago a foreigner stumbled on a cart filled with ten girls, all in their teens. Most of these children came from the province of Chili, and all of them had been sold. They were being carted to a railroad station where they were to entrain for a port city. Their final destinations were, undoubtedly, houses of ill fame. In this case, as so often happens, when virtue had exhausted her resources, vice came to the rescue.

Let no one imagine that the Chinese make use of these extreme measures except as a last resort. The father does not say "unless I can have at least one good meal a day I shall sell my daughter." Nothing but the tormenting, emaciating, devitalizing, terror-inspiring pangs of hunger, day after day, week in and week out, can drive parents to throw their child into a well or to offer it for sale.

A very common article of diet among the famine sufferers is corn-cob flour. The drought kept the corn from maturing, so that the season's yield consisted of short nubbins with an occasional kernel of shrivelled corn. These corncob nubbins are ground into flour and used for food. Such a diet, of course, not only lacks nourishment, but also begets various serious intestinal troubles.

But why was Nature so miserly? Why these crop failures? Droughts? Yes, to be sure. However, do not other countries at times suffer from lack of rain without losing whole armies of their sturdy peasants? No doubt. In China lack of moisture is only one of the contributing causes, or perhaps more correctly only the *occasion*, while the remote and, perhaps, deeper cause of famine is the whole background of Chinese life with its low standards of living, industrial inefficiency, agricultural backwardness, inadequacy of transportation facilities and abysmal poverty.

As already indicated, one of the causes of the present disaster is Nature's failure to provide the needed rain. During 1920 the rainfall was uncommonly small, only about 8 per cent of the normal amount. Failure of crops was certain; but this was only the last of a succession of crop failures. In one district the famine is the climax of accumulated misfortunes. In 1917 the crops were ruined by floods; 1918 repeated the story; the year 1919 saw the grain harvested by grasshoppers, and in 1920 droughts wrought havoc.

The loss of both summer and [*Continued on page 526*

# This Changing World

## By Edwin E. Slosson

## V—Harnessing the Sun

*"Hitch your wagon to a star"—Emerson*

IN my last month's article I concluded with the assertion that we were never likely to draw upon the internal energy of the atom for our motive power.

I will begin this article with the opposite assertion, that we are drawing upon the internal energy of the atom for all our motive power.

The difference between the two statements is 92,000,000 miles. What is true of the earth does not hold for the sun. We cannot derive energy from the atom because the only elements that are decomposing are a few rare metals, such as radium, and we cannot regulate the rapidity of their radiation. But practically all our power, muscular and mechanical, comes from solar heat and this is derived from the radiant energy of the atoms. At least that is the fashionable theory.

Professor Eddington of Cambridge in an address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1920, said:

> What is the source of the heat which the sun and stars are continually squandering? The usual answer was that it was obtained from the gravitational energy converted as the star steadily contracted. But this answer neglected the practical consequences.
>
> A star must be drawing on some vast source of energy by means unknown to us. This reservoir can scarcely be other than the sub-atomic energy, which, as is known, exists in all matter and of which it is sometimes dreamt that we could release it and use it for our service. The store is well-nigh inexhaustible if only it could be tapped. There is sufficient in the sun to maintain its output of heat for 15,000,000,000 years.
>
> Sir Ernest Rutherford has recently been breaking down the atoms of oxygen and nitrogen, driving out an isotrope of helium from them. What is possible in the Cavendish laboratory may not be difficult in the sun.

Recent observations made at the Mount Wilson Solar Observatory, have proved that the sun-spots consist of whirlwinds of loose electrons that burst up thru the sun's atmosphere and are sucked back again. So it is certain that some of our sunshine is due to the decomposition of the atoms, perhaps all of it. This theory postpones the probable extinction of the sun and the freezing up of the earth to a time so remote that we need not worry about it.

But whatever the cause of solar radiation, it is the sole source of our vital and our external energy. Sun-worship is the most sensible of all forms of idolatry.

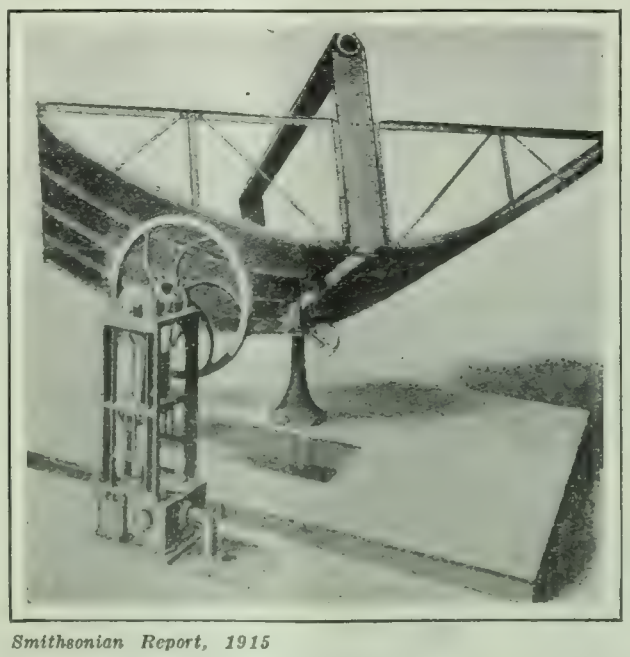
But Old Sol shows no partiality toward our earth, not even when we worshipped him. He sends out his rays in all directions, equally thru the ether or the emptiness of space, and since solid bodies are comparatively few and very far between the chances of hitting anything are small. Whether the sun's rays that are not stopped by running against other suns or their attendant planets go on forever in a straight line or whether, as Einstein supposes, they come around again, owing to the curvature of space, to the point where they started from, in the course of a thousand billion years, need not concern us here, since the earth gets only that minute amount of the solar radiation which comes its way. Only about one part in two and a third billion of the sun's rays reaches our world, and of this only that infinitesimal fraction is caught which happens to fall on a green leaf and of which a hundredth part may be converted into woody stuff.

Such fixation of solar energy is within the power of every plant, even the humble bacteria, but is beyond the power of man, as yet. But it is not impossible that the process that we see carried on in every forest and field may some day be equaled or surpassed in the laboratory. The standard set by nature is not a high one. The leaf stores less than 1 per cent of the energy it receives from the sunlight. This is low compared with the 10 per cent efficiency of the ordinary steam engine, or the 36 per cent efficiency of the Diesel engine.

In fact man has already beaten nature in this field, for the solar engine set up in Egypt made a record of over 4 per cent efficiency.* This is still too low to be profitable as a source of power even in the Sahara, where sunshine is plentiful and land is valueless and coal is high. But it points the way to the possibility of the direct utilization of solar energy if the right machine can be invented. The Egyptian solar steam plant was the invention of an American, Frank Shuman, who has spent more than ten years experimenting on this problem. It consisted of long rows of semi-cylindrical mirrors so set as to catch the sun's rays and focus them on a black water-pipe running along the reflecting trough. The concentrated sunshine heated the water to boiling and converted it into low pressure steam which could be used in a steam engine.

Ericsson, the builder of the "Monitor," spent twenty years and $100,000 in efforts to make a solar engine, but with no real success.

Since the steam engine is at best an inefficient machine it would be much better to leave it out of the solar engine scheme and to convert the sun's radiation directly to electrical currents. Such a project seemed fantastical a few years ago, but since the century began a revolution has taken place in physics that promises to place this as well as more wonderful things within the realm of possibilities. The atom has been seen by the scientist only in his imagination. He could never hope to perceive, count, select, direct or in any way identify the individual atoms. No lens could ever be constructed capable of magnifying the atoms sufficiently to be seen, for the lens is itself merely a constellation of atoms. But now that the scientist has discovered that the atom is composed of electrons he finds that he can handle these much more conveniently than he could the atom, altho they are thousands of times smaller than the average atom, and move thousands of times faster. For



*Smithsonian Report, 1915*

**The problem of how to put sun power to work has been a perennial challenge to inventors and scientists. Ericsson, the builder of the "Monitor," produced in 1883 this sun-power plant into which he had put $100,000 and twenty years of effort. His arrangement was only mildly successful, a steam engine being an inefficient machine at best**

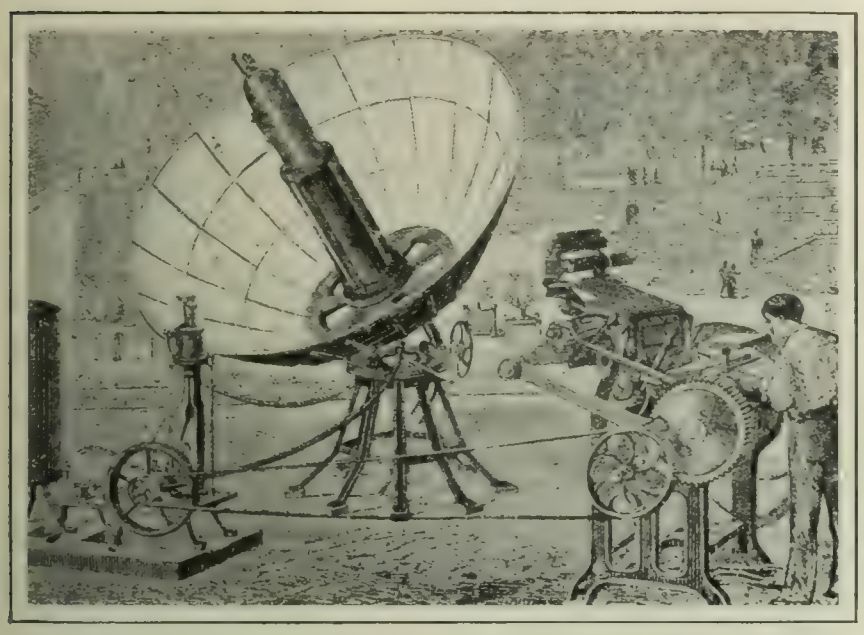
*Smithsonian Report, 1915.



The most successful sun-power plant has been the Shuman-Boys solar engine set up in Meadi, Egypt, in 1913. As the picture at the right shows, the machine consists of long rows of semi-cylindrical mirrors which concentrate the sun's rays upon a water pipe running thru the hollow reflecting trough formed by the mirrors

In 1878 appeared Pifre's sun-power plant, intended, as shown below, to be attached to a printing press. This in its turn was a futile effort

*Smithsonian Report, 1915*



the electron is a flying charge of electricity, with a speed approaching that of light, the immaterial embodiment of energy.

Now an electrified particle in motion makes its presence known by various magnetic, electrical and luminous disturbances in its vicinity. An electron just escaped from its orderly orbit inside the atom and running amuck among the other atoms will collide with them and sometimes smash them up. If the electron strikes a screen of zinc sulfide it makes a splash of light, as you may see on the dial of your luminous watch. If it strikes a photographing plate it leaves a trail by which its course can be traced.

It is then possible to pick out, follow and control a single electron in a way that has never been possible with the single atom or molecule. Now as I have explained in my previous articles, the restriction of man's use of energy—and hence the limitation of his civilization—is due to the fact that he can only handle molecules in mass. Imagine trying to harness a swarm of gnats flying around in all directions! You would have to sort them out singly and get them all to pull together in the same direction, before they could be hitched to Titania's chariot.

The ultimate aim of all Nature's efforts is to mix things up as much as possible (Law of Entropy). The object of man's endeavor is to sort things out. Now, as I have said, we can control electrified particles like the electrons better than we can neutral particles like the molecules and atoms. A magnet will divert them from their straight path and sort them out, the positive ones separate from the negative and the slower separate from the faster.

If Puck were set to the task of harnessing the gnats he might conceivably have made use of a wire screen, such as we put in our windows, to sort out the big gnats from the little ones. This reminds us of the fine wire screen or grid which is interposed between the poles of a vacuum tube in the telephone amplifier or wireless audion. When this grid is charged with electricity of a certain kind and intensity it exerts a selective action on a stream of electrons, letting some pass thru and stopping and turning back others, in short acting as Clerk Maxwell's demon to interfere with the operation of the Second Law of Energetics. It was this device that enabled President Harding's inaugural oration delivered on the steps of the Capitol to be heard distinctly by those spectators who stood on the steps of the Library of Congress, across the square.

An ionic valve of this kind will convert an alternating wireless current into a direct current by allowing the forward oscillation to proceed and stopping the back oscillation.

Now the energy we receive from the sun comes to us in the form of a wireless alternating current of electromagnetic waves. An English physicist, Campbell Swinton, recently suggested in *Nature* that the sun's rays could be directly converted into a continuous electrical current by some contrivance like the ionic valve of the wireless. Even in the northerly and foggy isle of England the radiant energy from the sun amounts to a thousand horsepower per acre on a sunny day. If this could be converted into electrical current the British need not fear the collapse of their power with the exhaustion of their coal fields.

If such direct electrical methods of catching sun-power fail we may be able to use chemical means as do the plants. We all know that sunlight will reduce a silver salt on a photographic plate. We see other chemical effects in the fading of clothes and the reddening of our skins by sunshine. These reactions are unfortunately not reversible, but others are and they have been employed to construct photo-electric storage batteries which receive the solar energy, store it up in the form of chemical potential energy and release it as an electric current.

But these are mere speculations. No practical machinery has yet been discovered for grasping the golden wealth that the sun showers upon the earth. It is a tantalizing situation and a fascinating problem. The earth receives energy from the sun at the rate of 1.93 calories a minute per square centimeter of the surface exposed to it. This varies from day to day by 3 to 8 per cent, depending upon sun spots and other solar conditions. Only about half of this penetrates to the ground. The rest is caught in the atmosphere and heats up the air, from which it may again be radiated off into space and lost. How much filters down to us who live at the bottom of an ocean of air some fifty miles deep depends of course on the clearness or cloudiness of the atmosphere. Only those who live on a high mountain in the tropics under the direct rays of the sun get the full benefit of its bounty. But we all get enough to make us rich beyond the dreams of avarice if we could only catch and hold it. Think of it, a square centimeter, this little pen marked out on the paper,  is receiving when held in the sunshine, energy at the rate of more than a calorie a minute. You require about 3000 calories a day in the form of food. Two such squares, continuously shone upon, would supply all the vital force you need for your day's work. "Three acres enough?" Why, two centimeters are enough—if we [*Continued on page 527*

# Salvaging Germany

## By Preston Slosson

THE greatest question of the present time is, "What can the world do about Germany? How can we fit her back into the common civilization of the world?" The League of Nations will remain more or less in the experimental stage so long as Germany must be kept out, and yet it is not certain how soon she can be safely admitted. The trade of the world and its economic recovery from the wounds of war await the adjustment of the indemnity and the revival of German industry. Disarmament will be impossible so long as France and Poland, not to mention other countries, have reason to fear a war of revenge. So far the German question has been solved by the simple process of sitting on Germany with an army of occupation, but that is but a temporary expedient. Sooner or later a permanent policy must be adopted with regard to Germany.

The world system has three gaps in it: the United States, Germany and Russia. But tho the United States stands sulking and pouting outside of the League it has innumerable ties of interest and sentiment with western Europe. If we are not doing our share to sustain the peace of the world, at least we are no menace to that peace. Our own league of forty-eight States could remain eternally in friendship with the League of Forty-eight Nations.

Russia is a serious problem, afflicted as she is with the contagious disease of Bolshevism. The Russian question must be faced and solved some day, tho the solution doth not yet appear. But Russia, after all, is a frontier nation. Her lands are wide and her population vast, but those lands are still half wilderness and the people still half barbarian. Neither in trade nor war has Russia shown half the formidable power of compact, energized little Germany. Germany is something much more dangerous than a nation emerging from barbarism to civilization: a highly civilized nation "gone wrong." The corruption of the best is the worst. No mere invasion of savages, were they as numerous as the sands of the sea, could have so menaced the world as the armies of Prussianized Germany.

Consider the case. Here are upwards of sixty million people united in one nation. They are of the vigorous north-European stock, the same race which colonized the United States. They are located in the very heart of Europe; the most strategic position in the world. They are typically industrious, educated, disciplined and efficient and have made important contributions to world science. If such a people are to remain eternally at odds with the rest of the human race, who can measure the calamity? It would be like keeping house with a Bengal tiger. And tigers the Germans certainly were from 1914 to 1918; in some sense from 1870 to 1914. Must they remain so?

Some people, especially in France, hold that Germans are by nature gifted with more than their share of original sin; that sincere friendship with them must remain eternally impossible. That would be a dreary outlook indeed. Imagine the generations passing with armies forever marching up and down the Rhine lest the caged tiger break loose once more! Yet that would be strictly necessary if a certain German type were really representative of the whole German nation. Listen to Bernhardi *since the war:*

> Generosity is a crime against the nation.
>
> The only duty of diplomacy is to support the military with all its might. It must conform to their wishes entirely, and give up any idea of taking any step without consulting them. . . . Diplomacy must confine itself to preparing the way for military victories and exploiting them, but only in accordance with instructions to be given by the military authorities.
>
> Diplomacy must always be secret.
>
> The soldier must develop a proud feeling of professional detachment toward the civil population. . . . Undoubtedly he has the right to regard himself as a being apart, the sole real representative of the nation and the Fatherland.

One must say deliberately that it would be right and wise to exterminate a nation of Bernhardis to the last man in order that the decent folk of the world might live securely. But is it true that Germany is a nation of Bernhardis? Or is it a nation of average human beings brought up in a bad tradition?

Fortunately there is every reason to believe that the corruption of the German character is not a racial taint, but simply a result of miseducation. Racially the Germans are one with the English, the Anglo-Americans, the Scandinavians, the Swiss, even the northern French. Many of their greatest men, such as Goethe, Schiller and Kant, have been pacifist and humanitarian in philosophy. Their common folk, as those know who have traveled in Germany, are kindly and honorable. It is to be admitted that the disease of militarism affected the whole nation after their easy victory over the French in 1870, but the contagion spread from the top down, not from the bottom up. Now that the cold-hearted madmen who ruled Germany are dethroned and discredited we may hope that their influence will pass. There is every hope that a generation reared under the present liberal and democratic constitution will differ altogether from the men and women of the Great War. A few irreconcilables will remain, but they can do no harm so long as their hands are kept away from the steering gear of the German Ship of State.

THERE are those who say that there has been no real revolution in Germany; that the nation which confronts us today is the same at heart as when it was trampling Belgium into blood and mud. They bring forward three arguments: that the men now in power, even the Socialists, supported the war policy of the Government so long as it was successful; that the Germans even now will not admit their responsibility for the war; and that they are trying in every way to "wriggle out" of the terms of the peace treaty, especially the payment of an adequate war indemnity.

All this is true. But does it prove that the Germans are demons? Or simply that they are not angels?

In making the Great War and in the cruel manner of waging it, the Germans were guilty of what may strictly be termed inhuman conduct; that is, conduct below the standard of civilized human beings. But the post-war sins of Germany are of a different order; they are sins of ordinary human nature. It is monstrously wicked deliberately to plot a war, but it is very human to fight when your Government has plunged you into a war, no matter how unjust. That the liberals and Socialists of Germany are guilty of supporting the war is true, but they did not make the war. They would not have started one on their own account. It is also very human to try to evade a crushing war indemnity. A cheerful debtor is a most exceptional sort of person.

Again, it is very human not to admit that you are to blame for a war, especially while still smarting under the sting of a humiliating defeat. Probably half of the Germans now living will go to their graves still protesting that Germany was only defending herself against an "iron ring of enemies" and most of the rest will go no further than a grudging admission that "our diplomacy was faulty" or "all the nations are to blame for the war." A forced apology is seldom a graceful one. If by a "change of heart in Germany" we mean a complete moral regeneration, so that the whole nation will candidly confess its faults and offer the fullest possible reparation, there is no use to

expect it. But if we mean that the German Republic will follow a more liberal and peaceful world policy than did the old Empire, and that after all is the important thing, we have a right to hope. Ebert and Fehrenbach and Simons will never look at things quite from our point of view, but they are not of the same stuff as Ludendorff, Zimmermann and Tirpitz.

The right attitude toward Germany, then, is a conditional welcome back to civilization. Germany must pay her debts, but we need not be too alarmed if she grumbles a little. Germany's army must be kept small, but we need not postpone our own disarmament forever on her account. Germany may be admitted to the League of Nations, but it should be on condition that she maintains a liberal and democratic constitution.

On one point there should be absolute insistence; there must be no return to the old régime. Any attempt to restore monarchy, or aristocratic privilege, or a military caste should meet with an emphatic veto backed by all the armed force of civilization. Seven million young men dead on the battlefield was a high enough price to pay for the destruction of the Hohenzollern Empire; it has given the rest of the world the right to tell Germany never to try the old experiment again.

But a Germany which proves by deeds, not words only, that she is willing to be a good citizen of the world has a glorious future before her. Even without Austria there are over sixty million Germans and if Austria be added (as is only right) the republic will be a nation of nearly seventy millions. That is man-power sufficient for any amount of achievement in the industrial world.

To a quiet, peaceful Germany prosperity will return with increase. Once the world's confidence is regained Germany will have a voice in the councils of the nations and may even be permitted to hold colonies by mandate. The center of Europe will no longer be an aching void, but one of the sturdiest pillars upholding the temple of civilization. The world needs Germany. Germany needs the world.

## Georgia Finds a Man

GEORGIA may find cause for shame and for pride in Governor Dorsey's study of peonage, "The Negro in Georgia." The facts are terrible; but the honor of producing a courageous statesman to publish them and condemn them is to Georgia's eternal credit.

## After the Kings—the Senate

THE corruption of State Legislatures in electing Senators brought the Seventeenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution in 1913, remvoing the choice of Senators from Legislatures to a popular vote.

The decision of the Supreme Court that Congress has not the constitutional power to protect the nomination of Senators from open and widespread corrupt intent in Senatorial primaries, such as was laid bare by the proof of the lavish expenditure of money in Senator Newberry's nomination and election from Michigan, will in due time bring another constitutional amendment depriving the Senate of its undue and misused power.

The Senate must go, in its present shape. The individual powers of its members are a public peril. The long term, the two-thirds majority, the small populations electing over a tenth of its number—all do harm.

These powers constitute privilege. Privileges must go. They are always abused. They have been abused from the foundation of the Government. The Senate risked a perilous issue with England by cutting out of the Jay treaty, 1794, a most important article planned by Washington and negotiated by John Jay. For twenty-five years after Monroe's message no resolution approving the Monroe Doctrine could pass the Senate. In our day, the Senate has kept the United States out of the League of Nations. This two-thirds majority for ratifying treaties gives undue power to cliques and cabals. It obstructs. It never constructs. It diminishes party responsibility and breeds small groups that act for small revenges. It submits national aims to personal ends.

The Senate's power over the President's nominations breeds chicane, intrigue, often corruption, always personal abuses. It has frustrated many good nominations. It has defeated few bad ones. Privilege has a natural sympathy for evil-doing, for special interests, and for corporate wealth veiling personal conspiracy.

Grant that Congress cannot keep pure the selection of men to use and abuse these perilous powers because it can only deal, as the Supreme Court has held in Newberry's case, with "elections" and not with "primaries." It is not then enough to extend the power of Congress to cover Senatorial primaries, as Senator Borah proposes. The powers of the Senate itself must be revised. Its privileges must go. They are too tempting to ambitious men. The king business is gone. The Senate business too must go and go it will, in the end.

## The Relativity of Liberty

### By Franklin H. Giddings

TO men who like to believe that the world is becoming better informed, if not wiser, it is disheartening to hear supposedly educated persons talking about "relativity" as if it were a discovery made by Dr. Einstein. What contribution this eminent gentleman may have made to our knowledge of relativity within the realm of physics, the physicists and the mathematicians must decide. That there is nothing new in the hypothesis of relativity as a philosophy of the universe as knowable by man, every person who has a smattering of the history of thought is aware. Indeed, an acquaintance with recent chapters is sufficient. The problem is intelligibly presented in Part 1 of Herbert Spencer's "First Principles," and in a small volume by an American writer, Mr. J. B. Stallo, on "The Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics," which was included in the excellent "International Scientific Series" a generation ago.

There is one aspect of this philosophy that concerns everybody. Not many of us will find our personal destinies greatly affected by a variability of numerals well to the right of the decimal point in an arithmetical expression of the law of gravitation. But the day by day happiness of every one of us is affected by the variability, with changing times and circumstances, of the values of the assumptions, dogmas, rules, traditions and laws which express human relationships and measurably govern conduct. The habit of regarding these expressions as absolute is one of the most infallible marks of the half-informed and half-trained mind. More significantly than any other of a dozen easily recognized stigmata it differentiates *radicalis* (of all degrees) from common sense.

Of these rules of life which are relative, but which anarchists, dogmatic individualists and revolutionaries in general insist upon regarding as absolute, the most important is liberty, and in democratic countries the most persistent quarreling over liberty centers about such concrete issues as freedom of speech and unlicensed teaching. We have been having our full share of this quarreling for a good many years, and since 1914 it has been acute. From the standpoint of the relativist it is hard to say whether the restrictionists or the insurgents have made themselves more ridiculous.

The persistent attempt at Albany to enact the Lusk education bills, emphatically condemned by the Bar Association of this city and by our most sober-minded clergymen, educators and publicists, is one vivid example. The

attempt to introduce speakers like the Rev. John Haynes Holmes into forum discussions held in public school buildings is another. Each is an instance of dogmatic absolutism, and each is absurd.

The republican form of government rests upon the consent of the governed, and this consent involves discussion. True discussion is an appeal to intelligence and it loses its character when it becomes an incitement to violence or an appeal to social revolution by force. Therefore properly such incitements and appeals are forbidden. But so long as facts and arguments are addressed to voters whose decisions are to be rendered thru the ballot box, there can be no restraint which is not in itself an attack upon the republican form of government and therefore self-stultification.

These considerations apply with special force to teachings and appeals addressed to immature minds. Teachers should err, if they err at all, on the side of discretion and not on the side of indictment and disintegrative impulsion. Consequently it is expedient that boards of education should have power to dismiss imprudent teachers; but it is not expedient that either teachers or school authorities should be required to sign a creed beforehand.

To be more explicit, the case of Dr. Holmes seems to be reasonably clear from the standpoint of relativity. As a mature citizen, Dr. Holmes should be permitted to express his views of the social order and its imperfections from his pulpit, in the press and in public halls not assigned to specific uses with which his views are clearly incompatible, so long as he does not incite to violence. But if it is true, as newspaper reports of his public utterances tell us, that he has lost faith in the redemption of society by political methods and believes that resort to revolution is justifiable, or if, as Dr. Ettinger asserts, Dr. Holmes in a public address entitled, "Who Is the Greatest Man in the World?" declared that in a hundred or a hundred and fifty years Lenin will be known "as the man who saved civilization when England and France had done their best to wreck it," he has not a sufficient sense of that kind of relativity which is commonly known as propriety to speak from the platform of a public school maintained by taxpayers.

# Church Unity vs. Fraternity

## By Shailer Mathews

AN important pamphlet on church union has been issued by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order, containing proposals and actions likely to become historical. True, it omits reference to the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the very significant movement which that body represents, but the reason for this omission is clear. The Council seeks federation rather than union. The pamphlet centers about a presentation of the Episcopal view as given in the Appeal of the Archbishops and Bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference. It is an appeal for union and unity.

This, the bishops hold, should involve the whole-hearted acceptance of the Bible, the Nicene Creed "as a sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the baptismal confession of belief," baptism and holy communion "as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ; a ministry acknowledged by every part of the church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body."

Proposals relative to this ministry are remarkably tolerant. The bishops regard the episcopate as the one means of providing the proper ministry, but do not question the spiritual reality of the ministry of other communions. They hold that the episcopate is supported by history and experience, and they look forward to the day when thru its acceptance "in a united church we may all share in that grace which is pledged to the members of the whole body in the apostolic rite of the laying-on of hands, and in the joy and fellowship of a Eucharist in which as one family we may together, without any doubtfulness of mind, offer to the one Lord our worship and service." They further propose that the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church may accept "a form of commission or recognition which would commend their ministry to other congregations, and propose that other ministers should accept "a commission thru Episcopal ordination."

THE temper and spirit of these proposals are admirable, but real church unity on their basis is impossible. Even if all churches could be brought to admit that the Nicene Creed with its silence as to morality and divine love is a sufficient statement of the Christian faith, one reason for disunion is apparent: the appeal rests upon the perpetuation of holy orders. According to it the non-Episcopal group can give a commission; the bishops give ordination. That simply leaves the old question of orders wide open. So long as this is the case it is useless to talk about church unity. We can have church coöperation and church federation without raising the question of the validity of the other's ministry, but we cannot have church unity until Catholics cease to regard ordination, whether by bishop or by dissenting clergymen, as anything more than a commission of men for certain tasks.

No Catholic could for a moment grant this concession. No thoroly consistent non-conformist but will insist upon it. If church unity depends upon conditions, even so generously and tactfully expressed as those of the Lambeth Conference, we have reached an *impasse*. It is the issue as to holy orders, not organization or theology, that separates Christian bodies. And this neither party will compromize.

It therefore appears bad strategy for those of us who are sincerely trying to bring about the combined impact of Christians upon the world to make church unity an indispensable condition of Christian coöperation. Such a view has already made it impossible for the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Southern Baptist churches to join the Federal Council. The agitation of church unity tends to deepen rather than to close the division between Christian bodies. Fellowship, coöperation, mutual assistance, must be found in the field to which there is another gateway. That there is such an entrance is beyond question. The wise plan, even if it be regarded only as opportunist, is for the Christian bodies to work together without raising the question of order or of polity or of doctrinal characteristics. Our task will not wait upon ecclesiastical discussion. Until Christian bodies have wisdom and catholicity sufficient to see that Christian union can exist where church unity is lacking, it is divisive to insist upon church unity. The way to get together is to work and pray together where we all are today.

## Our Helmsman

IT appears that President Harding is allowing Mr. Hughes greater freedom in handling foreign affairs that President Wilson allowed to Messrs. Bryan, Lansing or Colby. And foreign affairs are now no less important than in war time and are becoming daily more urgent. Secretary Hughes has an opportunity for creative statesmanship that may give him a greater name in history than he could have had even if California had tipped the other way in 1916. President Harding has often been compared to McKinley. President McKinley found in John Hay one of the greatest statesmen in American history. Will history repeat itself with another Secretary of State whose name begins with an H?

# The Hard Path to an "Association of Nations"

## By a Washington Correspondent

THE foreign end of the Administration is Harding, Hughes, Hoover and Hays, and the President has turned the job over to Mr. Hughes. The problem in March was clear. The Covenant and League were dead so far as the present Senate and House were concerned. Much of the Treaty of Versailles is necessary to the United States. The American public is engrossed in the "economic problem" which consists just now, individually, in holding your job when discharges are all about, and collectively, as far as banks, railroads, shops and "business" of all sorts are concerned, in paying debts when prices are falling along the whole line of raw materials, even though retailers keep up prices. In the end the retailers will be forced to reduce, because a newspaper reading public will not buy. As Secretary Davis says, "the public has struck."

Two steps were necessary to get our foreign affairs out of the *impasse* to which the Treaty deadlock between Executive and Senate have brought them.

First, the public must be interested in foreign affairs. To this end, Wilson and his Secretary of State coöperated in bringing our outstanding grievances against Europe and Japan to a point where Harding and Hughes could take them up and turn public attention to our international rights and by that path to our international duties.

Second, the European powers must be brought to see that the various questions raised could only be settled by a new conference of the great powers which would bring them together outside of the League and its confusing congeries of small and ineffectual powers.

"Yap" woke up the United States. It is a perilous subject to raise, because Japan and its Government are at a point where everything has to be managed to maintain prestige or the situation in China will give Japan trouble, as it already has. The German colonies and the mandatories came next, and this is now before the American people as a grievance. What we would do with the colonies, no one knows. Not one would we take as a gift. But it is pretty easy to put the entire American press in a mood where it demands that Europe shall meddle with no American rights.

There remain the grievances of England's treatment of our trade with neutrals before we became "associated," which must go to an international court and not be settled by English courts alone. There are oil wells in Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria. There are ex-territorial rights and a joint court in Egypt, about whose abolition we have not been consulted. The new English policy as to its mercantile marine, turning it into a marine trust, with some purchases of our own vessels and corporations in the world's ocean trade, is certain to be taken up. The great powers owe us $969,000,000 on their bonds on which they are paying no interest. We are paying it.

By a bold stroke President Harding and Secretary Hughes have brought Germany to book. In arranging for reparation we cannot let Germany dump cheap manufactures on us so as to get gold for an indemnity of $32,000,000,000 of cash gold or payments over the next generation which would keep dumping up for the next half century. Disarmament is another awkward issue. The use of troops at a large cost to keep colonies and "mandatory" regions by powers who are too poor to pay interest of nearly $500,000,000 a year, a tenth of our taxation, brings up a train of issues, appealing more and more to the American taxpayer as times grow harder.

There is enough here to make two situations extremely probable. First, the American people is certain to want something done. Second, England, France, Italy and Japan are equally likely to prefer mass negotiation to having Hughes's clear, precise, and uncompromizing notes printed in all their newspapers. No one of the Administrations in these countries could survive for a day if labor and capital in each saw that strained relations, let alone the prospect of a collision, were likely to darken a world sky, none too bright now.

Secretary Hughes refuses to deal with the League or with any but "the principal associated powers." Once these were brought together, not by the United States asking but by the other great powers proposing it, there would at once be, outside of the League, the clear beginning of the "Association of Nations" which could rule the world without messing things up with thirty-seven small "independent nations" who have neither armies, nor fleets, nor any concrete power whatever.

Months must pass before these conditions can work themselves out. The Republican majority in the Senate and House of Representatives may and probably will divide on many issues; but not on the League. The only present hope for four years of any action toward closer relations with the "associated" European powers and Japan is thru some such "Association of Nations" growing out of new needs and differences.

Meanwhile pressure on Germany is not rendered easier or safer when France and England are confronted with these differences with the United States. Anxiety is evident even in Australia, as to Japan. This path and policy have their plain perils. How much wiser and safer it would have been to accept the League, correcting its defects, instead of raising all these issues anew?

Our unofficial representatives on the Reparation Commission have been invaluable in acting as arbitrators and buffers between Germany and the Powers. The result is seen in adjustment on reasonable terms. Not known yet, when known this will deepen the desire of our public to see our Government continue this good work.

# Blue Laws at College

AT Cornell the old question has come up once more: Have the students of a college the right to impose penalties on each other? A Freshman ventured to show up without the regulation cap and was promptly hazed in consequence. All this is in accordance (as the Cornell *Sun* points out) with long established precedent. But the new factor in the situation is that a professor has dared to object on the ground that college students have not the right to make and enforce laws which are unknown to the statutes of state, city and college. This is certainly a novel point of view, as Americans (yes, and Europeans too) have always tended to regard students as a law unto themselves. Sometimes a student was arrested if he too flagrantly broke the city ordinances, but it was never questioned that students might add new laws and ordinances to those writ on the statute books and suround them with "sanctions" which are unknown to other codes.

Suppose any legal authority dared to infringe personal liberty as drastically as the extra-legal tribunals of the campus. Imagine the headlines.

Mr. Jones Ducked in Lake Michigan by Order of Chicago Aldermen.
He Dared to Wear a Straw Hat in April.

Or:

Federal Court's Sentence on Senator Smith Confirmed.
Hon. Henry Smith Loses Appeal and Must Sing Yankee Doodle from Top of Washington Monument for Walking on Grass.

Or:

Necktie Wearer Gets It in the Neck.
Loud Neckties Condemned by Judge Landis.
Imposes Sentence of Rolling in Barrel on Millionaire White.

Or:

Doomed to Loss of One Whisker.
Dr. Robinson Submits to Half Shave for Smoking Out of Hours.

But we take it all as a matter of course in college!

# The Story of the Week

## Peace at Last!

SENATOR Knox has triumphed. His peace resolution has carried. It is true that the actual fighting was over "over there" in November, 1918; true also that in President Harding's opinion it will be necessary to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, with the Covenant amputated by some adroit reservation, before our legal and diplomatic position will become perfectly satisfactory. The most that can be claimed for the Knox resolution is that it gives a technical and formal end to a very technical and formal "state of war." Our continued "war" with Germany was, in fact, rapidly degenerating into broad farce; especially when Germany appealed to us, an "enemy" Power, to mediate between her and the Allies with whom she was at "peace." Probably it never happened before in diplomatic history that one Government has appealed to another with which it was at war to protect it against the exactions of neutral nations.

The Knox resolution consists of three parts. The first is the repeal of the declaration of war of April 6, 1917; the second a clause protecting American rights and claims respecting German property seized during the war; the third a clause reserving to the United States and to American citizens all of "the rights, powers, claims, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages" to which they are entitled under the armistice agreement, the Treaty of Versailles or any other agreements affecting our rights as "one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers." Practically identical clauses follow for Austria-Hungary. An identical resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives by Chairman Porter of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The Knox resolution was defeated in the last Congress by the veto of President Wilson. It was delayed in the present session by the diplomatic crisis in Europe; the Administration fearing to give the impression that a separate peace made at the time meant that the United States did not stand with the Allies in demanding reparations from Germany. But since the American attitude regarding reparations has been so fully defined by Secretary Hughes, it was thought that no useful purpose would be served by continuing longer the technical state of war with Germany, Austria and Hungary.

The vote followed party lines in the main. The Democrats opposed the Knox resolution out of loyalty to ex-President Wilson and his policy of making peace by ratifying the treaties of peace. Senator Nelson of Minnesota made the only speech on the Republican side in opposition to the resolution. He pointed out that the resolution mentioned only American interests and contained neither sympathy nor support for the Allies and expressed the fear that its passage might encourage Germany to resist the Treaty of Versailles. On the final vote he was paired against the Knox resolution. Three Democrats voted with the Republican majority; Senators Myers of Montana, Shields of Tennessee and Watson of Georgia; two others, Walsh of Massachusetts and Reed of Missouri, were paired in favor of the resolution. All of these Senators except Myers of Montana were hostile to the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. The rest of the Democratic party remained loyal to the Wilson policy; which is the more noteworthy since there is no longer a Democratic Administration with power and patronage to reward loyal followers and punish bolters.

Senator Lodge hinted during the debate that it would be a very difficult, perhaps impossible, matter to separate the League of Nations Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles, and that instead of ratifying the Treaty with amendments or reservations it might be necessary to make a separate treaty with Germany. This goes directly counter to President Harding's first message to Congress and may indicate that a lively fight over foreign policy is impending between the Administration and the Senate.




*Kirby in New York World*

**Triumphal entry into normalcy**

## The Shipping Strike

ON May 1 the long-threatened shipping strike took place. It was one phase of the almost universal downward tendency in wages. Admiral Benson, Chairman of the Shipping Board, states the issue in these terms: "I should be remiss indeed in my duty as a responsible officer of the Government if I permitted the maintenance of the war-time level of wage costs during a period when economic conditions on the one hand are saving money for individuals, while on the other hand the public treasury thru the same conditions is being seriously depleted." The workers, on the other hand, protest against the proposed wage reductions as excessive and when Admiral Benson failed to give them satisfaction appealed directly to President Harding. They protested that the ship owners had failed to make reasonable concessions respecting either wage reductions or working rules.

The strike covers the whole field of American shipping in Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf ports. Some 15,000 engineers and 110,000 other marine workers are directly involved. The marine engineers, seamen, firemen, oilers, water tenders, cooks and stewards are all affected; 1917 privately owned sea-going ships of more than 5,000,000 tons aggregate and 1775 vessels of the United States Shipping Board, amounting to nearly 7,800,000 tons, are held in port with

a daily loss to the American shipping industry of more than a million dollars. It should be said that owing to business depression and the falling off of trade with Europe many ships are not making regular trips. This makes the prospect of a successful strike dubious, for the ship owners cannot in any case make much profit at the present time and would almost as soon have vessels tied up by strikes as by general trade conditions. Moreover, as Admiral Benson points out, the great extent of unemployment at the present time makes it possible to supply the place of the strikers with new recruits. The extent and thoroness of the strike, however, shows to what a formidable extent the shipping industry has been unionized.

## Newberry Not Guilty

THE Supreme Court has set free Senator Truman Newberry of Michigan and sixteen others convicted of violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. The court acted unanimously in reversing the convictions in the lower courts. But it divided five to four on the general question of the validity of the law. The decision of the court is so sweeping that it seems to make impossible, without a constitutional amendment, any Federal law regulating primary elections or party conventions.

Justice McReynolds delivered the opinion of the majority of the court. "The ultimate question for solution here," he said, "is whether under the grant of power to regulate the manner of holding elections Congress may fix the maximum sum which a candidate therein may spend or advise or cause to be contributed and spent by others to procure his nomination." To this question he gives the answer that "Primaries are in no sense election for an office, but merely methods by which party adherents agree upon candidates whom they intend to offer and support for ultimate choice by all qualified electors." In his opinion, "We cannot conclude that authority to control party primaries or conventions for designating candidates was bestowed on Congress by the grant of power to regulate the matter of holding elections." Such matters are reserved to the states.

Chief Justice White delivered a vigorous dissenting opinion, holding that "it is free from doubt that the Congress has power to regulate the conduct of primary elections and nomination conventions." In this opinion he was supported by Justices Pitney, Clarke and Brandeis. But all concurred in affirming the innocence of the Senator from Michigan, who will now probably resume his seat and his legislative duties.

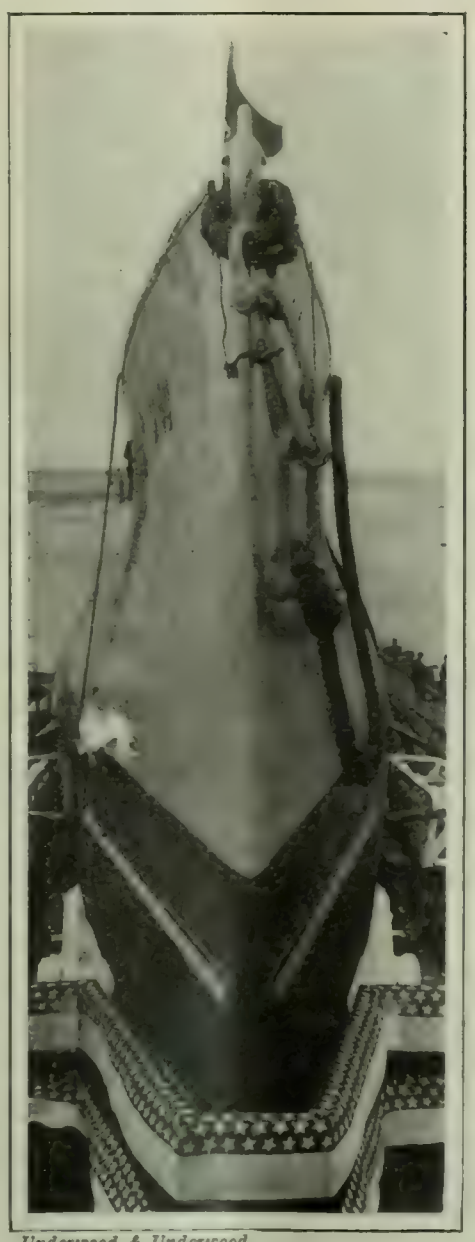
## House Passes Navy Bill

THE naval appropriation bill, which was sidetracked in the recent Congress, passed the House of Representatives by 212 votes to 15. It carries appropriations amounting to $396,000,000 and includes $90,000,000 for ship construction. Many attempts were made to amend the measure in such a way as to postpone payment for new construction until after an international conference had been called to consider the question of disarmament. But all of these were voted down, many members who were favorable to naval disarmament opposing the amendments as liable to "embarrass the President." Representative Mondell, leader of the majority, explained the official attitude. "It is entirely fitting and proper," he said, "that suggestions for negotiations on the subject of reduction of armaments should originate with the United States, but manifestly no action should be taken along these lines until we shall have arrived at a condition and a situation in our foreign relationships in which our motives and purposes may not be misunderstood or misconstrued." He hinted that "in the not distant future" the Administration would undertake the diplomatic steps which would make it possible to reduce armaments at sea.




*Morris for George Matthew Adams Service*

The straw hat season is here



*Underwood & Underwood*

The U. S. S. "S-49," the latest in time and in type of our undersea fighters, launched the other day at Bridgeport, Connecticut

The House of Representatives showed more inclination to economize on land than by sea. While authorizing the continuation of the shipbuilding program, the Representatives cut the size of the standing army to 150,000 in spite of the fact that Secretary of War Weeks advocated a minimum establishment of 175,000. Chairman Kahn of the House Committee on Military Affairs and House Leader Mondell stood by the Administration, but many Republicans deserted to the opposition and voted with the Democrats for a smaller army.

## Mellon's Tax Problem

SECRETARY of the Treasury Mellon has announced in general terms the policy of the Administration respecting taxation in a letter to Chairman Fordney of the House Ways and Means Committee. With a large Republican majority in both Houses, still tractable on most issues, it is probable that Secretary Mellon's recommendations will be the basis for revenue legislation.

For the fiscal year 1921 the United States is spending about $5,000,000,000. About $3,500,000,000 of this sum is covered by the four items of army appro-

priations, naval appropriations, payments to railways and interest on the public debt (which is mainly war debt). For the fiscal year 1922 the total of ordinary expenditures will be over $4,000,000,000. "The nation," declares Secretary Mellon, "cannot continue to spend at this shocking rate. . . . In the absence of drastic cuts in military and naval expenditures, there is almost no prospect, according to the estimates, of any substantial available surplus, even in the fiscal year 1922." It is true that there is an estimated surplus, but it will be absorbed by current redemptions of Liberty bonds and War Savings securities. Taxes must be revised, but their yield cannot be greatly decreased.

Repeal of the excess profits tax is recommended on the ground that it "is losing its productivity." The loss of revenue is to be made good by a "modified tax on corporate profits or a flat additional income tax upon corporations" and repeal of the existing exemption limit.

The corporation tax substituted for the excess profits tax should yield about $400,000,000.

The surtax on very large incomes is to be reduced. Forty per cent should be the maximum combined normal tax and surtax for 1921 and 33 per cent thereafter. "This readjustment is recommended not because it will relieve the rich, but because the higher surtax rates have already passed the collection point. The higher rates constitute a bar to transactions involving turnovers of securities and property, which with lower surtax rates would be accomplished and thus yield new revenue to the Government." In the long run there should be no loss of revenue from this change.

Miscellaneous specific sales and excise taxes such as the transportation tax, the tobacco taxes, the amusements tax, the capital stock tax are to be retained, but some minor taxes, such as the tax on soft drinks, are to be repealed. Secretary Mellon declares the transportation tax "objectionable" and wishes "it were possible to recommend its repeal," but the Government cannot do without the large revenue it yields. Some additional taxes may be imposed, "such as increased stamp taxes or a license tax on the use of automobiles." Something may also be realized from "new duties on staple articles of import" and in more effective collection of back taxes. A halt should be called to the issue of new tax exempt securities. No general sales tax is recommended.

The Senate has repassed the budget bill which was wrecked in the last Congress by a quarrel between President Wilson and Congress over the appointment of a Controller General, who could only be removed from office by Congress. Under the bill as now revised the Controller General and his assistant can only be removed by joint Congressional resolution with the signature of the President.




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**Kind o' fished out, ain't it?**

## The American Congo

IN The Independent of April 16 we gave some account of a particular instance of peonage, followed by repeated murder, in Georgia. Since then Governor Dorsey's pamphlet on "The Negro in Georgia" has furnished sad proof that such cases are by no means exceptional. The Governor details 135 cases where negroes have been lynched, murdered, beaten or driven from home by threats during recent months in various counties of the state. Often there was no evidence that the injured negro had been guilty of any fault; more commonly, the cause of the outrage was some quarrel or dispute between the negro and a white man. In only two cases of the 135 was there a white woman involved.

Governor Dorsey declares that in several counties the negroes have been terrorized into wholesale emigration and that in others they were held in peonage which almost amounted to slavery; and that if the conditions known to him were to continue unchecked Georgia would be ranked with the Belgian Congo. He advocated the establishment of a state constabulary to check rural crime, the imposition of a fine on counties in which lynchings occur, the investigation of lynchings by state authority and the removal of negligent officials, the drawing of juries from the state at large, the organization of state commissions on racial relations and the development of education among both races. He stated his belief that injustice and cruelty to the negro was limited to a minority of Georgia counties and to a minority of the white people in those counties, but pointed out that such outrages "bring disgrace and obloquy upon our state as a whole and upon the entire Southern people."

## The Kaiser Couldn't Buy Him

THE steel trust is not without its faults, and some of its chiefs have been accused with more or less justice of antagonism to the rights and claims of organized labor. But credit should also be given where credit is due; and not every man can boast of refusing a $100,000,000 bribe; perhaps still fewer could refrain from boasting of it if they did refuse. Credit on both counts belongs to Charles M. Schwab. Early in the war, while the United States was still a neutral and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation had the legal right to buy and sell with belligerent nations as it chose, an agent of Ambassador Bernstorff offered $100,000,000 outright to Mr. Schwab to break his contracts with the British Government for supplying war munitions. Tho this was more than he could have made as clear profits on the contracts in question, Mr. Schwab replied at once, "The Bethlehem Steel Corporation cannot be bought for any price until it has finished its contracts with the British Government." The English, getting wind of the German offer and fearing perhaps that Mr. Schwab might eventually be brought around to the German viewpoint, raised the bid on their account to $150,000,000 so that the Bethlehem plant might be under British control. But Mr. Schwab turned down that offer also. He was going to carry out his contracts, as promised, he said, and until the work was done "there is not enough money in Germany and Great Britain combined to buy the Bethlehem Steel Company." This interesting little chapter of war history would never have been known if Mr. Schwab had been left to tell it. It was brought out by Darwin P. Kingsley, president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, at a recent reception in honor of Mr. Schwab.

Mr. Schwab's speech in response made no reference to the incident or to the many other tributes paid him as an organizer of victory before and during the war; it was wholly devoted to the problems of after-war reconstruction.

He declared that "Germany has gone back to work as has no other nation in Europe," and insisted that with the prevailing high cost of labor in the United States we could not compete with Germany in the markets of the world. He said:

Germany can today put a ton of steel in England at a price $20 a ton cheaper than what it costs England to make it. Germany is today selling pneumatic tools in Detroit where formerly we made such machinery and shipped it to Germany to sell there cheaper than she could make it.

The difference is solely a matter of labor costs. . . .

The capitalist or the manager gets relatively a very small part of what the world produces. I understand that our railroads today pay to labor over 60 cents out of every dollar received. The labor cost of making a ton of steel is today 85 cents out of each dollar of total cost.

Labor costs underlie our railroad difficulty. They are the cause of the excessive freight rates today being charged on our railroads. We formerly sold pig iron at a profit at $14 a ton. Today the total freight rates in making a ton of pig iron are more than $14 a ton.

Freight rates are too high and they must come down.

The railroads are not to blame, for they cannot give the service at even present rates with their existing costs.

Railroad costs must come down, and it is in the interests of national prosperity that our Government, acting thru the Railroad Labor Board and every other agency, shall reduce railroad wages and bring costs down to a living point.

# Underground Communism

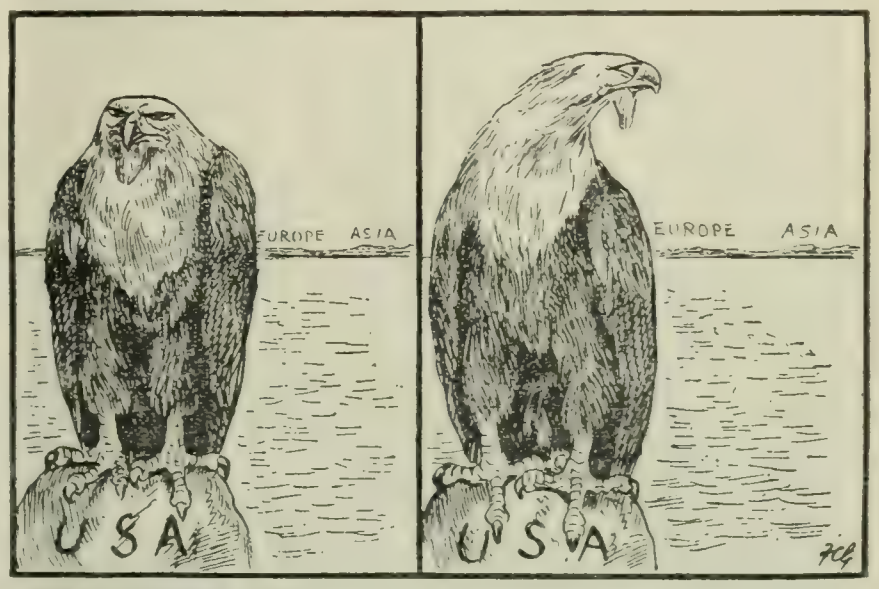
MAY Day passed off this year without any reported violent deeds by the red revolutionists who make an international holiday of that date. But on the eve of May 1 special agents of the Federal Department of Justice seized papers which show the development of an "underground organization" of the United Communist Party, the American equivalent of the Bolsheviki. Lists of local branches all over the United States were found, pamphlets of explanation and propaganda, records of minutes, lists of rules and maps of industrial centers suited to radical organization.

The rules for underground party work are especially interesting. The first condemns as traitors to the party those who give away any secret information regarding it. The second declares that "To be caught with plainly written names and addresses of comrades or party workers and places is very nearly the same as betraying them to the Government." Notes should be jotted down in brief or in code if they cannot be carried in the memory. The third instructs party workers not to let propagandist literature be found in their rooms. The fourth rule urges persons "intrusted with responsible positions in the party organization" not to place themselves under suspicion by engaging too freely in the routine work of the party such as "distributing literature from house to house, for example," or attending open meetings. The fifth rule urges members to take part in party work "without risk, if possible—but it must be done." The sixth is worth repeating. "Boasting is foolish in general, but boasting of your work for the party, thereby incurring absolutely unnecessary risks for yourself and for the party work, is positively criminal." The seventh is also interesting. "Party work, party agitation and propaganda . . . can be and should be carried on without divulging one's membership in the party . . . that thru your activities you should be known as a 'red' in your shop or union is all right, that is too general an attribute to be made the basis for prosecutions and punishments; but you should not be known as a member of the Communist party." The eighth rule warns against spies and details their methods. The ninth rule inculcates presence of mind in emergencies and adds, "Avoid arrest by all possible means." The tenth rule instructs those who are arrested to refuse to answer any questions. "Willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, seeing it or not, you will yield some information to them, if you answer their questions."




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**Signs of the Times**




*Saturday Westminster Gazette*

**Who said "oil"?**

# Hughes Wants Dutch Oil

IN international politics oil on the troubled waters usually makes them more troubled. The United States, which had its hands full in the controversy with Great Britain over the Mesopotamian oil fields, controlled by the British on mandate, has now another dispute with reference to the oil fields of the Dutch East Indies.

The island of Sumatra, tho it is one of the less developed parts of the East Indies, contains important resources of petroleum. The second chamber of the Dutch Parliament has passed a bill giving a monopoly of the exploitation of the Djambi oil fields for a period of forty years to a combination of the Government of the Dutch East Indies and the Batavia company. This bars the bid made by the Standard Oil Company.

The American claim for equal rights in developing the Dutch colonial oil fields is not the same as for participation in the Mesopotamian fields. Mesopotamia is not a British colony in "fee simple"; it is a mandated territory taken from Turkey and the United States claims that the "open door" is a necessary consequence of the mandatory system. But Sumatra is a Dutch colony and the Dutch can legislate for it as they choose. Our protest in this case is based on the principle of reciprocity; that it is unfriendly to bar American companies from the Dutch colonial fields in view of the fact that Dutch capital is not excluded from American fields. The note conveyed by Mr. Phillips, American Minister to The Hague, hints that the United States may be forced to retaliatory measures if the Dutch refuse to recognize our reciprocal rights:

During the last twelve months I have on several occasions presented to your excellency the very

great interest of my Government in the participation by American capital in the development of the mineral oil deposits of the Netherlands East Indies. With your approval I have also had frequent interviews with the Minister of the Colonies on this same subject. On every occasion I have sought to impress upon the Government of The Netherlands that the real interest of the Government of the United States in these matters lies in the recognition of the principle of mutual or reciprocal accessibility to vital and natural resources by the nationals of the United States and by those of foreign countries, and the belief that the recognition of the principle of equal opportunity is the solution of the future oil problems thruout the world.

I have pointed out that the United States has for years carried a burden of supplying a large part of the petroleum consumed by other countries, and that the petroleum resources of no other country have been so heavily drawn upon to meet foreign needs as the petroleum resources of the United States. I have pointed out that in the future ample supplies of petroleum have become indispensable to the life and prosperity of my country as a whole, because of the fact that the United States is an industrial nation in which distance renders transportation difficult, and agriculture depends largely on labor saving devices using petroleum products.

In these circumstances, my Government finds no alternative than the adoption of the principle of equally good opportunity, with the proviso that no foreign capital may operate in public lands unless its government accords similar or like privileges to American citizens; and, furthermore, I have submitted that in the light of the future needs of the United States such very limited and purely defensive provisions as the above might become inadequate should the principle of equality of opportunity not be recognized in foreign countries.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**We'll soon be able to recognize our own child—tho his playmates may not know him at first**

# Italy Too

AN Italian memorandum, communicated by Baron Ricci, the Italian ambassador, proves that Italy has taken stand with France in sustaining the American point of view on the Yap island controversy. The French memorandum was published in The Independent of April 30. The Italian note is even more outspoken:

Italy is fully convinced that the United States are not asking for any privilege in the Island of Yap which is not equally granted to every other nation, including Japan. Italy is also convinced that the United States intend to protect their interest in the Island of Yap with full consideration for the interest of other nations.

Italy, therefore, has not hesitated to express herself in a way which completely agrees with the text of the American note of the fifth of April instant, concerning the equality of right among mandataries in the exercize of their mandates.

Italy wishes and trusts that the just rights of everybody concerned be recognized always and everywhere, in the Island of Yap as well as in every other place and circumstance, with perfect equality and justice.

Italy seconded the Anglo-French proposal, which confided the study of the Yap question to the juridical committee and the conference of ambassadors in Paris, and she now expects that the conference will pronounce itself with equanimity in such a way as to eliminate every possibility of disagreement and to conciliate all conflicting interests.

Italy is particularly glad whenever the moral policies of the two governments and the material interests of the two nations agree in such a way as to put Italy and the United States in a position to coöperate toward the attainment of the common end, which consists of the realization of an era of serene peace and prosperity for the civilized world.

# Our Last Word to Panama

SECRETARY Hughes has sent another note, sterner in tone than any of its predecessors, to Panama; urging immediate compliance with the judicial award of Chief Justice White in fixing the boundary between Costa Rica and Panama. Earlier stages of the controversy were given in The Independent, March 12 (p. 267), March 19 (p. 294) and April 2 (p. 340). The obstinate little republic has prolonged the controversy until the latest note of Secretary Hughes contains a distinct threat of force. It expresses "surprize and regret" over the latest note from Panama and declines to carry the discussion any further.

As an evidence of "friendly consideration," however, the American Government will in this last note once more review the grounds of its decision. The finality of the award of President Loubet of France for the Pacific portion of the frontier has already been recognized by Panama and must therefore remain unquestioned. The boundary on the Atlantic side of the isthmus was fixed by Chief Justice White as arbitrator on the understanding that his award would be final. The contention of Panama that he exceeded his jurisdiction by going outside the limits within which the frontier line was to be established is disproved by reference to the terms of the arbitral agreement. The American Government cannot consent to have a question thus settled "as a perfect and compulsory treaty" award reopened on any pretext. For this reason also the suggestion of a plebiscite in the disputed region must be rejected. All of the territory granted to Costa Rica by the arbitral decisions of President Loubet and Chief Justice White must be immediately evacuated by the authorities of Panama.

Now comes the sting in the tail of the note. "Unless such steps are taken within a reasonable time the Government of the United States will find itself compelled to proceed in the manner which may be requisite."

# Fiume Again

THE municipal elections in Fiume have resulted in extensive disorders; almost in civil war on a tiny scale. The cause of the trouble was not only the old quarrel between the Italians and the Yugoslavs; it was also in part a conflict between the Socialists and the Fascisti. The Fascisti are not a political party, but a sort of Ku Klux Klan designed to repress Socialist outbreaks by private violence on their own account. This counter-revolutionary organization is spread thruout Italy and is found also in the Free State of Fiume, the population of which is largely Italian.

On April 24 elections took place in Fiume. A band of Fascisti, including many former supporters of the poet-dictator d'Annunzio, invaded Fiume on motor trucks and occupied the city. They proclaimed the elections cancelled and established a dictatorship of "exceptional Government" with a former mayor, Ricardo Gigante, at its head. This move was taken partly to overawe the Socialists and Communists, partly by way of reprisal against the Yugoslavs, who are accused of anti-Italian riots in various towns along the Adriatic coast, and partly, perhaps, with an idea of reversing the Treaty of Rapallo and realizing d'Annunzio's dream of uniting Fiume to the Kingdom of Italy. The Italian Government will stand by the Treaty.

# The Chinese Famine

WHILE the United States is celebrating "China famine week" with a drive for necessary funds to save whole provinces from starvation it is gratifying to learn that American benevolence has already borne some fruit. Thomas W. Lamont, in charge of the relief work in this country, testifies that "we now are advised that, instead of the 15,000,000 who it was originally feared were doomed to death from hunger, relief at present in sight from all

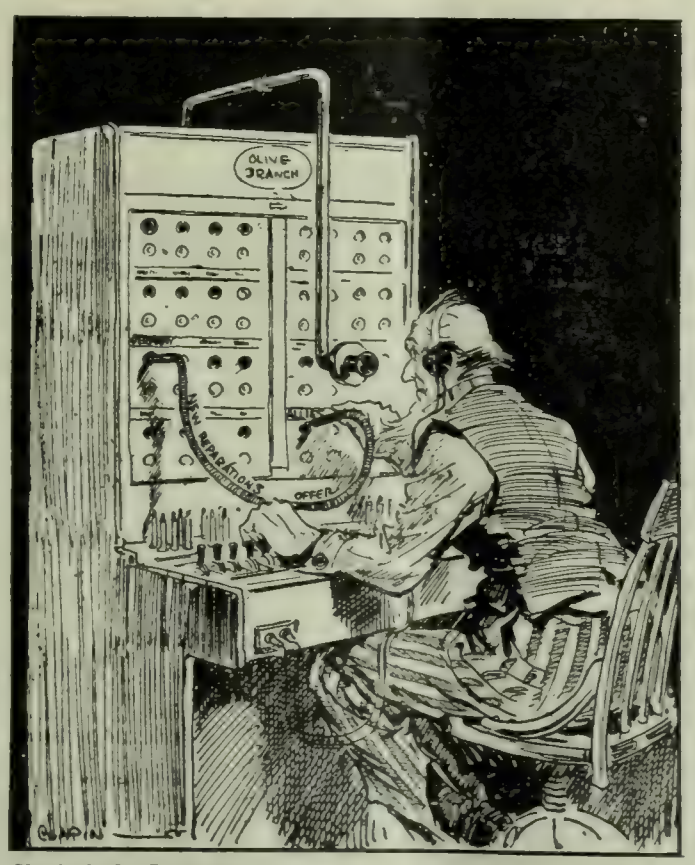
sources, American, Chinese and foreign, is sufficient to provide scanty rations until the June harvest for all except 5,000,000 people." It gives one a queer feeling to hear that "only" 5,000,000 people are going to die of starvation in a single country, but such disasters have frequently overtaken the Chinese. The death sentence on these 5,000,000 may be lifted by an increase in American contribution; otherwise they have no hope, since the meager resources of the Chinese Government are already fully extended and European nations are worried about starvation nearer home.

The Chinese Republic has not as yet attained political stability. In the south the radical leader Sun Yat-sen has been proclaimed President by an assembly at Canton.

Whether a rebellion in South China will lead to the establishment of constitutional rule over all China, or to a secessionist movement and a new republic in the south, or to the defeat of Sun Yat-sen and the restoration of the authority of the central Government in Canton, or to some federal compromize by which the Cantonese will give formal recognition to the central Government on condition that they do what they choose locally is uncertain. Perhaps the new movement may lead to no result at all save a continuation of the present deadlock. Things happen that way in China sometimes.

## Suspended Sentence

MAY 1 did not settle the German reparations dispute which has held Europe in turmoil for over three months. Everyone expected that Germany would either say "Kamerad" by May 1 and agree to the full demands of the Allied Powers or else Marshal Foch would be permitted to give the word for the military occupation of the Ruhr coal region and its industrial towns. Instead, Germany obtained a reprieve of a few days before the execution of sentence. This was partly due to the reluctance of Great Britain and Italy to push matters to a crisis which might involve Europe in another war, and partly to the common desire of all the nations concerned to bring the United States into the discussion — Germany desiring President Harding as a mediator, and the Allies desiring him as a supporter of their claims.




*Chapin in St. Louis Star*

The Reparation Commission has communicated to Germany, agreeably to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the full sum of her indebtedness. This is placed at 132,000,000,000 gold marks. It does not include the payments "on account" which Germany has already made or the reimbursement of the war debts of Belgium for which Germany is liable under Article 232 of the Treaty. Neither does it include the interest which would have to be paid in case (as is inevitable) the term of payment were spread over a period of years. But it does cover all that Germany would be required to pay as a principal sum for the various categories of damage mentioned in the Treaty, even if the full indebtedness of Germany were exacted from her.

The Allies did not demand the sum mentioned by the Reparation Commission from Germany. They proposed instead a compromize in the terms agreed on at the London Conference in January. According to this plan Germany would have to pay 226,000,000,000 marks, inclusive of interest, plus an export tax of 12 per cent. Payments would be spread over forty-two years. The present cash value of the Allied demand expressed in American money would be about $21,000,000,000, in addition to the export tax. This would be less than two-thirds of Germany's debt as estimated by the Reparation Commission, but no doubt the export tax, if it proved practicable and productive, would go far to make good the sacrifice.

Germany's counter-proposals fall far short of this. The proposal of March would have eliminated the export tax, secured for Germany an international loan, retained Upper Silesia and freed Germany from restrictions on commerce. With these concessions granted, Germany offered to pay, after the deduction of payments already made, 30,000,000,000 gold marks ($7,500,000,000) with interest. This is a little more than a third of what the Allies demanded and less than a fourth of the full debt of Germany as fixed by the Reparation Commission. Germany's second offer, communicated to the Allies by presenting it to the American Government for transmission, was much more generous. It provided for a payment of 50,000,000,000 gold marks ($12,500,000,000) with interest, but it, too, was loaded down with unacceptable conditions.

The Allies intimated to Secretary Hughes that the German offer was quite inacceptable. He therefore sent an answer to Berlin informing the German Government as follows:

> The Government of the United States has received the memorandum left by Dr. Simons with the Commissioner of the United States under date of April 24, relating to reparations. In reply, this Government states that it finds itself unable to reach the conclusion that the proposals afford a basis for discussion acceptable to the Allied governments and that these proposals cannot be entertained.
>
> This Government therefore again expressing its earnest desire for a prompt settlement of this vital question strongly urges the German Government at once to make directly to the Allied governments clear, definite and adequate proposals which would in all respects meet its just obligation.

Thus the German attempt to get the United States to mediate failed in its immediate object. President Harding and Secretary Hughes would not mediate directly; they consented only to receive the German terms and "sound" the Allies as to their acceptability as a basis for negotiation. The terms were never formally transmitted to the Allies by this Government; but for practical purposes the publication of the German terms and the communication of the attitude of the Allies with regard to them to the American Government reached the same result. But the final upshot of the negotiations was the note of Secretary Hughes urging a renewal of direct negotiations with the Allies.

The Supreme Council of the Allies prepared an ultimatum to Germany; demanding that Germany recognize her total debt as established by the Reparation Commission, agree to certain terms for paying it off so far as possible, recognize also her more immediate debt of 12,000,000,000 gold marks remaining unpaid and overdue since May 1, 1921, and consent to substantial guarantees for the fulfilment of the Treaty of Versailles. If by May 12 the ultimatum is not accepted the Allied armies will advance and proceed to the occupation of the Ruhr district and to such other measures of coercion as may seem advisable.

Central

# Here Are Books—and Books

## Reading the Bible

William Lyon Phelps writes of the Bible with the same ease, familiarity and humor with which he writes of the modern novel; which is as it should be but seldom is. His three lectures on *Reading the Bible* were delivered to the students at the Princeton Theological Seminary, but they discuss the subject from a literary rather than a theological standpoint: "Whether the original text was inspired or not, I have never felt any doubt as to the divine inspiration of the version of 1611." "The Bible contains not only the finest historical prose, and the finest lyric and epic poetry; in philosophy, practical wisdom and political economy it is also supreme," which certainly makes it worth while for any one, whatever his religious convictions may be, to know it well. Professor Phelps regrets the appalling biblical ignorance of the average American boy and girl, but rejoices in the fact that contemporary poets, novelists and dramatists seem to find the Bible the same well of inspiration that it was to their literary ancestors. He bewails the tendency to banish it from the schools:

> The Bible is not only the foundation of modern English literature, it is the foundation of Anglo-Saxon civilization. It seems a narrow and mistaken policy to drive it out of the public schools. When I was a boy, every day in school began with a chapter in the Bible and the Lord's Prayer; surely there is nothing sectarian about that. Merely in dignity, the Hebrew and Christian religions compare favorably with the Greek and Roman, with which we were compelled to familiarize ourselves at school, and so far as I know, without protest from any source. If the Greek and Roman gods and goddesses were alive today, every one of them would be in jail.

The first and third of the lectures deal with "Reading the Bible" and "The Short Stories in the Bible." They are interesting, enlivening and stimulating. They rouse your curiosity about the subject they are discussing, which is probably the true aim of criticism, certainly the aim of teaching. The chapter on "St. Paul as a Letter Writer" does the same thing to a lesser degree. Parts of it are rather dull.

*Reading the Bible*, by William Lyon Phelps. The Macmillan Co.

## Good Enough to Be Better

An English professor I once knew used at no infrequent intervals to return students' themes with a single phrase scrawled across the top: "Good enough to be better." It was a peculiarly irritating and spurring criticism, and it applies exactly to Booth Tarkington's book, *Ramsey Milholland*. *Ramsey Milholland* seems to have been written in a hurry and that is unfortunate, because it was worth doing well, worth doing, in fact, a little better than usual. It sets forth an American boy's reaction to the war, and the logic of it because of the kind of small boy he was in school and at home and as a Freshman in college. He is a Junior in 1917. He is a typical boy—Booth Tarkington seems to be incapable of creating a boy who isn't—but many of the schoolboy incidents have been warmed over from "Penrod" and the college scenes have a rather unfortunate proportion of talk to action. Which does not mean that it is not an amusing book. It is, tho its purpose is serious. That is why we wish Mr. Tarkington would write it over again and make it more serious and more amusing.

*Ramsey Milholland*, by Booth Tarkington. Doubleday, Page & Co.

## "He Was Pure Act"

Despite the exceeding banality of the saying—and the essence of banalities is their undisputed truth—most biographers decline to believe that actions speak louder than words, at least they decline to act as if they believed it. But Joseph Bucklin Bishop, in *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, is an exception to the rule. He quotes Henry Adams, "Roosevelt, more than any other living man within the range of notoriety, showed the singular primitive quality that belongs to ultimate matter—the quality that medieval theology assigned to God—he was pure act." So Mr. Bishop writes of Roosevelt's acts, beginning with his first term in the New York State Legislature, and they fill two large and fascinating volumes.

It is simple, direct, interesting narrative, some of it in Mr. Bishop's words, much of it in Colonel Roosevelt's own for the biographer is aiming to give an account not of acts alone but of the personality behind them. As Mr. Bishop says in his preface, "Many writers have sought to depict the man Roosevelt, and many others will repeat the effort, but none has, and none can, depict him as he really was with that vivid clearness in which he stands self-revealed in his letters. . . . When he sat down to write or dictate a letter to congenial friend he did not compose, he talked. Whatever was uppermost in his mind at the time came out without restraint or reservation." Mr. Bishop had access to all Colonel Roosevelt's correspondence, both personal and official, because it was at Roosevelt's own suggestion that he undertook the writing of the history of his public career. Consequently his book contains interesting and not hitherto generally known information on such subjects as the Russo-Japanese peace conference, the Algeciras incident and Roosevelt's opinions of the innumerable kings who entertained him on his way home thru Europe after his African hunting trip. These last are set down in a long, delightfully frank and personal letter to Sir George Otto Trevelyan, the historian of the American Revolution. With him Colonel Roosevelt carried on for years a correspondence which ranged far and wide over public affairs, personal matters and the many literary tastes they had in common. Those letters alone would make the book worth having.

If you are an admirer of Roosevelt you will certainly want to read this book; if you are not an admirer of Roosevelt, then you must read it.

*Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, by Joseph Bucklin Bishop. Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Fiction Stranger Than Fact

Writers of fiction ought to form a league to prevent the further exploration of Africa. In its present state of unmapped jungles and deserts it offers unparalleled opportunities for the founding of lost kingdoms. The latest has been established by Baroness Orczy of "Scarlet Pimpernel" fame. The Egyptians who carved the Sphinx and built the great Pyramids and whom history counts as a vanished race are living across the desert, behind the bronze doors of Kamt, just as they lived five thousand years ago, their civilization a compound of marvelous beauty and revolting cruelty. Two Englishmen make their way there and—why bother to go on; *By the Gods Beloved* is an exciting, well-told tale, highly to be recommended if you are in the mood for that kind of thing. Of course it has echoes of Pierre Benoit, who in turn has echoes of "She," but what difference does that make?

The desert island on which George Barr McCutcheon has wrecked a big ocean liner in *West Wind Drift* is not nearly so attractive a place, tho the passengers have correctly modern ideas of communal labor. In fact a little of that island goes a long way, and there are nearly four hundred pages of it.

*By the Gods Beloved*, by Baroness Orczy. Dodd, Mead & Co. *West Wind Drift*, by George Barr McCutcheon. Dodd, Mead & Co.

## Trips and Travels

ALSACE IN RUST AND GOLD, by Edith O'Shaughnessy (Harpers). Impressionistic, journalistic little descriptive sketches of liberated Alsace just at the end of the Great War.

THE HAPPY HUNTING-GROUNDS, by Kermit Roosevelt (Scribner's). A simple and pleasant story of the author's companionship with his father in adventure and leisurely holiday.

SAMURAI TRAILS, by Lucian Swift Kirtland (Doran). Informal and entertaining account of rambles along the unfrequented byways of Japan. Not a guide book.

LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS, edited by Findlay Muirhead (Macmillan). A new edition of the Blue Guide, with detailed maps and diagrams and several chapters of general information.

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF FLORIDA, by Clifton Johnson (Macmillan). The latest addition to this writer-photographer's splendid series of travel-guides. In the written page and in the pictures, the lure of Florida is felt.

CAMPS AND TRAILS IN CHINA, by Roy Chapman Andrews and Yvette Borup Andrews (D. Appleton). Entertaining and informative account of an adventurous expedition where maps are mostly guesswork, that will be enjoyed alike by sportsmen and naturalists.

UP THE SEINE TO THE BATTLEFIELDS, by Anna Bowman Dodd (Harper's). To get the most out of France, the author advises prospective travelers to start from the old port of Havre—where thousands of American soldiers first saw the land they had come to defend—and proceed in a leisurely way along the Seine to the recent battlefields. The book contains bits of history and vivid sketches of rural life, with distinctive illustrations.

# ECONOMIC PRIZES

## *EIGHTEENTH YEAR*

IN ORDER to arouse an interest in the study of topics relating to commerce and industry, and to stimulate those who have a college training to consider the problems of a business career, a committee composed of

**Professor J. Laurence Laughlin, University of Chicago, Chairman**
**Professor J. B. Clark, Columbia University**
**Professor Henry C. Adams, University of Michigan**
**Hon. Theodore E. Burton, Washington, and**
**President Edwin F. Gay, New York Evening Post**

has been enabled, through the generosity of Hart Schaffner & Marx, of Chicago, to offer in 1922 four prizes for the best studies in the economic field

In addition to the subjects printed below, a list of other available subjects will be supplied on request. Attention is expressly called to the rule that a competitor is not confined to topics proposed in the announcements of this committee, but any other subject chosen must first be approved by it

*1 Undetected monopoly as affecting cost of living*
*2 A classification of Federal expenditures for a national budget system*
*3 A programme for the industrial transformation of China*
*4 Protectionism as affected by the War*
*5 The effects of price-fixing by the Government during the War*
*6 The function of capital*

Class B includes only those who, at the time the papers are sent in, are undergraduates of any American college. Class A includes any other Americans without restriction; the possession of a degree is not required of any contestant in this class, nor is any age limit set

**A First Prize of One Thousand Dollars, and**
**A Second Prize of Five Hundred Dollars**

are offered to contestants in Class A.

**A First Prize of Three Hundred Dollars, and**
**A Second Prize of Two Hundred Dollars**

are offered to contestants in Class B. The committee reserves to itself the right to award the two prizes of $1000 and $500 of Class A to undergraduates in Class B, if the merits of the papers demand it. The winner of a prize shall not receive the amount designated until he has prepared his manuscript for the printer to the satisfaction of the committee.

The ownership of the copyright of successful studies will vest in the donors, and it is expected that, without precluding the use of these papers as theses for higher degrees, they will cause them to be issued in some permanent form

Competitors are advised that the studies should be thorough, expressed in good English, and although not limited as to length, they should not be needlessly expanded. They should be inscribed with an assumed name, the class in which they are presented, and accompanied by a sealed envelope giving the real name and address of the competitor, together with any degrees or distinctions already obtained. No paper is eligible which shall have been printed or published in a form to disclose the identity of the author before the award shall have been made. If the competitor is in Class B, the sealed envelope should contain the name of the institution in which he is studying. The papers should be sent on or before June 1, 1922, to

**J. Laurence Laughlin, Esq.,** *The University of Chicago*
CHICAGO

# The Story of the Steerage

(*Continued from page 508*)

last five tragic years, and there is no doubt nor fear, but passionate certainty.

Before we sailed I heard those songs from a throng of men and women crowding the dock. They were seeing their countrymen off, those who were leaving "The sweet land of liberty" for Soviet Russia. "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom" of song. Deep throated, harshly melodious and melancholy, were the Slavs' strains; for though they sing of a new world in which nationalities shall blend and disappear, the dominant note is Russian.

At first I thought the steerage joyless. Even the first cabin is apprehensive of the evil days to come; but the dense crowd opened like the hole in a doughnut. A squat, sturdy Russian danced with athletic abandon, and the hole grew larger as others joined him. The contagious rhythm affected the onlookers, who clapped their hands and beat the deck with their feet. A semi-Americanized Russian pushed through the crowd and asked the balalayka player for ragtime, and to a poor imitation of American jungle music he gyrated, then shimmied, while the crowd laughed derisively. "American dancing no good!" and they continued *a la Russe*, which was more to their—and my—liking. It was a very un-Americanized crowd. There was fearful and wonderful English and more fearful and wonderful clothes in various combinations. There were over 1,400 men going back, sturdy, fine physical specimens, lured by a dream which they say is taking shape, leaving America without regret.

The singing and dancing ceased, the groups contracted, and conversation, oration and preachment began. They were discussing war, politics and Bolshevism, especially Bolshevism. Two men talked back and forth at each other while the rest listened pop-eyed and open-mouthed. "Ha!" says one of them. "In Poland they say they have a Socialized government. They dress a man up in peasant clothes, and he smokes and spits like a peasant—but he is only a puppet, and the aristocrats pull the strings. In Russia under the Soviet (the true Socialist government), production belongs to the producer."

A tall young man of more refined appearance was reading "The Riddle of the Universe." He is a clothing cutter and is going back to help Russia. All Russians are going back to help the Soviet Republic. "The new day has come! No Czar, no priests, no bosses!"

I joined another group and a rusty, pale, pimple-faced youth was talking about war. "It says plainly in the Bible 'Thou Shalt Not Kill;' yet the priests told us to go and fight and kill. The priests are the tools of the capitalists."

"Yea," says a broad-shouldered, flat-faced Russian. "If Jesus would come to New York the priests would have him arrested and deported to Russia. In Russia he would be welcome."

Another group was being read to by a youth of about twenty-four. "What are you reading to them?" "Out of the new Bible," he replies, and shows me the book—Upton Sinclair's "The Cry for Justice," a compilation of the old agonies and the new prophecies.

So enthusiastic, so brave, so hopeful, so enchanted by new phrases, so eager to reach Soviet Russia, so glad to have escaped capitalistic America—and I am sure that he will be disillusioned.

"Are you coming back to America?" I asked him at parting.

"Yes," he replied. "But then, we, the workers, shall travel in luxury, and you, parasites, will be in the steerage."

There were smaller groups of Czechs, Poles and Slovaks who were returning, also with new hopes and ideals; only theirs are national and not international, and they too are ready to fight and die for them.

Mankind in the steerage and out of it believes in two religions: Bolshevism and nationalism. I have spent all my mornings interviewing the steerage and I have not found one man who loves America as I love it, or as those loved it who returned in the steerage prior to the war.

I'm sick at heart. It all seems a great pity and a great waste. "America no good!" And it hurts to hear it, accustomed as I was to their adulation, to unstinted praise, to their carrying the American flag back with them.

If they were complaining about lack of work or wages I should not care; but they are complaining about our poverty of spirit, our lack of ideals, our hardness and coldness and blind suppression. "America is ruthless," one of the men told me. "Life is nothing, money is everything. I worked in a shipyard in Camden, and every day regularly one man or more was killed. The Americans don't care, there are other men to take their places."

"America is like Russia," another man complained. "And she will be punished like Russia," he prophesied.

When I went back to the first cabin I stepped into another world. Time had dealt more kindly with the cabin than with the steerage. Comforts have grown into luxuries and luxuries into extravagances. The vibration of the machinery is unfelt up here and our track over the waves is smooth. There is the splendor of Louis XIV, plus electric elevators, electric lights, swimming pool, gymnasium, miles of broad deck and glass covered verandas.

English passengers predominate. If they are troubled about their empire they do not show it, and they seem happy to be under the Union Jack again and to be able to drink whiskey and soda as behooves "free white men."

Americans there are of course, in goodly numbers, so many of English blood, yet so un-English. They are mostly captains of industry going over to scan the troubled horizon of the industrial world. "Watchman, what of the night?" They pretend to be optimistic and comfort themselves with phraseology; they play poker and the stakes are bigger than ever; they bet on the ship's run in phenomenal sums and make up for the thirst of the past.

There are plenty of American women on board, smartly gowned, many of them lovely and simple, too many of them extravagantly bejewelled and too scantily dressed. Most of them are smoking and drinking.

There is much talking, but no one seems to be discussing anything in particular.

There is a dance every night, and a sumptuous dress parade. Yellow-necked champagne bottles grace the tables, and there is a riot of spending. One of the famous men on board is a lightweight champion and my neighbor at table, a broker, paid five hundred dollars to see him perform; but he dropped a one dollar bill into the collection for the widows' and sailors' fund.

The head steward tells me that the wine bill of a number of individuals will exceed $1,000.

"Break the power of labor! Deport the Bolsheviks! Hang the anarchists!" Those seem the remedies which will cure a sick world and will bring order out of confusion.

"If you will poison that man Lenin we will be all right." What a confession of weakness and wickedness!

"We are doing much for our workingmen today," one man says. "We even invited a delegation to our annual dinner." The trouble with what they are doing is that it is ten or twenty years too late and is done out of fear rather than out of conviction.

The men I have met here have read nothing but market reports and content themselves with denouncing the Labor Unions. Everything with which they do not agree is dangerous.

As I am writing, the steward is walking about attending to his duties. The last time I sailed, his class was servile, beaten into servility. His was an ill-paid task. He had to eat his meals standing, and I have seen him asleep, leaning against a pillar.

What marks my steward is his evident self-respect. He does his work without cringing and without debasement. He is not ordered about as if he were a slave; he seems to take pleasure in seeing me comfortable, and he takes as much pride in making my bed as I am taking in writing my book.

"There is the light at Land's End!" he cries. I drop my pen and run to see its welcome, flashing over the deep.

# The Couple That Spent Every Cent

**WHERE did it all go? Forbes earned a good salary. Neither he nor Mrs. Forbes could be accused of extravagance. But somehow they could never keep more than a few dollars ahead of expenses. Then something happened that gave them a scare—and out of it they found an easy way to get on EASY STREET.**

ABOUT six months ago I got the scare of my life. Edith was worried, too. But in the end it was one of the best things that ever happened to us.

I guess I had a pretty close call. The doctor said afterwards that he never expected me to pull through.

But it wasn't my own sickness that gave me my fright—at least I wasn't alarmed about myself. It was the sick condition of the family finances, and thinking of Edith and the boy that put me in a panic. There I was, flat on my back in bed; a big doctor's bill running up; a trained nurse to pay every week; and no reserve to fall back on—not a dollar laid by for emergency.

Luckily the firm was good enough to continue my salary without a break, or I don't know what we would have done.

The things that went through my mind during that slow process of getting well made me feel like a criminal. Suppose the worst had happened? No provision for Edith and the boy except a little insurance—the total amount not enough to last more than a year at the rate we had been living.

It hurt like a stab. It seems incredible that two people in their right minds could drift along the way we had been doing, constantly living up to the last cent, constantly on the edge of a slippery precipice. Yet according to statistics, something like 50 per cent of all the men in America over sixty years of age are dependent on relatives or charity for support—including men who had earned princely incomes when in their prime. Think of it! And all because they had failed to look ahead—had never learned how to save. It hit me right between the eyes. For I was nearly thirty-two years old—certainly old enough to know better; yet I wasn't a dollar nearer independence than when I was twenty.

One day, while still in bed, I ran across something in one of the magazines that opened my eyes to our whole trouble.

It said that most people make hard work of saving simply because they don't go at it in the right way. Their money doesn't last long because they have no check on it—no definite system for adjusting their outgo to their income. It said the only practical way is the budget system—split your salary up into proportionate parts; allow so much each week for this, so much for that, and then stick to it.

Then the article told of an almost automatic way for doing this—a new system for managing personal affairs; it was called the Ferrin Money Making Account System.

It struck me that this was just what Edith and I needed if we ever expected to get our feet on solid ground. When I showed my discovery to Edith, she agreed with me, and immediately sent for the complete system.

That little step has proved to be our salvation. It has helped us put nearly $500 in the bank in less than six months—out of the same salary that was formerly never enough. At the same time it helped us to pay a big doctor's bill without ever missing the money.

The Ferrin Money Making Account System has shown us how to cut out all that old haphazard, hit-or-miss kind of spending, how to save money that we formerly frittered away—how to stop the little leaks that were keeping us poor.



*"The things that went through my mind during that slow process of getting well, made me feel like a criminal."*

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**The Ferrin Kitchen Calendar (for the household)**
**The Ferrin Pocket Account Book**
**The Ferrin Investment and Insurance Register**
**The Ferrin Household Inventory and Fire Insurance Record**

Compact information is given on Making a Budget, Keeping Expense Accounts, Making Safe Investments, Making an Inventory of Household Goods.

The Pocket Account Book (price when sold separately, 50 cents) contains printed slips so that you have only to jot down the amounts of your daily expenditures. The Kitchen Calendar (price 50 cents) keeps track of household expenses. At the end of each week or month these amounts are transferred to the Money Making Account Book, which contains 112 pages, size 8¼ x 10½ inches, and is bound in half blue Silk Cloth Back—Cadet Blue Cover Paper Sides—Turned Edges, semi-flexible, stamped in gold on Front Cover. This book has been prepared by an expert to fit any salary from the smallest to the largest. Incorporated in it is a recapitulation for every month of the year, which shows at a glance the Budget and the amounts paid out during the month for the various classified items of expense. It is the only book to our knowledge which has a Budget Column for every month. Special columns are provided for items on which an income tax does not have to be paid, so that these amounts may be deducted at the end of the year.

## One Money Saving Feature

A war tax is now levied on almost every kind of article you buy. Few people know that the amounts so paid on daily purchases may properly be deducted from their income tax report.

The following items, for example, are deductible. Interest on personal indebtedness; taxes on land, buildings and household property; war taxes on club dues, theatre tickets, transportation, telephone messages, telegrams, tobacco, etc.; contributions to churches, charitable, scientific or educational institutions which are not conducted for profit. By keeping track of these war taxes on the pages for daily expenditures, and transferring the weekly or monthly totals to the Money Making Account Book, you will effect a saving on your income tax that will surprise you and that will pay the small price of the System many times over.

The Ferrin Investment and Insurance Register is designed to keep an accurate record of your investments, insurance policies, etc. Contains 32 pages size 5 x 8 inches; price separately, 50 cents. The Ferrin Inventory and Fire Insurance Record will enable you to make and keep a complete inventory of every room in the house; also provides for record of your fire insurance policy. It is an absolute necessity in case of fire. It may save you many thousand times the cost, which is 50 cents when sold separately.

## Two Minutes a Day

The Ferrin Money Making Account System takes only two minutes a day. Any grammar school boy or girl can keep the accounts. This method is not a hard task.

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## Send No Money

See how magically the Ferrin Money Making Account System works, no matter how much or how little your income. We know what you will think of it when you see it. So we are willing to send you the complete System without your sending us any money in advance. Just mail the coupon, and back will come the System by return mail. If you feel that you can afford not to have it, simply send it back, and you will owe nothing.

But when you have seen what big returns the Ferrin System will pay you, you will surely want to keep this wonderful aid to money-making, especially as we are now making a special short-time offer of only $3.50 for the complete System.

You will appreciate what a remarkable offer this is when you consider that other expense account books are sold for $3 and cover a period of only two years. The Ferrin Money Making Book covers four years, and therefore has twice the value, $6. And in addition you get the Ferrin Kitchen Calendar, the Ferrin Pocket Account Book, the Ferrin Investment and Insurance Register, the Ferrin Household Inventory and Fire Insurance Record, each worth 50 cents, or $2. You have the opportunity, therefore, of securing $8 value for only $3.50.

But we can make this special combination offer only for a limited time. You are therefore urged to mail the coupon now—to do so costs nothing and does not obligate you in any way, and it may be a revelation to you of how much more you can get out of your income.

## READ!

Letter from Head of Financial Department of Largest Corporation of its kind in the United States.

"I consider your account book a remarkable contribution to the people of this country at this time.

"In our company we have 5,000 employes and it was a revelation to me, in giving them advice in regard to the making out of their income tax returns, to find how few had any intelligent idea of their income and their living expenses.

"The simplicity of your plan, which, by comparison with previous methods of account keeping, would seem to be well-nigh automatic, appeals to me strongly.

"They say you can't teach an old dog new tricks, but I will say to you that I am going to use the Ferrin Book for my own family expenses, and consider it will make money for me right from the start."

(Signed) D. S. Burton.

Letter from A. B. Dick, Jr., of the A. B. Dick Company of Chicago, Manufacturers of the Edison-Dick Mimeograph Machine:

"I can candidly say that all the record books which you have issued are practically invaluable to the man who wishes to handle his personal and household accounts in the proper manner. I have seen several systems to take care of these matters, but yours covers the ground in a more thorough manner than any of them.

"To further show my appreciation I would like to have three copies of your Investment and Insurance Register, and also one copy of the 'Money Making Account Book' if these are off the press and available. It would be particularly gratifying to have them in sufficient time for the opening of the new year. If you will forward your bill I will be very glad to remit."

(Signed) A. B. Dick, Jr.

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## China's Constant Terror

(*Continued from page 509*)

fall crops spells ruin. If the farmer reaps a good supply of wheat, but loses the fall crop, he can "manage." In case the wheat is a failure, but the millet, sweet potatoes and Kaffir corn mature, the peasant does not have to starve. To reap little or nothing in the summer and in the autumn means overwhelming disaster.

Another fruitful cause of insufficiency in the food supply is the ever recurring floods. This year a river breaks thru its dykes; next year another overflows its banks. The writer knows a river valley which has not yet recovered from the cruel wounds inflicted by a river a decade ago.

An even greater cause of famine is the Chinese peasant's abject poverty, due largely to industrial and agricultural conservatism.

Even in normal years millions balance themselves with difficulty on the slender line separating life from death. Imagine a family of five persons busily engaged in coaxing a third, a half, or even a whole acre of land to give them their daily bread. The average farmer eats meat only on feast days, or about once a month.

Besides these farmers there are whole armies of landless peasants.

The most vivid imagination at home cannot possibly picture to itself the economic impotence of China's masses. Very distinctly does the writer recall one of South Dakota's crop failures; but he thinks of those American farmers as plutocrats in comparison with these Chinese farmer-paupers. How much can a Chinese borrow on his farm, no larger than a potato patch? For the pittance the loan shark gives him he pays at least 30 per cent interest, while the South Dakota farmer paid only from ten to twelve. Not only did the American farmer pay but a third of the interest, but fairly adequate transportation facilities supplied him with grain from neighboring states at reasonable prices, while the failure to build sufficient railroads in China exacts vengeance in the form of high priced food supplies.

As has just been suggested the famine itself as well as its severity is closely related to the absence or presence of railroads, canals and good highways. If grain and other supplies can be poured into the affected regions easily, cheaply and quickly, prices cannot soar, and profiteers will be handicapped in their ghoulish work of fattening on their countrymen's misfortunes. During the famine of 1877-78 it cost twenty dollars gold per ton to haul grain to the famine districts of Honan and seventy dollars gold a ton to Shensi. Altho two trunk lines, the Peking-Hankow Railway and the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, trisect the present famine area, they are hopelessly inadequate to meet the need, since they do not come within a hundred miles of some of the stricken districts.

Not being navigated by steam propelled vessels the Yellow River, tho

bounding the famine districts on the south, is a negligible factor in feeding the hungry. The Grand Canal, which crosses Shantung and Chili, is also a broken reed. About seventy years ago the Yellow River, tiring of its old monotonous bed, suddenly moved its mouth from Anhwei to the province of Chili, a jump of 250 miles. This antic of "China's Sorrow," the Yellow River, reduced the Grand Canal from an artery of transportation to a capillary.

And finally, there are the unspeakable country roads.

After China's hills have been reafforested, factories opened, railroads built, rivers dredged, canals deepened and highways improved, droughts and floods will lose their terror and famines will cease.

*Shantung, China*

## This Changing World

(*Continued from page 511*)

only knew enough. Professor Soddy in that fascinating book, "Science and Life," makes the rash prophecy that the time may come when we will do without food and replenish our bodily energy, as a storage battery is recharged, by taking hold of the poles of a battery for a few minutes. I am glad to think that such an invention will not come in my day.

Such visionary speculations are of value only as stimulants to our inactive imaginations. But the question of the greater utilization of solar power is the most important problem of our day. The sun supplies us with energy at the rate of 7300 horsepower per acre, or 4,500,000 horsepower per square mile. At this rate thirty-three square miles of arid land located, I should say, in the vicinity of Needles, would be sufficient, if completely utilized, to run all the machinery in the United States and so relieve the strain on our coal and oil.

If some machine were discovered by which solar energy could be directly utilized, even tho very inefficiently, the balance of power among the nations of the world would be upset. Then there would be a scramble for "a place in the sun" and the nation that owned and utilized the largest area of the arid tropics would rule the rest. France would find her Saharan wastes a veritable Garden of Allah. Arizona and New Mexico would be to the United States in the future what Pennsylvania and Ohio have been in the past. Dr. Steinmetz in the *General Electric Review*, July, 1918, calculates that the utilization of the solar power on the land unsuitable for agriculture would give, even tho only half of it were used and nine-tenths of this wasted, fifty times as much as we can obtain from all our hydraulic power.

But the only useful form of sunshine absorber so far known is the green leaf and upon it we must rely for our industrial energy as our supply of fossil fuel becomes reduced. So we shall in the next article of this series consider the efficiency of the plant as a solar engine.


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*Publisher's Note: Prof. von Boeckmann is the scientist who explained the nature of the mysterious Psycho-physic Force involved in the Coulon-Abbott Feats; a problem that baffled the leading scientists of America and Europe for more than thirty years, and a full account of which has been published in the March and April issues of Physical Culture Magazine.*

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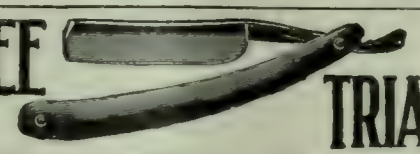
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. Here Are Books—and Books.**

1. "Reading the Bible" says that the Bible contains historical prose, lyric poetry, epic poetry, philosophy, and short stories. Name books of the Bible that will illustrate the types of literature named.
2. Tell one of the short stories given in the Bible.
3. "The Bible is the foundation of modern English literature." Prove that the assertion is true.
4. "The Bible is the foundation of Anglo-Saxon civilization." Prove that the assertion is true.
5. "Contemporary poets, novelists and dramatists find the Bible a well of inspiration." Name any modern poem, or novel, or play that shows the influence of the Bible. Tell exactly how the work shows the influence of the Bible.
6. Compare what the article, "He Was Pure Act," says about the writing of biography, and what Carlyle's "Essay on Burns" says on the same subject.
7. Tell what good qualities appear in Colonel Roosevelt's letters. How do his letters differ from ordinary letters? Give a series of suggestions for the writing of friendly letters.
8. What type of fiction is mentioned in "Fiction Stranger Than Fact"? What is the opposite type of fiction? What are the good qualities of each type?

**II. This Changing World.**

1. What did Emerson mean when he said, "Hitch your wagon to a star"? For what sort of literary work is Emerson noted? Who were some of Emerson's contemporaries?
2. What is the principal theme of the article?
3. What literary principle is employed in the opening paragraphs?
4. Explain the sentence, "Sun-worship is the most sensible of all forms of idolatry."
5. Write an imaginative story in which you tell of the results of utilizing the power of the sun.
6. Summarize the scientific information presented in the article.

**III. The Story of the Steerage.**

1. What advantage is gained by printing a biographical sketch of the writer of the article? Under what conditions is it wise to employ the method in a school publication?
2. Write an outline of the article, writing the outline so that it will show the development of the author's thoughts.
3. Read aloud the fifth paragraph. On what figures is the paragraph based? In what respects is the paragraph different from a news paragraph?
4. Read the paragraphs concerning Budapest, Petrograd and Moscow. Name the rhetorical devices employed to make these paragraphs striking.
5. Write a series of paragraphs about cities or streets with which you are familiar, making a definite attempt to imitate the descriptions of Vienna, Budapest, Petrograd and Moscow.
6. Point out the writer's use of contrast in the course of the article.
7. By what grammatical and rhetorical means does the writer make the reader realize the interior of the steerage of an ocean liner?
8. What two extremes of thought does the writer emphasize as characteristic of the people of the steerage and of the people of the first cabin? What is the writer's own solution of the problems he suggests?
9. What is the significance of the last paragraph?

**IV. China's Constant Terror.**

1. Show how the writer makes use of what is familiar as a means of emphasizing what is not familiar.
2. Show how the writer uses specific instances as a means of emphasizing general statements.
3. Explain the causes of famine in China. What is being done in the United States to prevent the occurrence of famine in this country?
4. Write a speech such as you might make in appealing for aid for the famine-stricken people in China.
5. Imagine that you are a newspaper correspondent, and that you travel thru the regions of famine. Write at least a part of your article for your paper. Make your work definite, vivid, and appealing.

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. Reparations—Suspended Sentence. Salvaging Germany.**

1. What do the Allies demand from Germany? What does Germany offer?
2. Why is the date of May 1, 1921, so important? (Hint—See articles 233, 234 and 235 of the Treaty of Versailles). Why was a respite of twelve days granted to Germany?
3. Why in your opinion did Germany appeal to the United States to act as mediator? How far did we accept this function?
4. Do you agree with the editorial contention that the chief cause of German militarism was the autocratic form of government of the old Empire?

**II. American Foreign Policy—The Hard Path to an Association of Nations. Italy Too. Hughes Wants Dutch Oil. Peace at Last!**

1. In the opinion of the Washington correspondent of The Independent what is the purpose of Secretary Hughes in reviving various diplomatic controversies with Japan and the European Powers? How is this policy related to the organization of a new association of nations?
2. What position have Italy and France taken with reference to the Yap mandate controversy?
3. What is the purpose of the American note to the Dutch Government? On what principles is the American contention based?
4. How long is it since actual hostilities ceased between Germany and the United States? Why has the "state of war" been continued so long a time since the armistice?

**III. Senatorial Primaries—Newberry Not Guilty. After the Kings—the Senate.**

1. Show the importance of the ruling of the Supreme Court that Congress has no power to regulate primary elections and party conventions. On what grounds did the majority of the Court base its decision?
2. Read Article 1, Sections 3 and 4, and Amendment 17 of the American Constitution. These clauses cover the constitutional provisions concerning the election of the Senate. Do you think, on a careful reading, that they could be construed to cover Congressional control of party primaries or not? Whichever way you decide you will have at least four Supreme Court judges in agreement with you!
3. Do you agree with the editorial contention that the Senate has too much power?
4. Choose *one* of the following subjects for debate: (a) Resolved, That there should be a constitutional amendment giving Congress power to regulate party conventions and primaries; (b) Resolved, That the size of campaign contributions should be limited by law; (c) Resolved, That treaties be ratified by a simple majority of both Houses of Congress instead of by a two-thirds majority of the Senate; (d) Resolved, That Presidential appointments should not require confirmation by the Senate.

**IV. China—China's Constant Terror. The Chinese Famine.**

1. Tell what you can about the causes and extent of the Chinese famine. How does Mr. Jones distinguish between the droughts and floods which "occasion" the famines and underlying "causes" which make droughts and floods so fatal?
2. Show the points of difference between a Chinese famine and a "crop failure" in the American West.

**V. Industrial Unrest—The Story of the Steerage. The Relativity of Liberty. Underground Communism. The Shipping Strike.**

1. Dr. Steiner's article gives an admirable glimpse into the minds of the un-Americanized immigrant. What conclusions can you draw from his description as to (a) immigration policy (b) Americanization of our alien population, (c) the need for industrial reforms?
2. "Mankind in the steerage and out of it believes in two religions: Bolshevism and nationalism." Explain this sentence.
3. State the argument of Professor Giddings's editorial. What limits does he place to freedom of speech and of the press?
4. What is the Communist party? Is it the same as the Socialist party? How is it similar to Russian Bolshevism?
5. What conditions are causing wages to fall? Do you think that the downward tendency in wages can be held back by strikes such as the shipping strike?

# The Independent

## Pebbles

Tailor—That coat is too short for you.
Youth—Well, it will be long enough before I get another one.—*Octopus.*

Dora—Helen says her face is her fortune.
Cora—Then she needn't worry about paying any income tax.—*Sun Dial.*

Teacher—Hawkins, what is a synonym?
Hawkins—Please, sir, it's a word you use in place of another when you cannot spell the other one.—*Boys' Life.*

A story is told of a Scotchman who proposed sending a sweater to his brother. He was informed that the shipping charges depended on weight. Whereupon he cut the buttons off and put them in one of the pockets.—*Art in Buttons.*

If you are expecting that this is verse,
We're sorry to say you're mistaken
There isn't a rhyme in the whole bloomin' thing;
We printed it this way to fool you.
—*Puppet.*

A judge asked a woman her age.
"Thirty," she replied.
"You've given that age in this court for the last three years."
"Yes. I'm not one of those who says one thing today and another thing tomorrow."—*Exchange.*

At the grave of the departed the old darky pastor stood, hat in hand. Looking into the abyss he delivered himself of the funeral oration.
"Samuel Johnson," he said sorrowfully, "you is gone. An' we hopes you is gone where we 'specks you ain't."—*The American Legion Weekly.*

The train drew up with a mighty crash and shock between stations. "Is it an accident?" inquired a worried-looking individual of the conductor.
"Some one pulled the bell cord!" shouted the conductor. "The express knocked our last car off the track! Take us four hours before the track is clear!"
"Great Scott! Four hours! Why, man, I am to be married today!" groaned the passenger.
The conductor, a bigoted bachelor, raised his eyebrows suspiciously.
"Look here!" he demanded. "I suppose you ain't the chap that pulled the cord?"—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

He was rather nervous about calling upon her. After all, she seemed rather reluctant to give him her address after their short flirtation. However, he came around. His timid knock at the door brought forth a rosy cheeked servant girl. Handing her a bright half-dollar, his visiting card went immediately upstairs.
Presently the maid returned and remarked, "Will you step upstairs, Mr. Whittacre?" He started violently. His name was Henry de Peyster-Knapp. Had he a rival?
Depositing another half-dollar with the maid, he asked, "What-er-made you call me Mr. Whittacre?"
"Why—why, that's your name, isn't it?—when I gave your card to Miss Ethelyn, she read it and said, 'G. Whittacre! Show him up, Sally!' "—*New York Globe.*


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## Remarkable Remarks

WALT MASON—I think it wise to train our domes to think of pleasant things.

ARTHUR BRISBANE—Eighty per cent of all human energy is born in girl babies.

REMY DE GOURMONT—There is nothing more perverted than the sense of smell.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JR.—The Navy should not be made up of "Little Lord Fauntleroys."

CONGRESSWOMAN ALICE ROBERTSON—Since I came to Washington, I am getting right young and frivolous.

WARREN G. HARDING—I want America to be reconstructed thru the religious revival that was apparent in the early days of the Republic.

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM—I believe that in about fifty years America will be the first country in the world in the realm of art and literature.

HERBERT HOOVER—Unless we can look forward to some drop in railroad rates we shall rewrite the whole industrial geography of the United States.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS—If we should be chosen head of the Department of Welfare our first act would be to abolish the spongy whipped-cream atrocity vended to the public as strawberry short cake.

DOROTHY DIX—There are just as many husbands starving for a little real love as there are wives. The only difference is that men are ashamed to admit it, while women howl aloud their wants.

SENATOR REED—If you should put the Saviour of mankind and the twelve Apostles in a sanctum, and run the Republican banner up over it, no matter who put the banner up, the Senator from Mississippi would probably denounce them.

## Opening Nights

*Two Little Girls in Blue*—a musical play with some tuneful music, some pretty dancing, and a not altogether original plot built on the striking resemblance of the two heroines. (George M. Cohan Theater.)

*Princess Virtue*—a typical "summer show" raised above the average by the fact that the star, Tessa Kosta, can really sing. Its comedy qualifications are rather less apparent, tho Hugh Cameron does all that one man can! (Central Theater.)

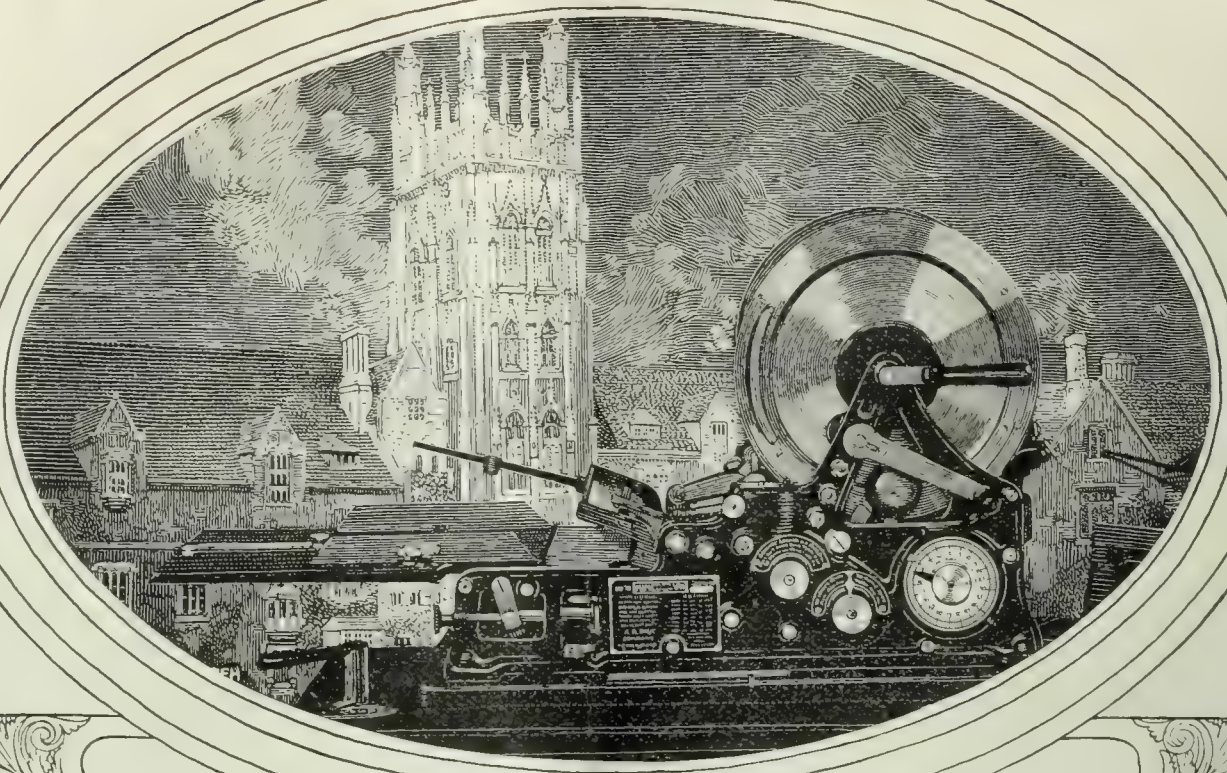
*The Servant in the House* is unfortunately far below the Shakespearian level set by Walter Hampden and his company in repertoire. Neither does it redound to the credit of the author, Charles Rann Kennedy, to have his play mouthed noisily after the manner of an elocution school. (Broadhurst Theater.)

Walter Hampden as Petruchio and Mary Hall as Katharine rattle in lively fashion thru *The Taming of the Shrew*, not missing many chances to get all the possible fun which the piece affords. The rest of the cast provided adequate support, and the simple dignity of the stage setting deserves a word of special commendation. (Broadhurst Theater.)




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The Independent
May 21, 1921



# Can Freight Rates Come Down?

## In the Answer to This Question Is the Keynote of America's Industrial Future

### By Richard Boeckel

DURING the last five months there has been an alarming slump in every branch of the railroad business . . . except one. The business of carrying commuters to and from the great cities continues good, if not very profitable.

Suppose the railroads serving these cities should seek to meet their present desperate need of additional revenues by increasing commutation rates 500 per cent.

The club car commuter could bear the increase, perhaps, with or without grinning, but for the man in the coach (the vast majority whose salaries are stretched to the limit of elasticity to cover family budgets) it would be a matter of the greatest concern.

Failing to get an increase in pay, the coach commuter would be compelled to face the necessity of moving his family into a flat. All but the fashionable suburbs would be rapidly depopulated, and railroad revenues would dwindle to the vanishing point.

Such havoc as would be wrought in the suburbs and with railroad revenues by this suggested 500 per cent increase is already being played in eastern industrial centers—and with railroad earnings—by the 75 per cent increase in freight rates.

Raise import duties above a certain level and the tariff acts as an embargo, shutting out all goods that can be produced within the tariff wall, and thus affording complete protection to domestic manufacturers from foreign competition.

Raise freight rates above a certain level and small manufacturers, supplying restricted areas at small costs for transportation, are afforded complete protection from the competition of large producers at distant points. If there are no manufacturing plants in districts where there is a demand, "infant industries" will spring up (as under the tariff. It is difficult to foretell the rate level at which this process will set in, but proof is soon forthcoming when the level has been passed. There is abundant evidence in the railroad figures on earnings (there were no earnings during January) that the present rates are more than the traffic will bear.

And the proof is beginning to come in that industry is decentralizing as a result.

Some manufacturing plants, similarly circumstanced, will do what the commuter did. They will move nearer their markets to eliminate heavy transportation charges. Other enterprizes will split up their plants and distribute them in various districts. Still others will wait—and see their business divided up among small competitors.

Take the case of Grand Rapids. It used to have a practical monopoly of the furniture business of the United States while freight rates were low, but now is finding the greatest difficulty in competing with the host of new factories springing up on the Pacific coast.

When the number of long hauls is cut down the number of short hauls is increased. All profits in the freight service in the past have been made on the long haul, the short haul, in many instances, being made at a loss.

Of all the railroads in the country, those in New England are in the worst condition—for the simple reason that they are compelled by the density of population to do a disproportionate amount of short hauling. These roads put their problem before a recent conference of New England Governors, and suggested that the only way out was an additional increase in rates of 10 per cent.

Immediately there was a conference of textile manufacturers. They pointed out to the railroads that many cotton mills were already going to the South, to eliminate the cost of transporting their cotton, and that new woolen mills

were being started near the sheep-raising country in the West, with which New England manufacturers could not compete in western markets.

Later the shoe manufacturers got together. They told the railroads that if rates were further increased—indeed, if they were not reduced—they would be compelled to move their plants to other neighborhoods.

IN industries requiring heavy capitalization, new plants cannot be established as readily as in the shoe, furniture or clothing industries, for instance. But new plants will be built at new locations, nevertheless, no matter how great the difficulties.

The steel mills of Pennsylvania have taken to shipping their steel for western markets by rail to Philadelphia, thence by water to San Francisco via the Panama Canal, and reshipping eastward to points of consumption by rail.

They have found they can save from ten days to two weeks in transit by this method. This statement seems incredible, until it is remembered that a freight car travels only twenty-six miles a day on an average.

The citrus fruit growers of California are doing the same thing, the other way around. Their consignments for eastern markets are concentrated at San Pedro, put in the holds of refrigerated ships and sent to New York by water, to be distributed westward from there by rail. Thus the railroads lose one long haul both on steel and citrus fruit, and get two unprofitable short hauls in exchange.

Oranges, lemons and grape fruit cannot be grown in the neighborhood of Boston, Philadelphia or New York and there is, therefore, no prospect of decentralization here.

But for the steel industry it can be only a temporary expedient, since steel *can* be produced in the West.

Within trucking distance of Los Angeles there are three great mountains of iron ore. If it is true, as recent Government reports have stated, that the abundant coal of the Alaskan fields can be used for coking, then it is only a matter of time, a very short time, perhaps, until Los Angeles becomes the steel producing center for much of the western country, and the steel industry is thus decentralized.

High freight rates are not the only influence working to make decentralization compulsory. But they are, however, the compelling influence.

From the time the first railroads were built until 1916 the general level of freight rates came steadily downward. Eastern manufacturers could ship their goods to western territory so cheaply that the establishment of competing plants near the western markets was discouraged.

The railroads have had a selfish interest in seeing that industry was centralized as far as possible from western sources and western markets. Every new industry established in the West deprived them of profitable long hauls.

Not satisfied with the natural tendency toward centralization in the East, they took artificial means to stimulate it. Rates were so adjusted that it cost a western manufacturer more to ship his goods to markets near at hand than for an eastern manufacturer to ship to the same market.

By similar methods the railroads discouraged the development of distributing centers in the West, since every such center tended to cut down the number of long hauls. Unhampered in the exercize of the right to make rates and regulate service as they willed, they held the power of life and death over western communities and western industries.

It took a long while to convince Congress that the railroads were hampering rather than promoting the development of the western country, but ultimately laws were enacted seeking to prevent discriminations. The railroads were prohibited from charging more for a short than for a long haul, and from granting rebates to favored industries. It was not until 1910, however, that their rates came under really effective Federal regulation.

Iowa started the movement for regulation of the railroads in 1870, when it asserted and exercized the power to fix state rates and standards of service. The result is that Iowa is today the most evenly developed state in the Union. It has many small towns, but no large cities.

Discriminations in rates, in favor of the large industrial centers, still continue in the form of "differentials" which give centers of large production lower rates than the rest of the country.

The influence toward decentralization would have exerted itself when the 25 per cent increase in rates of June, 1918, came into force had it not been for the war. All industries were earning large profits. Prices were high. The people were able to pay them with the inflated currency and the Government had to pay them on its war orders. Increased profits outweighed the increased cost of transportation—and industry did not feel it.

When the increased rates began to be reflected in retail prices, however, just at the time the process of deflation began to bear down most heavily, the people stopped buying. There was a "buyers' strike" and business slumped.

For a time no one seemed to know just what had happened, except Mr. McAdoo, perhaps, who seems to have an instinct about such things.

Slowly the process of industrial decentralization is going on; slowly business is picking up. While war profits hold out, some industries can continue to mark time in the expectation that freight rates will soon come down, but when war profits are exhausted, as they are rapidly being exhausted by the payment of unjustified dividends, these industries will have decentralization thrust upon them. . . .




*Thomas in Detroit News*

Low bridge

Can freight rates come down? That is the controlling question. Can they come down quickly enough to bring the decentralization movement to check?

The increase over pre-war rates is variously figured at from 70 to 85 per cent. Only 35 per cent—less than half of this increase—has come since the railroads were returned to private control. Before this increase was granted the Government lost money in its operation of the roads, in spite of the fact that the roads had all the traffic they could carry. After the increase business improved, until in October the railroads did more business than ever before in their history. In spite of tremendous business, the railroads earned only 4.7 per cent under the new rates during the month of October.

How then can railroad rates come down?

Possibly they can be reduced somewhat by cutting the pay of railroad labor. But some six months of argument before the Railroad Labor Board will be necessary before general reductions in wages can be [*Continued on page 548*

# Patches of Peace

## By Edward A. Steiner

This is the second of a series of articles, written exclusively for The Independent, in which Dr. Steiner gives us the benefit of a special trip which he is making at the request of the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia, to visit their relief stations in France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Poland and Russia. The first article, "The Story of the Steerage," appeared in the issue of May 14.

Dr. Steiner, a recognized authority and specialist in immigrant problems, knows whereof he speaks in other matters involving racial characters, customs and differences. He was born in Austria, and educated in Germany. He emigrated to America in his early twenties, and worked a hard way up through mine and mill and factory. A Jew, he was converted to Christianity, was pastor of Congregational churches, and for some years past has occupied the Chair of Applied Christianity in Grinnell College, Iowa, during which period he has alternated teaching with writing and lecturing.

"NORMALCY" is a poorly made but expressive word, and the shores of France, rising out of the mist of a raw March day, have attained it. The eye searches in vain for some dent or bruise or ugly mark left by the teeth of the war dogs.

The straight lines of the breakwater of Cherbourg, the polite French police officers—giving us the first taste of passport troubles—are as of old. A thousand passengers, we were loaded into a fragile looking boat, our hand-luggage thrown down pell-mell, and the struggling mass entangled and disentangled itself in the attempt to find its own belongings. Followed the hurried examination, came the race for a place on the train, the same old unhurried journey to Paris, and the arrival at the most inconvenient hour of three o'clock in the morning.

Paris, too, seems the same—if anything more brilliant and enchanting. Crossing the crowded boulevards safely is still accomplished by the grace of God, and not by the efficiency of the police. The cafés are in possession of the same happy man hunters, whose number has increased beyond computation, and whose smile and grace are still inimitable—tho their vices are now practised all over the civilized world.

Besides the increase of *cocottes*, banks have multiplied until every other door in the center of the city leads to a Temple of Finance. Sex and money hold the center of the stage, making life feverish and anxious and leading to all sorts of bankruptcies. The tears of war seem to have been wiped away, tho young war widows still wear their weeds.

However, the depth of a nation's anguish is poignantly felt in passing under the *Arc de Triomphe*, that center of wonderful vistas, avenues and history. Here is the grave of an unknown soldier. The French have done wisely not to bury him in a Cathedral as the English have, or in a National Cemetery far from the currents of life, as America contemplates; but right at the meeting point of a million hurrying feet. "*Ici Repose un Soldat Francais mort pour La Patrie, 1914-1918.*" Every foot is arrested, every head is bowed, there is a quivering of lips, the shedding of tears, and one realizes in an instant the cost and the preciousness of "*La Patrie.*"

Paris is anxious, however, and underneath the undisturbed wave of pleasure there is still brooding of the unknown tomorrow. Northern France is in ruins, the Germans have rejected the demand of the Allies for reparation, money is still the product of the printing press with no backing of precious metals, and Bolshevism is casting its lurid shadows.

The Avenue Victoria is a quiet street, very respectable, as behooves an avenue named after the English Queen. On the second floor of a third rate hotel a small group of silent, solemn people gathered at 10:15 on a recent Sunday.

It is the Embassy of the English Quakers, from which, during the war, emissaries of good will and practical helpfulness went into all parts of the war zone. They are called by the French "*L'Amis,*" and they alone have left a good taste in the mouth of the French, who have had so much help, efficiency and advice crammed down their throats by all sorts of alphabetical and symbolical agencies.

The Friends were gathering for their "first day" meeting.

Most of them were English, as evidenced by their heavy boots, solemn demeanor, their unemotional features, and unmistakably English voices. A few of them were French, not proselytes of war time; for the Friends have made no propaganda and asked neither souls nor statistics as a reward for their labor. The French men and women at the meeting had for a long time waited for the inner voice and the leading of God, and had discovered, in the Quakers, kindred spirits.

The work done by the Friends in France could, of course, be reduced to figures; and one could tell how many houses they have built in the devastated regions, and how many abandoned children they have mothered in the *Ponponière* in Chalons, how many expectant mothers they have sheltered, and how many children were born in their *Maison Maternelle;* but the spirit in which they have done their work and the atmosphere of good will they are leaving behind them, are immeasurable and incalculable, and some of that unaccountable quality and quantity was felt in their meeting.

The room in which they met was simple and homely; an office, library, sitting room and meeting place combined. The meeting began with rigorous silence. They were waiting for God to speak through them.

The eye of the uninitiated wandered from face to face, heavy-featured most of them, showing both struggle and victory. Careless of modes they were. The hats of the women unspeakably out of tune with up-to-the-minute Paris. The skirts shockingly low and the waists high, reversing the world order.

Ten, fifteen minutes passed; the inner voice was still unmoved by the spirit, and the onlooker became restless. At the more formal meeting to which he is accustomed, the minister would have been a third of the way thru the order of service. At last a voice was heard: low, sweet, melodious. A man began speaking in French.

If Jesus could have had his choice in speaking a modern tongue he would have spoken in that language, not a harsh note in it. The Sermon on the Mount ought always to be read in French. That man echoed its spirit, and for a moment it seemed as if the voice were coming from some far-away source. It was not preaching, it was a revealing, and tho my understanding of French is poor, I was carried along upon the stream of peace which was poured out from the heart of that man. Only the voice of God within him could make a Frenchman at this time speak as he spoke.

The whole world is confused and stricken with paralysis, and

it needs guidance and healing. Guidance toward peace, and healing from hate.

The nations have been drunk with power and blinded by greed; they deserved the punishment meted out to them, and now their only salvation is to turn to God. In the Catholic Cathedrals, in the formal Protestant Churches, in the Jewish Synagogues men need to turn to God; for God is everywhere, even as He is here.

There was another long silence and then a rich, deep, heavy, almost masculine voice was heard. An English woman was speaking in her own tongue, and she too spoke as the Spirit moved her.

The apostle Paul did not know, when he gave the formula of unity, "One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism," that Christendom would be divided into countless sects, that Church members of diverse creeds would hate one another. He did not know that after two thousand years these breaches would remain unhealed, that new ones would arise, that nations would commit suicide because of mutual hate, that races and classes would cleave society into hundreds of fragments.

She pled for mutual understanding, forbearance and patience. It was hers to gather the scattered, abandoned children, children of many race mixtures, branded by the curse of war; mothers repudiating them, because maternity had been thrust upon them; but in all of them she had found the common need of and the common response to love.

Some day it is all coming true. We do not as yet understand the law which underlies the movements of the human race, the pressure of history; even as we do not understand the law of gravitation. We seem farthest from unity now, we may be nearer than we think.

Then a woman, her face framed in widow's weeds, bowed her head and began to pray. Her husband had been killed at Verdun, and such a prayer as hers must not be reported.

The Quakers' confidence and peace are the result of their work in France when France was bleeding, and now, when the wound is healing.

I did not want to visit the war zone, yet I had to pass thru it. The *Gare du Nord* is normal, soldiers still crowd the cars; the blue-grey of their uniforms is now spick and span, and their young faces have lost anxiety.

The environs of Paris have remained unscathed, the young Spring has budded the trees, there are timid blossoms. Here and there men and women were breaking the expectant earth. New roofs and walls, the scars of war, increased in frequency, then suddenly we saw a desolated village. Black, broken, empty walls, church towers like decayed teeth in the shrunken gums of the aged. Then a town in ruins, a chateau devastated, a name to thrill one —Chateau Thierry!

The edge of the German push, at which the Yankees stood, and the miracle of the Stars and Stripes was performed. Something gripped my throat, my cheek felt the scalding tears, and the cloud of war hung over me again. Other names we passed, which three years ago were not merely railroad stations, but marked the recession or the advance of civilization. Then the immortal Marne, and I am in Chalons.

The driver of the cab did not understand my French; but *"L'Amis"* caught fire in his slow brain, and he began to drive me thru the long, ugly streets of his provincial city, over the rough, cobblestone pavement—then thru an unfinished arch. He told me that it was built in honor of Marie Antoinette when she came from Austria to marry a French king and that thru it she passed again in her unsuccessful flight.

"You drove her, of course," I said—congratulating myself on my wit.

"Oh, *Monsieur*," he replied, looking at me reproachfully; "every devil of an American passenger has tried the same joke on me."

At the northern edge of the city, behind the grim walls of the poorhouse, I heard the voices of children, pathetic voices, crying mostly. Out there they were wrapped in grey blankets, catching the sunshine which makes their pale, pinched faces look ghost-like. There were nurses in Quaker grey. One of them, an English girl, took my card. I was expected, and the directress, Mademoiselle Merle, would be down in a minute, she said.

In those few, drear rooms, the great work of saving the children of that region is being done. Thru the window I saw a familiar sight—clapboard houses, built "à l'Americaine" by the Quakers. They withstood the bombardment, while the heavier walls and roofs succumbed.

Mademoiselle Merle came. She has a finely cut, French face, Huguenot, staunch. It might be austere, were it not for the love and light within. She told her story, simply and with dramatic directness. The numerous evacuations, the nights in the champagne cellars (not cabarets for drinking, but cellars where wine was stored, not consumed). The harvest of homeless, parentless, abandoned children, the coming of the expectant mothers, the difficulties of organizing the work, and the final triumph. Catholics, Protestants and Jews forming a committee. And best of all, the building of a modern Maternity Hospital, the first of its kind in France, founded and endowed by English and American Quakers.

I wanted to see the children, and much as I love children I wish I had not seen them. Abandoned children, many of them forced into life by the brutality of war. No pretence even of love, all anguish, pain and hate, and they show it.

One picture is enough: A small bundle of humanity, a broad Mongolian skull, black, coarse hair, straight French eyes with a trace of the Mongolian fold on the eyelid. The mother is a sixteen-year-old girl, forced by two Anamese soldiers.

Children are nursed back to health; there are some with rickets, others are imbeciles, and worse, some are poisoned by syphilis. Why are they permitted to live?

Upstairs is the Maternity ward. If this is the best in France, what must be the worst? Bed upon bed, and the cradles touching each other. Mothers are compelled to nurse their babies, so that they may learn to love them. After two weeks some of them do. Others gladly abandon them to the *Ponponière*. The state needs population, especially boys, and it asks but few questions as to the wherefore or the why.

My tour of inspection was followed by tea, English tea; and there were English, American and French nurses. So this institution is to remain one of true internationalism, perpetuated by the love of humanity.

American girls who want to serve six months or a year may apply. The wages? Laughter and tears, hard work and some play; the gratitude of mothers who love the American girls, an opportunity to learn French, and, when the new hospital is built, a clean, pleasant, modern room, hot and cold water and bath. Those who are there now suffer privations; yet feel, as a reward, the blessings of the Beatitudes.

The new hospital is at the other end of the town, and Mademoiselle Merle accompanied me to it. It was a long, long walk from the poorest part of the city to the best, and was somewhat of a triumphal procession; for mothers and babies greeted Mademoiselle Merle, smiled at her, and would have kissed her hand had she permitted them. I was introduced to a number of children, two and three years old, the future citizens of France, with the blood of all the races, some of it American, white and black.

In the midst of a garden is the old house which is to remain as a home for the workers, and behind it rise the walls of the hospital.

A young Quaker, twenty-two years of age, not yet out of Haverford College, supervises its erection. He has an old head, however, a keen business sense—what Quaker has not?—and he is loved and respected—tho he has fought many a battle with *Monsieur* the Architect, who wears a long beard which he reveres, and *Monsieur* the Contractor, who is as void of sentiment as a turnip. [*Continued on page 550*



A Marquis wheat field, near High River, Alberta. This seed can produce eighty bushels to the acre

# Golden Fields

## And the Handful of Wheat That Was the Beginning of Northwestern Canada's Wealth

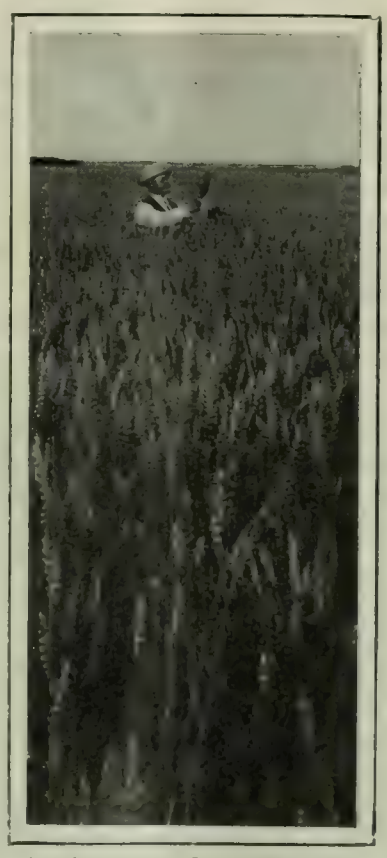
### By Agnes C. Laut

*Author of "Pathfinders of the West"*

CITY denizens are prone to think of the wheat farmer as a worker, who plows the eager soil, seeds it and harvests his crops—and that is all there is to it; for the world must have wheat—four billion bushels a year—and there must always be a certain market for it. The farmer is pictured as the independent fellow—care-free of such variable factors as laboratory tests, competition and the industrial unrest that convulses the factory world.

No conception could be farther from the truth.

The wheat farmer is subjected to all the highly complex uncertainties of laboratory tests—which nearly drove steel and oil men out of their mind during the war. He is also subject to all the exactions of high pay and short day, which almost bankrupted the railroads and tied up great fleets of our merchant marine; and he doesn't fall back on the public treasury to pay the resulting deficits, either. But he is also subject to factors over which human agency has no control, wind and weather, late frosts in spring, early frosts in autumn, and hot mid-summer winds, which shatter the wheat from the finest fields ever planted.



A close-up of a full crop

He has to race to get his crop in, in spring, in time to benefit from the moisture yet in the soil. Then he sweats blood and prays to the gods of cereals for fair skies to hasten growth. Then he has to race the early frosts to get the grain cut, and race fall rains to get the wheat threshed and in the elevators before the weather breaks; for on the great grain fields of the West no granary could be built big enough to roof the floods of golden wheat.

And these conditions are peculiarly pressing in the Canadian and American Northwest, where in the short summer season, early August frosts are apt to catch the golden fields just when the wheat kernel is in the soft milky head, when a touch of frost will wrinkle the skin and darken the flour, and a heavy frost may turn fields yellow as gold black and dead as a frozen dahlia.

Laboratories have been working on the problem of crossbreeding wheats to force early ripening ever since the monk—Mendel—gave to the world his results on sweet pease; and the final triumph of a $600,000,000 crop in 1918 from a single head of wheat produced in 1904 is as great an achievement as any Bessemer steel process, or radium discovery recorded by science.

All the world knows the adventurous story of Red Fife. A Scotchman was watching a cargo of wheat from Dantzic unload in 1876, from a Russian port. This cargo has been variously ascribed to Ladoga, or some other Russian field. The Scotchman caught up a handful of wheat and put it in his cap.

This he sent out in an envelope to a friend of his in the back townships of Ontario near Peterborough.

Not knowing whether the wheat was spring or fall, David Fyfe, the friend, planted it in spring. Only a few strands stooled out in wheat heads and they would have been eaten if his wife had not "shooed" off the cow and the pigs and carefully kept the heads till the next spring. All the splendid Red Fife crops, that have made American wheat fields famous, sprang from this simple beginning.

But the trouble was that in the Northwest both Canadian and American, Red Fife didn't ripen fast enough to escape a freak early frost; and farmers sometimes wakened to find a field, which had been worth $25,000 the night before, not worth anything but to be burned in the morning. That happened perhaps only once in seven years; but it was a heart breaking seventh year; and the scientists began secret experiments to get a wheat with the plump whiteness of the Red Fife berry, which would ripen ten to fifteen days earlier.

Dozens of varieties were crossed and criss-crossed—the pollen of one variety applied to the stamens of another, Durums and Nicaragua wheats applied to Fife, and even soft Pacific Coast varieties. It was [*Continued on page 547*

# What Is "Adequate Armament"?

## By Hayne Davis

WHETHER the United States enters the existing League of Nations in a modified form, or succeeds in inducing other nations to unite with us in some other association, as President Harding has proposed, or endeavors to go it alone, along the road of absolute independence, as some demand—it is proper for this nation to maintain an adequate armed force on land and sea, in order to provide properly for national security as well as for international justice.

It has been proved that an adequate army can be quickly improvised, but it was also proved that we could not have put our army into action at the proper time and place if the British Navy had not been at our service. We cannot properly regard the British Navy as our permanent protector at sea. Only dominions and colonies of Great Britain can do that. We rose above that status over a century ago, and our own power should be adequate to protect our rights and interests at home and abroad. A navy cannot be improvised as our Expeditionary Force was. The navy to be used today must have been designed, at least two years, preferably three years ago. Therefore we must prepare for conditions as they are reasonably expected to be.

What is adequate armament for our country cannot be a matter of personal opinion or preference. It is as much a question of fact as the power necessary to take a train of ten coaches over the Blue Ridge Mountains or a ferryboat across the Hudson River. President Roosevelt declared during his second term that he thought one new battleship a year to replace one becoming obsolete would suffice to maintain an adequate navy for the United States. Not long afterwards he called upon Congress to appropriate for twice as many battleships as he had recently said were sufficient. Why this great and sudden change of opinion? Those who are interested can consult the records. Here I will say simply that he became acutely aware of a great danger that he had ignored before.

Armament should be in proportion to known dangers and the available resources for the protection of the nation. Decrease the danger and you could and should decrease the armament provided for security. Ignore the dangers and you may pay for the folly many times the value of false economies practiced in carrying out a penurious policy as to armament. Provide armament adequate, in view of the actual dangers, and they may thus be averted without the use of force. But in case force becomes necessary, the arms are in reach, and you can win for the cause of right quickly, and at much less cost than if taken unawares and compelled to prepare after the danger has become an actual attack, instead of merely a menace.

I do not know of a better way to present the question of national security and of international peace and justice in their relation to the rights of the people, and the interests of the nation, than by relating a few incidents connected with a substantial change of my own opinion on these subjects. I had assisted Hon. Richard Bartholdt, president of the delegation from our Congress to the Twelfth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, in his efforts to have that conference declare itself in favor of a second conference of nations at The Hague, and to induce President Roosevelt to call such a conference. Having succeeded so signally in both these good endeavors, Mr. Bartholdt naturally began to consider what it would be well to propose on behalf of the American delegation at the next Inter-Parliamentary Conference, which would convene at Brussels, prior to the assembling of the second conference at The Hague, already called by President Roosevelt. He did me the honor to confer with me on this subject, and later invited me to attend the Brussels conference of 1905 as secretary to the delegation from the United States Congress.

During that conference I told Mr. Bartholdt that I thought continued leadership in the movement for international peace and justice required mastery of the question of national armament and international arbitration, in relation to national security and to international peace and justice.

He replied that he did not have time to go thoroly into that subject as all his spare time was taken up in attending the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences for international arbitration, and that in Congress he devoted himself to the work of the committees for which he was active and voted with the administration on military and naval matters. Not being burdened with such public duties, I began a careful study of the armament question in its relation to national security and to international peace and justice.

THIS was in 1905. I was at The Hague during the latter half of 1907, while the second Conference, called by President Roosevelt, was in session, and watched its proceedings carefully. Shortly after its adjournment I was passing thru Washington when the members of Congress were making up their minds as to the proper answer of Congress to President Roosevelt's request for twice as many battleships as he had recently thought were sufficient. Mr. Bartholdt, discussing this subject with me, said that he could not conscientiously follow this lead of President Roosevelt. I declared myself, however, as favoring the President's proposal in particular and adequate armament in general. Mr. Bartholdt asked, "What is adequate armament?"

Soon afterwards I proposed to the North Carolina Peace Society at its meeting at Wilmington, the following program as an answer to that question:

Adequate armament and effective arbitration are correlative agencies for national security and for international peace and justice.

Adequate armament necessitates an unquestionably superior naval power in the waters adjacent to our possessions in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Effective arbitration necessitates agreements between our country and all other governments by which the contracting powers agree to respect each other's territory and sovereignty in said territory, and to arbitrate all other questions.

This program was approved by the North Carolina Peace Society and by the Wilmington (N. C.) Chamber of Commerce. A newspaper clipping containing an account of these actions was called to the attention of President Roosevelt. He invited me to come to see him at the White House. I requested that he receive a delegation from the North Carolina Society, which he consented to do. The delegation was presented to the President by Hon. Lee S. Overman, one of the Senators from North Carolina. What I intended to say, as spokesman for the delegation, in explanation of the above program, was sent to President Roosevelt in advance. His response was deliberately made, therefore, and this is what he said:

I am glad to learn that the North Carolina Peace Society has declared itself in favor of adequate armament as well as effective arbitration. There is no inconsistency in advocating both of these things at the present time; on the contrary, those who have the public welfare at heart fail in the performance of a part of their duty if they neglect to labor for both. Effectual arbitration should be desired by every far-sighted citizen; while under present conditions, not to provide adequate armament would be inexcusable on the part of those charged with the responsibility of pre-

serving the rights of our people. The North Carolina Peace Society is to be congratulated on its position, and should be supported by all good citizens in this effort for the general welfare; and great credit is due to the State of North Carolina for this action. The entire nation and the cause of peace and justice thruout the world, benefit by this new departure in promoting the general peace movement. The approaching Congress will certainly concentrate the thought of our people upon the fact that adequate armament necessitates an unquestionably superior naval power in the waters adjacent to our possessions; and that effective arbitration necessitates agreements between all the powers to respect each other's territory and sovereignty in said territory, and to arbitrate all other questions. The acceptance of these facts as axiomatic must speed the day when our country will be so armed as to minimize the chance of wars that are invited by national weakness; while the establishment of an effective system of international arbitration will greatly diminish the chances of conflict among nations of approximately equal strength. The growth of the acceptance of the principle of international arbitration is necessarily slow; we should do all we can to hasten it; but as the world is at present, it is well to remember that the acceptance of this principle in any measure whatever depends exclusively upon the effective support it receives from the half dozen powers of great warlike strength. As things actually are at the present day, we are helpless to further the cause of peace and of effective international arbitration, unless to just and peaceable intentions we add a stout heart and a strong arm—and this means military and naval preparedness to a far greater degree than is at present the case.

With this purpose in view I am now negotiating arbitration treaties with the various nations of the world; and the Senate is ratifying them. I most earnestly hope that at the same time, as an even more important step towards peace, the present Congress will provide for four battleships and a sufficient number of colliers, and for the thoro fortification of Hawaii and Guatanamo.

I desire to thank you for this opportunity to support a genuine peace society in its efforts for international arbitration; for peace societies merely jeopardize the national welfare, and are profoundly hostile to American national life, if they obstruct the Government in providing ample military and naval power to meet conditions in the actual world of today.

A national society was then formed to popularize this program. President Roosevelt was elected first honorary president of that society. When notified of his election, and of my desire to withdraw from its presidency in favor of Senator James B. McCreary of Kentucky, this is what the President said:

The White House,
Washington, May 30, 1908.

*My Dear Mr. Davis:*

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th inst., enclosing notice of my election as first honorary president of the Peace League, and gladly accept, for I most emphatically believe that the whole American people should subscribe to what you call your "Practical Program for Peace"; that is, to the doctrine that we should provide adequate armament to protect us against all aggression, and at the same time strive for the effective arbitration of any and all disputes that may arise between us and foreign powers where it is possible to submit to arbitration. In other words, I cordially sympathize with your announced purpose to secure present protection for the nation, and at the same time make as rapid progress as possible toward permanent world peace. As you well say, we should have an unquestionably superior power in our own possessions and in the waters ad acent thereto in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; and we should also do everything possible to secure agreements with all governments to respect each other's territory and sovereignty and to arbitrate all other questions.

I should be delighted to see Senator McCreary made president of the League if you do not feel you could continue in that office.

Sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The world is deeply indebted to Theodore Roosevelt, first for his character and his devotion to the general welfare, but not least for the part he played in the winning of one war (Spanish-American), in the termination of another (Russo-Japanese), in the prevention of a third which seemed imminent, when the authorities of California excluded Japanese children from the public schools of that state; for taking constructive steps to promote peace and justice by calling the second Hague Conference, by proposing to that Conference the establishment of a permanent international Congress and Court of Justice, and by espousing this scientific program for national security and for international peace and justice, near the end of his second term as President.

By doing so he lifted the question of national armament above the domain of personal opinion and preference into the realm of principle. It was not his part to carry the program into execution. That remains for others. He saw that it was right. He espoused it with characteristic clearness of vision and force of conviction. General recognition of its correctness and public sentiment in favor of it must precede its adoption and execution by the nation.

There is not time or space here to go thoroly into this subject. But these questions seem in order. Does this program indicate the true relation between national security and international law and justice? Have we the treaties which President Roosevelt declared we should do everything possible to secure? Have we the naval armament which gives us an *unquestionably superior power in the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, adjacent to our territories and possessions?*

Granted that this program supplies a correct statement of the principle applicable to armament, it is a matter of expert knowledge as to what constitutes compliance with this principle. What is the power possessed by any other country which it could put against us in the waters adjacent to our possessions? What power can we place in these waters as a protection to our rights and interests? Is this *unquestionably* superior to the power *any* nation can put against us in the Atlantic Ocean or in the Pacific Ocean? It is for those who are trustees of our national rights and interests to answer these questions, so as to properly safeguard those rights, and so fulfil their duties as trustees for the nation and its people.

This bit of our recent history is presented as an evidence of the correct relation of national armament to international peace and justice, supplying as it does what seems to be the principle applicable to the present situation or to any other which may result from the proposal to agree upon a limitation of armaments. What should be the basis of the proposed limitations? The principle of the foregoing program is applicable, whether there is an agreement as to the limits of armament, or whether there is competition in armament as heretofore. We have the resources to attain and maintain the naval armament which that principle calls for even tho Great Britain might resolve to maintain her present command of the seas.

Under an international legal system for compelling respect for the decision of International Courts of Arbitration, as we are now doing on the Isthmus of Panama, it would be our privilege,—shall I say duty?—to supply a power proportionate to our population and wealth. Shall we do less than that, as a guarantee of our own national rights and interests, in the absence of any adequate and trustworthy system of international law and order?

## 1903–1921

A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind. Germany must now sympathize with the plight of Venezuela when German warships were threatening blockade and invasion because the Venezuelans were slow in paying their debts.

## Small Scale Diplomacy

WE hope that Secretary Hughes in his admirable series of notes on such little matters as the Yap mandate and the Panama-Costa Rica controversy is only trying his hand out for some diplomacy in the grand style when we resume our share in the council of the Powers. He is an admirable painter of miniatures; but can he do mural paintings and public square statuary? The wealth of learning and logic poured so freely into the long memoranda on little problems would be wasted on them unless considered as preparation for the great tasks of world settlement.

At present we are reminded of the lawyer who was dis-

tinguished for the care with which he prepared his brief for even the most trivial cases. One day his clerk asked how many law books he would take to court that morning. "Only four," he said, "after all the dog in question cannot be worth more than ten dollars."

## The Knox Resolution

Seems *such* a relief to be at peace again, doesn't it? Or haven't you noticed any difference?

## Falling Wages

IT is a matter for regret that builders, mine owners and railroad companies have found it necessary to reduce wages, but fortunately in few instances have their employees been forced down to the standard of living of Greek professors, ministers of the gospel and scientific experts in the civil service.

# A "Close-Up" of Negro Education

## By Talcott Williams

WHEN I want a "close-up" of negro education in the South and the nation, I go to Hampton Institute. It has set the pace for half a century, tho it has never had much over a thousand students and has now about eight hundred in the year's course, a reduction due to the war, with a steady increase pointing to twelve hundred students in two or three years. The plant is equal to this and the splendid opportunities of this school should be used to the limit. It is criminal to have any seat vacant. If you want to see it full, send your contribution to Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. Already $135,000 is contributed yearly in small sums to keep Hampton going, and this sum does the work only because every boy and girl, young man and woman in the institution, works to pay board and lodging.

General S. C. Armstrong, its founder in 1868, came to his task fresh from the futile schools of the Freedmen's Bureau, which offered the elementary education of New England, after 250 years of liberty, to a race fresh from 250 years of slavery. He saw, just as the great men saw who evangelized and civilized the northern barbarians of Europe from 1000 to 1500 years ago, that the mechanic arts must go hand in hand with knowledge. Unconsciously, General Armstrong created the closest parallel of a mediæval monastery history has known. Hampton and its elder child, Tuskegee, twice the size of its mother, with their farms and their work shops, their schoolrooms and their religious atmosphere, their day from half-past five until their tired students drop asleep, too weary even to get into mischief, repeat the amazing miracles of Benedict and the Celtic monks of Ireland, of sites like Columba, Cluny and Fulda. "Prayer, work and reading," these monastic schools had, and the greatest of these was work.

The great educational asset of Hampton and Tuskegee is that every hour of the student is accounted for and subject to rule or a "*regula*," as St. Benedict would have said. Think of your desultory day while you were being educated. Did you come out of high school, academy or college with the view of the passing hours, ground into you by a tireless and tiring schedule, that sixty minutes' worth of every hour asleep or awake had to be used? Second, every student at Hampton and Tuskegee has to learn some handiwork and the women the care of all that makes a home. Third, the whole atmosphere is one of service, prayer and a far-off duty of making life count for the advance of a race.

By 1888 the proof in character and teaching power and in the large northern contributions given Hampton had made "industrial" the watchword of secondary southern negro schools. As Hampton and Tuskegee graduates have gone all over the South teaching, the leaven has spread thru all its states. Now in the fullness of time there come two Federal acts, the Smith-Lever for farm extension and demonstration teaching and the Smith-Hughes for vocational teaching, for which teachers of Hampton training are needed on a large scale, demanding as many teachers as Hampton, Tuskegee and all the industrial schools and colleges in the South can furnish.

Negro illiteracy is the peril alike of the negro and the nation. One-third are illiterate. The college has been needed as much as the industrial school. For forty years and more I have known personally the graduates of Howard, Fiske, and Atlanta. I know no greater achievement than the work these and other colleges have done without endowment, equipment or adequate support. I know their shortcomings, and what fools some of their graduates have been; but I know too that the nation has had no more useful scholars than the thin, but courageous, resolute and self-sacrificing line of negro graduates, about 4000 in number, from northern and southern colleges, who have given the negro his clergymen, his lawyers, his doctors, his journalists and above all his teachers. I know them, their burdens, the scorn, the perils and the trials they face. Every American should be proud to share the citizenship of this advance guard of negro knowledge in the South.

But I know also the great rural South. I knew it thirty years ago, when six to eight weeks in an open shed was all the schooling negroes had. As on a tide gauge, I have seen the level rise at Hampton. When I was first at the school thirty-six years ago, it could barely carry a handful of its students to the first year of a northern high school and most left with a trade and the grammar grades; but they had character and the Hampton spirit. Twenty-five years ago the students who came from all over the South to Hampton could be carried only to the second high school year. Now they go to the end of the high school. Taking southern conditions, a teacher or a trade-taught man or woman, farmer or mechanic, who has had the habits that come from measured hours, has lived, boy or girl, the soldier's life of cleanliness, unvarying order, discipline, obedience and punctuality, and has gained a solid high school training, taught intensively, is sent forth as exactly the man or woman to raise southern rural standards. Many high school teachers will read these lines. Could you not do wonders with the ignorant, if you had them in small classes, each boy or girl with the bearing that comes from "setting up," and an invariable daily bath, obedient, yearning to learn, sometimes weary and vainly trying to keep awake because they are earning their keep, but eager and always working?

Hampton now has four full high school years and two more after this for teachers. It has the years of agricultural work which the Morrill Act requires. Where the trade school once had in three years 1100 hours in classwork and 7000 manual practice, now in four years there are 3500 hours of class work and 4000 of hand work. Harness and wagon have gone. The automobile and internal combustion engine have come. Do you know of any other school which a boy can enter with no money, work four years and be able to make not only road but shop repairs in a garage, with a good technical basis so that if he saves $2,000 to $2,500, when he is out five or ten years, this negro boy can, by that time, have a garage and machine shop for autos and one of the small factories now multiplying in the South?

"In ten years more," I wrote of Hampton in the Philadelphia *Press*, in 1903, "this school will cover high school years. In twenty it will be technical. In thirty, I unhesitatingly predict, this vast plant will be the best secondary technical school of the South, turning out negro foremen, managers and overseers, the brains of the negro industrial South." Two-thirds of the prophecy has come true. The other third will. At this stage of southern education, for

thirty years to come, a strong technical secondary institution will be better than a weak scientific technical school. For these studies the negro does well to go North.

HALF the students of Hampton come from outside its two adjoining states, Virginia and North Carolina. This makes it more national than our great universities. From primary grade across the threshold of a teachers' college work it has gone in half a century. It is a strong technical high school and is doing the work of the agricultural college already.

It is a Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and the military training General Armstrong began now begins preparation for a commission. I love to see these negro boys wearing the officer's cap. The cost of this work is high. Taking the practice school, the summer school and Hampton itself, the teaching trade and clerical force is one for each ten taught, the proportion of post-graduate work. The endowment is $3,000,000. Tuition is carried by scholarships. Half of those who apply are rejected, tho all that is asked is adequate training for the grammar grades as "preparatory" to the high school. In Hampton 37 per cent are preparatory, and in Tuskegee half. Nearly all the South has now for negroes an eight month rural public school, and all the states have six months. Texas has good high schools and all the states have city high schools. But the work is poor because the elementary work is ill-paid, and it is ill-paid because the South has little wealth to tax, and wealth is little because of ignorance, white and black—an evil circle.

Taking these conditions, Hampton and Tuskegee, with their many imitators, doing the best they can on insufficient means—for industrial education is always costly—are exactly what is needed to reduce colored illiteracy, thru rural and city primary and grammar schools. To meet these needs, both these schools are moving toward preparation for college and university, introducing French and Spanish while doing the great work needed in teaching the southern negro rural school. This is the greatest need in our national education, first met by Hampton.

The teachers, mechanics and farmers it sends out can go into ignorant neighborhoods, make over the schools, improve the family standard of living and of the house itself, spread new ideas in farming, in fruit and flower raising, and teach other teachers to do the same work.

## A Literate Citizenship

### By Franklin H. Giddings

THE Citizens' Union of New York City has rendered an unusual and important public service by setting forth in clear statement the arguments both for and against the proposed constitutional amendment which the voters of this State will pass upon in November, and in obtaining a referendum vote upon the merits of the proposition from members of the Union to whom the positive and negative arguments were submitted. At the present writing 1007 members have voted for the amendment and 109 against it.

The amendment if adopted would not deprive any voter who now enjoys the franchise of any political right now possessed. It requires that citizens hereafter enfranchised shall be able to read and write the English language. Inasmuch as this ability is a requirement for naturalization the amendment introduces no new principle or test. Practically it amounts only to an enforcement of the naturalization requirement which notoriously has been disregarded. In opposition to the amendment it has been argued that ability to read and write a specified language is no test of political competence, that many individuals who under this requirement would be excluded from the polls are able to read and write other languages, and that exclusion would operate to sharpen race and language differences in our population.

These negative arguments are essentially childish and are only a camouflage for the real objections of politicians who live upon the illegitimate power which they enjoy thru their ascendancy over ignorant voters. It is true that there are intelligent and high-minded men and women in this as in other countries who at present cannot read and write the English language, and that so far as these qualities go they have political capacity. But it is not true that any intelligent and high-minded man or woman who has elected to be and live as an American citizen will contentedly remain ignorant of the language of his chosen land, and the number of individuals feeling this way about the matter, but actually unable to acquire English, is negligible.

The only large body of potential voters that would be hit by the amendment is made up of groups that obstinately, or indolently, or unintelligently, or for revolutionary or other illegitimate purposes voluntarily remain disqualified.

So far from showing consideration or granting privileges to these groups in the fear that unless they are treated with special tenderness, race and language lines will be sharpened and hardened, they should be given to understand that American citizenship tolerates no divided allegiance. Race and language lines are maintained by complaisance, not by arbitrary insistence upon the language of the land.

Insistence upon literacy as a qualification for voting is not an innovation in America. In was, in fact, more strictly insisted on in earlier times, or even a generation ago, than it is now. It is no guarantee of good citizenship nor any general remedy for social ills, but it is an important constituent factor of sound public policy. The individual who cannot read and write the language of his country, who therefore cannot read either its newspapers or its laws, is at the mercy of political elements and of industrial forces ready to "play" him, exploit him, and devour him. In a land of illiterate voters elections are a farce. Whatever the government may be called, it is not in fact a republic.

It must be said also that there is a stupid fallacy in the argument which makes much of the distinction between native intelligence and acquired knowledge. The distinction is a real one in individual cases, but it is statistically insignificant when large population groups are under consideration, because as a general practical fact, intelligent men and women acquire education proportionate to their intelligence, and they do this whether they are poor or rich, compelled to work, or born to leisure.

The referendum vote of the Citizens' Union is unhappily of no value as indicating what the people of this commonwealth will do in November. Powerful political influences may always be counted upon to oppose any policy that is grounded in the wisdom of common sense and the morality of common honesty. The amendment will not be carried without vigorous action by voters who have the courage to acknowledge that they have certain prejudices in favor of common sense and common honesty.

## No Loss to Anybody

THERE may be some chagrin at the failure of the authorities to intercept the flight of Haywood, the I. W. W. chief, to Russia, but after all his influence as a "martyr" in a Federal prison would be more potent than his influence as a runaway in winning new recruits to red radicalism in the United States. As for Russia—one more Bolshevik there cannot do much harm that remains undone.

The only real loser is Haywood, who will find Russia less comfortable than an American prison if his experience is like that of other radicals who have made pilgrimage to Moscow.

# The Story of the Week

## An End to "Splendid Isolation"

THE American Government has decided to take part in the councils of the Allied and Associated Powers and to be represented on the Reparations Commission. The official invitation, delivered by the British Ambassador in the name of Premier Lloyd George, ran thus:

As President of the Allied Conference, which is just completing its sittings in London, I am authorized with the unanimous concurrence of all the powers here represented to express to the United States Government our feeling that the settlement of the international difficulties in which the world is still involved would be materially assisted by the coöperation of the United States; and I am, therefore, to inquire whether that Government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was at an earlier date, at allied conferences, wherever they may meet, at the Ambassadors' Conference, which sits at Paris, and on the Reparations Commission.

We are united in feeling that American cognizance of our proceedings and, where possible, American participation in them, will be best facilitated by this.

Secretary Hughes replied on May 6:

The Government of the United States has received thru the British Ambassador the courteous communication in which you state that, with the unanimous concurrence of the powers represented at the Allied Conference in London, you are to inquire whether this Government is disposed to be represented in the future, as it was in the past, at allied conferences, at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris and on the Reparations Commission.

The Government of the United States, while maintaining the traditional policy of abstention from participation in matters of distinctly European concern, is deeply interested in the proper encouragements and in the just settlement of matters of world-wide importance which are under discussion in these conferences, and desires helpfully to coöperate in the deliberations upon these questions.

Mr. George Harvey, appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, will be instructed on his arrival in England to take part as the representative of the President of the United States in the deliberations of the Supreme Council. The American Ambassador to France will be instructed to resume his place as unofficial observer on the conference of Ambassadors, and Mr. Roland W. Boyden will be instructed to sit again in an unofficial capacity on the Reparations Commission.

The Government of the United States notes with pleasure your expression of the belief of the representatives of the Allied governments assembled in London that American coöperation in the settlement of the great international questions growing out of the World War will be of material assistance.

This decision, of course, affects in no way the policy of the Administration toward the League of Nations. The Supreme Council of the Allies is a body quite distinct from the Council of the League. The function of the Supreme Council of the Allies, the Conference of Ambassadors and the Reparations Commission is to settle the questions arising directly from the Great War; to make treaties, to enforce them and to make such practical modifications and readjustments as time may show to be necessary. The League of Nations, which contains many nations neutral during the Great War, and even the enemy nations of Austria and Bulgaria, does not deal directly with the peace settlements concerning only the belligerent powers, but rather with questions of general interest which affect neutrals as much as belligerents. As time goes on and normal relations are restored between Germany and the Allies the inter-Allied diplomatic conferences will become less frequent and less important and the League of Nations will take its rightful place as the one great international organization. But just at present the meetings of Allied Premiers rather overshadow the prestige of the League because of the immediate importance of the crisis with Germany. This fact gives great importance to the decision of the Administration to reënter the field of European diplomacy, if not as a Member State of the League yet as one of the Allied and Associated Powers.

## Germany Heeds the Warning

THE text of the Allied ultimatum to Germany has been published. It begins by "taking note of the fact that despite the successive concessions made by the Allies since the signature of the Treaty of Versailles, and despite the warnings and sanctions agreed upon at Spa and Paris, as well as of the sanctions announced at London and since applied, the German Government is still in default" respecting several provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The most important of these alleged violations of the Treaty concern (1) disarmament, (2) reparations payments due by May 1, 1921, (3) the trial of war criminals.

In view of these failures to meet Treaty obligations the German Government is ordered to make the following pledges:

(1) To execute without reservation or condition its obligations as defined by the Reparation Commission.

(2) To accept and realize without reservation or condition in regard to its obligations and guarantees prescribed by the Reparation Commission.

(3) To execute without reservation or delay measures concerning military, naval and aerial disarmament, of which Germany was notified by the Allied nations in their note of January 29; those measures in the execution of which they have so far failed to comply with are to be completed immediately, and the remainder on a date still to be fixed.

(4) To proceed without reservation or delay to the trial of war criminals, and also with other parts of the Versailles Treaty which have not as yet been fulfilled.

Should Germany fail to comply with these demands the Allies will "proceed on May 12 with the occupation of the Ruhr valley" and with "other military and naval measures." "This occupation will last as long as Germany continues her failure to fulfil the conditions laid down."

The stipulations of the Reparation Commission are submitted to Germany in a document accompanying the Allied ultimatum. Germany is held liable for the sum of 132,000,000,000 gold marks plus the Belgian war debt to the Allies. But from this sum may be deducted the pay-




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**France: "You 'come across,' or I'll come across!"**

ments already made by Germany and other credits for property in ceded territory or payments made by Germany's former allies.

To cover the German debt for reparations, bonds must be issued secured on the whole assets of the German Empire and of its constituent States. These bonds will be German Government bearer bonds in such form and of such denominations as the Reparation Commission shall prescribe and shall be free from any form of taxation by Germany. Until the bonds are redeemed Germany will be required to pay yearly 2,000,000,000 gold marks and 26 per cent of the value of her exports, or an equivalent amount established by some other method. Within twenty-five days Germany must pay 1,000,000,000 marks in gold, approved foreign bills or drafts at three months on the German Treasury. This payment will be credited as the first two quarterly instalments of the payment to be made during the current year.

A Committee on Guarantees is to be established to supervize the application to the reparations indebtedness of funds assigned as security for payment, such as German maritime and land customs duties. This committee shall comprize representatives of the Allies, and the United States is entitled to appoint a representative if our Government desires to do so. Germany is authorized to work off part of her debt by applying material and labor directly to the restoration of the devastated areas, as may from time to time be requested.

Premier Lloyd George in a long speech explained to the House of Commons the meaning of the ultimatum. He said that for two years the Allies had been very patient with Germany and had repeatedly made concessions or extended time in order that the German Government might meet its obligations without provoking an internal crisis. In some respects the obligations of Germany respecting disarmament had been lived up to; thus the army had been reduced to 100,000 and most (tho not all ) of the cannon, machine guns, rifles and ammunition demanded had been surrendered. But irregular military organizations still existed. Bavaria alone had a force of 300,000. These irregular forces had rifles and machine guns and probably some cannon. The German Government professes that such heavily armed police and militia are necessary to keep down Communist insurrections, but it is the very presence of these irregular forces that makes it hard for the Government to control the country. Regarding the punishment of German war criminals the Allies made the remarkable concession of leaving it to the German courts, but practically nothing had been done to show the good faith of Germany in this matter.

Respecting reparations, Germany has paid only two-fifths of the 20,000,000,000 gold marks due by May 1, 1921. Germany was invited by the Allies at the Peace Conference to submit for their consideration within four months a general plan for the payment of the whole reparation account. Germany made no such offer then or later until the London Conference "and when the offer came it was so obviously inadequate as to constitute contemptuous defiance of the Peace Treaty."

He then discussed the financial details of the demands on Germany and pronounced them fair, just and even considerate. He pointed out that the fixed payments demanded were within Germany's capacity to pay and could be redeemed in part by labor and materials as well as by gold, and defended the export levy (26 per cent; 25 per cent in payment on issued bonds and 1 per cent as interest on bonds not yet issued) on the ground that it was automatically adjusted to Germany's recovering prosperity.

The reason why the Allied terms had to be backed by threats and force was German public opinion. No German Government could agree to really adequate terms without being overthrown "unless the alternative is more disagreeable." The reason for using the occupation of the Ruhr as a threat was that the Ruhr valley "contains every quality of coal for every conceivable purpose" and produces two-thirds of the German iron and steel. Some people thought France too exacting, but France is more exposed to assault than Great Britain, defended by the sea "with the best of the German fleet at the bottom of it," or Italy, defended by the Alps.

The German Government delayed till the last its reply. The ministry resigned, and it was some time before President Ebert could get together a new cabinet.

Finally Dr. Wirth, leader of the Center (or Catholic) party accepted the Chancellorship and the ministry of foreign affairs. A coalition ministry of Centrists, Democrats and moderate Socialists, supported by a majority of the Reichstag, was hastily assembled. The new Administration anounced that it would accept the Allied terms in order to prevent a French invasion of the Ruhr.




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GRANDPA GOOSE

There was a man in our world and he was wondrous wise:
He jumped into a bramble bush and scratched out both his eyes
And when he saw his eyes were out, with all his might and main
He jumped into another bush to scratch them in again.

# The Upper Silesian War

A plebiscite makes strange bedfellows. At the very moment that the Allies are threatening Germany with an invasion of the Ruhr coal mining district in the west they are defending Germany from a Polish invasion of the Silesian coal mining district in the east.

The plebiscite in Upper Silesia on March 20 went strongly for Germany. This caused bitter disappointment among the Poles, who had the highest hopes of victory in view of the fact that the Polish-speaking population of Upper Silesia outnumbers the German-speaking element. But uncertainty had more to do with the present Polish insurrection than disappointment. The plebiscite did not of itself settle the fate of Upper Silesia; by the Treaty of Versailles the Allied and Associated Powers were to determine the new frontier, taking into consideration the results of the popular vote and also the geographical and economic conditions of the country.

As luck would have it, the parts of Upper Silesia richest in mineral wealth were also the parts where the vote was closest. The northern and western districts voted overwhelmingly German and the Poles have abandoned all

hope that they will be awarded to Poland. But thruout the mining area of the southeast Polish and German towns were closely intermingled so that any boundary which might be drawn would be certain either to bring many Poles under German rule or many Germans under Polish rule. A reference to the accompanying map will show the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of making a wholly satisfactory frontier on the basis of the plebiscite.

The Germans promptly put in a claim to the whole of Upper Silesia on the ground that the region was an economic unit and could not be divided without fatal injury to both parts. It can be readily understood that coal mines, iron mines, factories, railways and workingmen's homes may be so related to each other that to drive a national boundary thru a mining district would be as risky as King Solomon's proposed division of the baby between the two women who claimed it by mother-right. They also appealed adroitly to the self-interest of the Allies, insisting that without the coal of Upper Silesia they could not meet the war indemnity obligations laid on them. To these arguments the Poles replied that their need for the Silesian coal was greater than that of Germany. If the mining district had to be awarded as a unit for economic reasons it should go to Poland, especially since the Poles cast a heavy vote, in many cases a majority vote, in the mining communities.

The Allies, more intent on the reparations controversy, delayed their decision, or at least any public announcement of it. But the rumor was noised abroad that the decision had been reached to settle the question in favor of Germany; that Germany was to get not only the northern and western districts where the vote was almost uniformly German, but also the great bulk of the mining area where the Poles and Germans were in close rivalry.

Poland, it was said, would get nothing but the two districts of Pless and Rybnik in the extreme south, where the majority in favor of union with Poland was the strongest.

The Poles did not wait to confirm the rumor, but flew to arms at once. Korfanty, the Polish plebiscite commissioner and director of propaganda, appealed from the ballot to the sword and placed himself at the head of the insurrection. Within less than a week the Polish insurgents had occupied nearly every industrial town within the disputed area.




UPPER SILESIA

**The impossibility of making any frontier satisfactory to both Polish and German elements is shown by this map, the shaded area of which voted Polish in the plebiscite, and the unshaded area German. The two are so inextricably interlocked and intermingled that any boundary would bring some Poles under German rule and Germans under Polish rule**

worse, Poland was permitted to profit on both occasions from her lawlessness. The decision of the Allies awarded to Poland Eastern Galicia in spite of the fact that Lemberg was occupied in disregard of the truce which the Allies were trying to bring about between the Poles and the Ukrainians. In the matter of Vilna a final decision has not yet been reached as between the Poles and the Lithuanians, but the Poles still hold "nine points of the law." Nor is Poland the only nation which has tried with some success to rewrite a treaty by a military coup d'état. D'Annunzio's raid on Fiume never had the open support of the Italian Government, but it had sufficient sympathy from the Italian people and from parts of the Italian army to render it impossible for many months to take active measures against the poet-dictator; and when a pacific settlement was at last reached—and enforced—the terms were more favorable to Italy than they might have been had D'Annunzio "behaved." The Turks have also discovered that an army in the field, defying both the Allies and the Government of the Sultan, has been able to win a more favorable peace than diplomats obedient to the dictates of the Allies. It is not surprizing that with so many demoralizing precedents before them the Polish insurgents have come to the conclusion that the Allies will always recognize an accomplished fact, however violent and illegal, and that their own government, tho it may not support them openly, is always willing to accept the fruits of victory once they are gathered.

There is no German military organization in Upper Silesia itself, but the Germans have been concentrating large forces on the border as a threat to the Polish insurgents and also to the Polish Government should it dare offer any support to the insurrection. The situation is a very menacing one, since the German army has lost that instinctive obedience to the central authority which distinguished it under the old Empire. The refusal of Bavaria and of East Prussia to disarm, the organization of irregular local militia, the reactionary and monarchist demonstrations in which officers have freely indulged are indications that if the disturbance in Upper Silesia is not soon settled Berlin will be as unable to control fanatical German nationalists as Warsaw is to control its very "self-determined" Polish compatriots.

Perhaps the most lamentable phase of the whole affair is that in trying to suppress the insurrection the Allied armies of occupation have been forced into active combat with the Polish rebels. The French, the best and closest friends of Poland in all Europe, have in several places been compelled to take military measures to restore order. They have done this with the greatest reluctance, as their sympathies and duties are in absolute conflict, and the Germans accuse them of working only half-heartedly to put down the rebellion. It is certain that the Italian troops have been more active. Serious fighting has taken place between the Italians and the Poles and a number of Italian officers and soldiers were killed. Such an incident is only

## Poles vs. Allies

THE Allied forces of occupation were taken by surprize and could not successfully cope with the situation. The Poles were equipped with rifles, ammunition and even with artillery; they were estimated at 90,000, and included in their number many Polish regular troops from across the frontier. For all that, the Polish Government disavows the insurrection. The men at Warsaw realize that the last word belongs to the Allied Powers and that such irregular and illegal violence, whatever its temporary success, would only prejudice their cause in the long run. There is every reason to suppose that the Polish Government is sincere in repudiating the outbreak.

Unfortunately, the attitude of the Polish Government is one thing, and that of the Polish army and population quite another. Twice before, in the case of Lemberg and in the case of Vilna, the Polish military authorities have taken matters into their own hands in defiance of the Allied Powers and even of their own civil government. What is

too liable to poison future diplomatic relations between Poland and Italy even if more serious immediate consequences are averted.

## Green Meets Orange

THE elections for the Parliaments of northern and southern Ireland will take place on May 24. The northern Parliament will assemble on June 7 and the southern on June 28. Sinn Fein has decided to take part in the elections, but only as a popular demonstration of sentiment; the members of that party instead of taking their seats in either Parliament will meet in the Dail Eireann, the legislative body of the revolutionists.

De Valera's election manifesto declares uncompromizingly for "the legitimacy of the republic" and insists that Sinn Fein still makes complete independence its unalterable program. None the less, some British papers see a rainbow of hope in the recent secret conference between Sir James Craig, leader of the Ulster Unionists, and De Valera, President of the "Irish Republic." No immediate results were reached, or in the nature of things could be hoped for, but it was encouraging that men so far apart in opinion would even consent to meet for conference. The Sinn Fein statement of the affair is as follows:

> There is a tendency in British and Orange newspapers to attach to the meeting between President De Valera and Sir James Craig an amount of undue importance which is not justified. It was only natural that the President, as the duly elected leader of the Irish people, and having undertaken to speak on their behalf, should be always willing to discuss the future of Ireland with the leader of any section of its people.

The statement by Sir James Craig runs thus:

> My conversation with De Valera having taken place, and Ulster having already by acceptance of the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act (the Home Rule bill), and by the undertaking to work them, reached the limit of concession, no further discussion will be entered into. When the Parliaments have been established and the Council of Ireland has been constituted there will be the necessary constitutional link between Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland.

Viscount French retired on April 30 from his post as Lord Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland. On leaving office he was made an Earl. Viscount Talbot, who is an English Conservative, but of the Roman Catholic faith, has succeeded him and will be the first Lord Lieutenant under the new Home Rule system.




*London Evening News*

REMOVE THAT THORN

Uncle Sam: "Come on, John, we're all ready for the start."

John: "I'm not!"

## Haiti's Indictment of Uncle Sam

THE Haitian question is bobbing up again. A group of Haitian nationalists calling themselves the Union Patriotique d'Haïti have appealed to the Harding Administration to reverse the policy of American occupation and control pursued by the Wilson Administration and to give "reparations" for numerous alleged outrages. The memorandum contains many specific charges against agents of the American administration in Haiti and insists that the Naval Court of Inquiry conducted only a most superficial investigation, hearing very few witnesses and ignoring numerous complaints against the American forces of occupation and the native gendarmerie organized under American auspices. Admiral Knapp, it is alleged, "did nothing, absolutely nothing at all," to carry on the investigation. The American Navy Department is accused of having suppressed even the incomplete report of the Naval Court of Inquiry, "because it was faced with charges of such a horrible nature that it thought best to pass them over in silence."

It is charged that the financial system of Haiti was brought under American control by the confiscation of $500,000 belonging to the Government and deposited in the National Bank of Haiti. Then, using the revolution of 1915 as an excuse, the American Government landed armed forces in Haiti and forced Haiti under threat of military coercion to agree to a treaty which practically placed the country under an American protectorate. It is charged that even this treaty was continually disregarded by the American forces of occupation who gradually absorbed the functions of the native Haitian civil authorities. It is charged that the native gendarmerie were an unreliable and inefficient force, improperly recruited and trained by the Americans. It is charged that the American Financial Adviser assumed practically dictatorial powers in fixing the Haitian budget without reference to the wishes of the people and their legal representatives. American "usurpation" reached its hight in the suppression of the Haitian Parliament by armed force and the revision of the constitution by illegal processes, with the voting under strict control of the gendarmerie and American officers. It is alleged that "There was only one kind of ballot, bearing the word 'Yes.'" Finally, the Haitian memorandum charges numerous arbitrary arrests, suppressions of the native press, executions of alleged bandits without trial, cruelties to prisoners and rebels and incidents of murder and pillage.

Secretary of the Navy Denby said that the Haitian charges were all unfounded and that he was "sick of having this thing recur, be disproved and recur again." His visit to Haiti had convinced him, he said, that the presence of American marines in the country was still indispensable.

## Steel Policies

THE United States Steel Corporation has begun its deflation of prices and of wages. Prices have been cut from $1.50 to $15 a ton, according to the class of commodity affected; the reduction amounting to $15 a ton in tin plate, $9 a ton in steel plates, $5 a ton in structural steel; $4 a ton in steel slabs, and $1.50 a ton in large billets. Wage reductions have also been announced. The average wage rates of day labor will be reduced by 20 per cent from May 16. Salaries will be "equitably adjusted" to a lower scale. The cause of the decrease in wages and prices is the falling off of orders; which has also led the company to reduce its working force and to take steps to shorten the hours of labor. During the war period, when demand for steel was enormous, wages rapidly increased. The average wage in 1920 was more than double the average wage in 1916; and during the same period the labor cost per ton of finished steel increased from a little over $17 to over $40.

Hours of labor, however, were greatly increased by the wartime demand for steel. The twelve-hour working day was common, and it happened not infrequently that a worker had to remain at his post for two or three twelve-hour shifts in succession. Judge Gary announces that "After long and painstaking effort we have not been able to find a practicable basis for the entire abandonment of the twelve-hour day or turn in the immediate future. How-

ever, we have already eliminated the twelve-hour day in certain departments and shall continue our efforts in this direction with the hope and expectation of making the elimination of the twelve-hour day complete during the next year." The seven day working week and the twenty-four hour turn when the shifts are changed have already been eliminated.

The Federal Trade Commission has issued a formal complaint against the United States Steel Corporation and a number of its subsidiary companies, charging it with price discrimination. Objection is raised to the policy by which steel manufactured outside of Pittsburgh is sold at the Pittsburgh price (f.o.b.) plus an amount equivalent to the freight from Pittsburgh to the point of destination. It is alleged that "The Pittsburgh plus price enables the Pittsburgh steel manufacturers to secure for their plants substantially 50 per cent of the steel manufacturing business of the United States" and "enables the high cost steel manufacturing plants at Pittsburgh to fix and maintain sufficiently high prices for their product to operate at a profit" without suffering from the competition of lower cost plants elsewhere in the United States, while it also "enables the low cost steel manufacturing plants outside of Pittsburgh to secure not only the profit which the high cost Pittsburgh steel manufacturing plants secure, but unduly large additional profits because they manufacture rolled steel at a much lower cost than at Pittsburgh." In other words, prices are standardized all over the country at the Pittsburgh rates irrespective of costs, and the consumer pays for it. Chairman Thompson and Commissioners Pollard and Nugent made the complaint; Commissioners Gaskill and Murdock dissenting.




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**Jack Spratt and his wife and the clean platter**

## Are the Railroads Efficient?

THE discussion over wages readjustments on the railways is now turning largely on the question of the savings possible without wage reduction. The spokesmen of the unions admit the need for greater economy and lower costs in railway operation. But they oppose the idea that the only possible saving must come out of the pay envelope of the employees.

A memorandum presented by W. J. Lauck to the Railroad Labor Board enumerates many alleged inefficiencies and extravagances on the part of the railroad companies. It is claimed that: (1) $272,500,000 could be saved by "systematic application to the locomotives of demonstrated improvements"; (2) $50,000,000 could be saved by more careful purchase, inspection and utilization of coal; (3) proper shop organization would save "at least $17,000,000"; (4) $10,000,000 could be saved in power plant fuel; (5) the consumption of water could be reduced in cost by $12,600,000 a year; (6) $75,000,000 a year is wasted in supply purchasing; (7) "the use of efficient methods of cost accounting" would save $10,900,000; (8) "the industrial losses due to unnecessary labor turnover and to inadequate training of personnel" is estimated at $40,000,000; (9) preventable loss and damage amounts annually to $90,000,000. Over $578,000,000 could thus be saved by more efficient methods of operation.

Other wastes are also listed: (1) defects in car equipment; (2) defective power equipment; (3) "inefficient handling of tractive power"; (4) inadequate terminals; (5) defective maintenance of way, and especially lack of sufficient standardization in rails; (6) inefficient train operation; "it is estimated that losses aggregating perhaps $600,000,000 a year are attributable to managerial incompetence in train operation"; (7) miscellaneous wastes due to "antiquated equipment and bad management"; (8) "wastes in miscellaneous overhead, advertising and the railway administration's public propaganda" (there is a sting in that last clause!); (9) neglect of engineering research. Many statistical tables and references to authorities accompanied these estimates and accusations.

The railroad executives answer the charges of inefficient management by denying the accuracy of Mr. Lauck's statistics and still more by denying the validity of the conclusions drawn from them. For example, it is admitted that some saving could be effected by the substitution of the latest model locomotives for earlier types. But it is pointed out that such improvements require large amounts of new capital and that the capital is not obtainable so long as railway investments yield no profit. To scrap all the second rate locomotives at once and substitute new engines would bankrupt the roads. Again, it is pointed out that 60 per cent of operating costs are spent in wages, so that really considerable savings, such as would justify lower freight rates, must in any case come largely from wages. Moreover, a large part of the cost of materials is ultimately due to prevailing high wages in other industries. Thus during the year 1920 the railroads spent $700,000,000 on fuel and "the recent high cost of coal has been due in large part to the high labor cost of producing it."

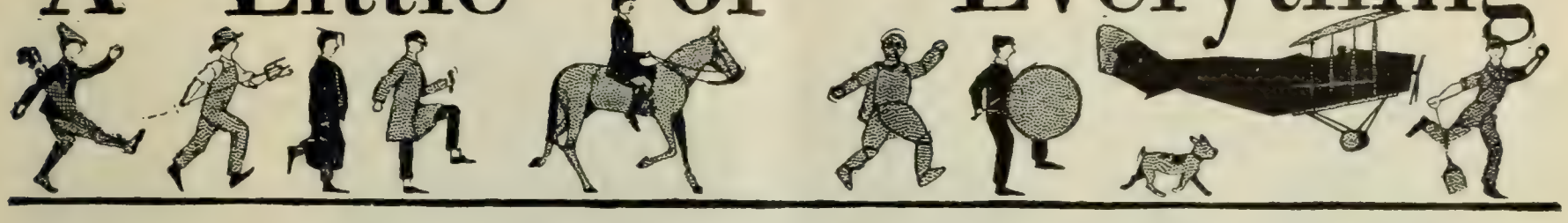
In spite of financial difficulties which preclude any drastic renewal of equipment, the railroad executives claim to have made much progress in economical operation. During 1920 the average mileage per car per day increased from 22.3 to 28.6 miles; the average load per car from 28.3 to 30 tons. Over the five year period of 1915 to 1920 the average load per train increased from 475 tons to 728.

## Shipmen Still Out

THE marine strike still continues and has even extended; there is talk of sympathetic strikes on foreign ships to help the American seamen tie up the ports. American ships are still leaving port from time to time but in much smaller numbers than before the strike. All attempts at conciliation, while approaching agreement on minor points, have been wrecked by the fundamental difficulty of the proposed fifteen per cent. cut in wages, which the ship owners claim to be necessary but which the seamen resolutely oppose. The ships have been manned, so far as possible, by non-union volunteers and there have been riotous clashes between the strikers and the strike-breakers.

Admiral Benson, speaking on behalf of the Shipping Board, declared that "existing economic conditions fully justify the readjustment of wage scales and working conditions on the basis announced by the Board." He promised "full protection" to all those who come to the assistance of the Board in keeping the ships in operation. He pointed out that wages have been reduced in practically all other industries and that the Board had not discriminated against the seamen but had also reduced wages in the shipyards "and in almost every instance a reduction has been accepted."

# A Little of Everything



## The Custer Wolf

It sounds like something by Ernest Thompson-Seton (or is it Seton-Thompson?), but it is really from a sober bulletin brought out by the United States Department of Agriculture.

"The Custer Wolf is dead."

He was the master criminal of the animal world.

Thruout the region around Custer, South Dakota, that day, the telephone lines were busier than they were on the day the armistice was signed.

For nine years this wolf had lived as an outlaw—the cruelest, the most sagacious, the most successful animal outlaw that the range country had ever known.

He loped thru every kind of danger and spurned them all. He sniffed at the subtlest poison and passed it by. The most adroitly concealed trap was as clear to him as a mirror in the sunshine. Old hunters, unerring shots, drew the bead on him and saw him glide away unharmed. The price on his head was $500. Bounty hunters sought him for profit. Sportsmen put forth every device to slay him for reputation's sake. And still the old wolf went unscathed about his work of destruction.

Credulous people said he was a charmed thing. Others attributed his immunity to a wisdom greater than beast ever before possessed. Still others said he escaped by plain luck—the mysterious thing that adheres to some animals as to some men. In whatever way they explained his uncanny elusiveness, everybody feared him—perhaps not consciously, very rarely openly, but there was no man thruout the region who did not feel a shiver run down between his shoulder blades when, alone or in the dark, he thought of this gray devil of the desert.

No wonder that the telephones hummed when the word went out that a hunter, sent by the United States Department of Agriculture to protect the live stock industry, had killed the criminal wolf. That word ended a nine years' reign of dread, during which the stockmen around Custer had paid tribute to this wolf to the extent of $25,000 worth of live stock. And mere money loss was not the whole of the horrible toll he took. When he killed for food he took only the choicest animals, but sometimes he killed in atrocious ways for the mere sake of killing. Often he wounded cattle, breaking their legs, biting off their tails, mutilating them in unspeakable ways.

Four years ago his mate was killed. He never took another and many people supposed that he devoted himself to revenge for her death. Later on, he attached to himself two coyotes, not as equals but as servants. He never permitted them to come near him, and they could feed from his kills only after he himself had finished. They traveled far out on his flanks, giving him warning of ambush or approaching danger and adding to the atmosphere of mystery that surrounded him.



*Underwood & Underwood*

**A super-human—or super-mechanical—mail sorter. The operator sits before a sort of keyboard. The first one of a stack of letters confronting him is addressed to Buffalo, New York, for instance. He presses the Buffalo button. The letter drops out of sight and travels by the proper channel to the Buffalo box; and the operator is ready for the next one. This machine, twenty-five feet long, has only ninety carriers; it has been proved that one with 256 is possible. The new machine should do for the post office what the linotype and the monotype have done for printing**

## What Happens to Trees in Winter?

In the Proceedings of The National Academy of Sciences for July, 1920, Mr. F. V. Coville communicates some interesting results of investigations on the influence of cold on plants.

In regions having a cold winter like ours, with prolonged or repeated freezing, the native trees and shrubs, according to the general belief, become dormant because of the cold. It is also the general belief that warm weather is of itself the sufficient cause of the beginning of new growth in spring. Mr. Coville finds both these ideas to be erroneous. The evidence presented by him shows: first, that in our native trees and shrubs, dormancy sets in before cold weather, and that cold weather is not necessary for the establishment of complete dormancy; second, that after such dormancy has begun, the exposure of the plants to an ordinary growing temperature does not start them into growth; third, that these plants will not resume normal growth in the warm weather of spring unless they have been subjected previously to a period of chilling.

Dormant trees and shrubs which have had two or three months of chilling, either out of doors or in artificial cold storage, start into growth in the normal manner when spring comes, but if the dormant plants have been kept warm all winter they do not start into growth at the usual time in spring but continue their dormant condition for weeks or months, sometimes for a whole year, and when finally they do begin to grow their growth is of an abnormal character. One of these long dormant plants can readily be started into healthy growth, however, even after the expiration of a year, by subjecting it to a period of chilling.

In one of the greenhouses of the Department of Agriculture refrigerating machines were installed in such a manner that plants supplied with normal daylight could be subjected at any period of the year to winter temperatures, even below freezing if desired.

By subjecting one part of a dormant bush to a chilling temperature and keeping the other part of it warm,

the chilled portion can be brought into full leaf and flower.

An important change takes place in the plant during the process of chilling. The starch stored in the cells is transformed to sugar, and not until this has been done can the plant utilize its store of starch in making its spring growth. Furthermore, the transformation of the starch into sugar creates high osmotic pressures within the plant. Certain sugar exuding glands, called extra floral nectaries, are interpreted as safety valves for the relief of excessive internal pressures which might burst the cells of the plant or otherwise derange its physiological activities.

The fact that our northern trees and shrubs after they become dormant in the fall require a period of chilling before warm weather will start them into growth again, is a protective adaptation of the highest importance to these plants, for if the warmth alone would start them into growth they would begin growing in Indian summer and the stored food that the plant requires for its normal vigorous growth in the following spring would be wasted in a burst of new autumn growth, which would be killed by the first frost.

## Ed Howe Says

Truth condemns religion.

I have my relatives well trained.

I do not like a Salvation Army woman.

Don't offend the fools; they are running things.

I am quite sure I should dislike an angel if I should meet one.

The war is over. Why does not Hoover demobilize himself?

It is not the moral force we must look to, but the police force.

I never saw the picture of an angel that did not make me laugh.

I have concluded the American people are as cowardly as ever.

Margot Asquith is a perfect type of the sort of woman I do not care for.

I think a good deal more of an old church member than I do of the Trail Hitters.

As soon as a Ku Klux Klan camp is organized in my neighborhood, I shall join.

Too many men think they must discuss every important question with their pastor.

There is one thing about the late Kaiser I admire—he saws wood for exercize instead of playing golf.

If a woman has had more than one husband she is a little proud of it and if given time will mention it.

Some time the Bible stories will be re-written, and make the *Smart Set* look like the *Youth's Companion*.

Andrew Carnegie was a much stronger man than Karl Marx or Henry George, or the present Pope.

Find anything in Goethe if you can as short, sensible, and unforgetable as J. P. Morgan's "You can't unscramble eggs."

I have heard the argument for putting shoes in frames at night. It did not impress me sufficiently to cause me to adopt it.

If a man fails to become as great as John D. Rockefeller, or Henry Ford, or Charlie Chaplin, the fault clearly rests with his wife.



Next summer Bryn Mawr's cloistered seclusion will be the property of women workers in industry, in a summer school held for them during two months

## Bryn Mawr's Labor College

### By Clare Ousley

A summer school for women workers in industry, the first of its kind in this country, is going to be held at Bryn Mawr College this year. From June to August the concerns of Bryn Mawr, one of the oldest of the American Women's Colleges, will be entirely with those courses which may be desired by young women from industrial trades from all over the country. Although such summer courses for workers have been offered before, notably at Balliol College, Oxford University, they have usually been of two weeks or less duration; this one will extend over two months. And never before has any college turned over its entire equipment to such a course. Those attending the summer school will be resident students of Bryn Mawr for two months. And Bryn Mawr, with its quaint old turretted buildings, its rolling green lawns, its cherry trees and golden forsythia bushes, its tennis courts and swimming pool, its library with cosy nooks and settles—well, Bryn Mawr is a very pleasant place to be a student.

The faculty, which has not yet been announced, will be composed of those accustomed to teaching the untrained adult mind. It is possible the college may obtain one or more persons from England who have had experience with workers' educational courses there. The classes will be kept small, with never more than twenty to a group, and conducted in the usual method of short lectures with ample opportunity for discussion. In addition there will be tutorial classes of from one to five, thus making the scope of the courses dependent almost entirely upon the desire of the students. The curriculum will cover a broad field of liberal subjects. The preliminary and tentative outline of courses includes English Composition, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Practice, Literature and History, Labor Movements and Labor Legislation or more advanced courses in Labor Movements in Europe and Industrial Organization. There will also be electives in economics, government, elementary or private law, general psychology and appreciation of art. Additional lectures on such subjects as Physiology and Hygiene, Origin and Evolution of Life, Community Relations and Life, will be given.

The charges will be two hundred dollars. This will include everything except laundry and incidental personal expenses. Scholarships of two hundred dollars each will be awarded to women who might otherwise be prevented from attending the school, from a general scholarship fund. A very considerable portion of this fund is being provided by labor unions. Requirements for admission to the school will be ability to read and write English and as far as possible a grammar grade schooling, together with good health and evidence of character and ability. The classes will coördinate as much as they can with those offered by the various workers' universities and Trade Union Colleges. This will make it possible for women who have shown marked ability and interest in these winter courses to go on during the summer.

Bryn Mawr hopes that the experiment will be so successful that not only will she herself feel warranted in conducting such a school every summer, but that other colleges in other parts of the United States will do likewise.

## Quirks

A Pennsylvania student worked his way thru college selling earth worms.

***

Beer drinking in Germany decreased 750.000.000 gallons from 1913 to 1920.

***

Nevada will execute murderers by gas in an airtight cell under the new capital punishment law.

***

More than a third of the people of the United States live in cities of more than 25.000 population.

***

The average deposit in savings banks in the United States is $571.99, and the average per inhabitant $61.85.

***

When not required for Shakespeare festivals the Shakespeare Memorial Theater at Stratford-on-Avon is to be used as a motion picture theater.

***

The latest class of men called to the colors of the French army showed 75 per cent physically fit for service; the highest percentage of effectives on record.

***

The Queen of Belgium voted at the recent municipal elections in Brussels. This is said to be the first time in history that a reigning queen voted at a popular election.

***

Certain human expressions, such as the baring of the teeth in rage and the bristling of the hair under the influence of extreme fear, have been put forward by scientists as proofs of man's descent from animals.

## Golden Fields

(*Continued from page 535*)

finally the cross of a female Hard Red Calcutta with a male Red Fife that produced a new type in 1892, on the Ottawa Dominion Government Experimental Farm. And when in 1903 Dr. Charles Saunders, Jr., an accomplished musician, went into the laboratories of his father, he found about fifty-eight different varieties that ripened earlier than Red Fife.

But some were small irregular berries. Others had short scant heads. Others didn't yield in large quantities. Others shattered and shelled easily. Others didn't bake up properly. They gave too dark or too heavy a bread.

Instead of wasting time on baking experiments, which required enough samples to grind into flour, and enough flour to grind into a loaf, Dr. Saunders had discovered a much simpler test. The wheat that made the best white flour and rose into the lightest whitest loaf invariably gave, when chewed, the most elastic white gum. The heads of this new wheat were both long and full—no false empty shells; and the kernels were plump as little fat beans. Also, they were uniform.

In 1904 a few grains were planted in a tiny plot—twelve plants came up in 1904, less than a pound; these were put away in an envelope for 1905. By 1906 he had two-thirds of a bushel of the precious grains—and the crop that year gave enough to send twenty-three pounds, a third of a bushel, out to the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Experimental Farms. By 1909 four hundred farmers got samples of the new Marquis wheat for planting. It now covers vast areas from the Saskatchewan to the Missouri. It was in 1913 the seedsmen of Minneapolis and St. Paul began to distribute it. In those years 200,000 bushels crossed the boundary for seed; and it not only beat in the race against frost by ten to fifteen days, but in especially prepared weedless ground under favorable weather it produced such yields as almost to put it in the Munchausen class. One small acreage reported eighty-one bushels to the acre.

When forty is considered a gold mine to the farmer, over eighty put it in the diamond class. It was almost freak; but it was a freak that set farmers aiming at such freak yields.

But its fame would probably never have spread had it not been for a poor Saskatchewan farmer, who neighbors regarded as sound in theory but too scientific for profit. As everyone knows the West had up to 1911 aimed rather at average aggregate yields on big areas than enormous yields on small areas. Seager Wheeler had been trying the other way round. To economize the mounting costs of equipment and labor, he was aiming at enormous yields on small areas; and it hadn't panned out very well. In fact, the night a telegraphic message from the nearest city went out to Wheeler's place at Rosthern, Saskatchewan, he and his




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## Plus 4 things more

*By V. K. Cassady, B.S., M.S., Chief Chemist*

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In this formula we found we had at last attained the ideal shaving cream. It proved superior on these tests:

It multiplies itself in lather 250 times. Just one-half gram—a bit of cream—proves plenty for a luxurious shave.

The oil coating on the beard is removed almost instantly. Within one minute the beard absorbs 15% of water—enough to soften the stubbornest beard. Such quick efficiency is astonishing.

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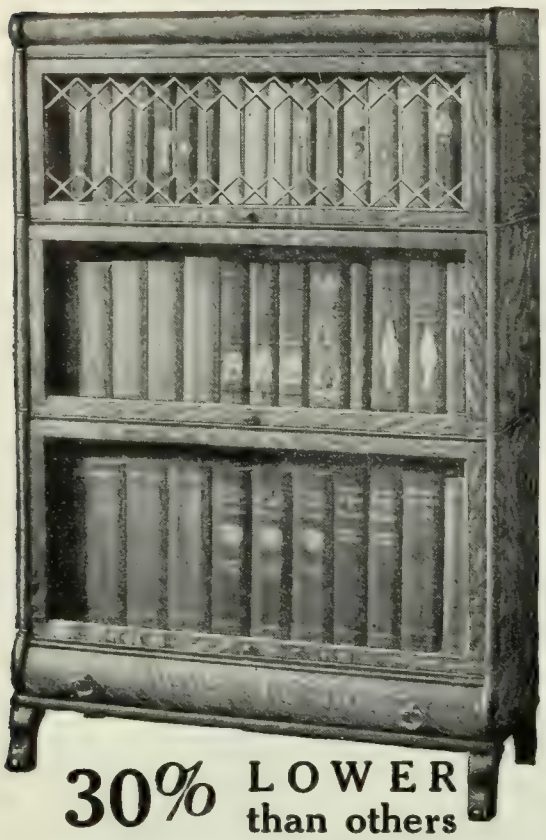
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wife were considering whether they had better nail up a sheriff's attachment to their door and quit.

The telegram changed their minds. They had won the world champion prize of $1,000 for the best bushel of spring wheat grains ever grown. It was this plot of one-nineteenth of an acre that ran eighty-one bushels to the acre. Four years in succession Seager Wheeler won that championship. Marquis wheat had not only outraced frost; but by 1918 had enriched the world to the extent of $600,000,000, when 300,000,000 bushels were grown.

It is one of the greatest triumphs of science in field work; and now the scientists are at it again. In fields of 1000 acres each it is a terribly difficult matter to get a wheat of which the first plantings will not shatter in high winds before the last plantings of the same field can be cut and threshed.

"Ruby" is the name of the wheat which is trying to defy the winds as Marquis has defied the frosts.

*Wassaic, New York*

# Can Freight Rates Come Down?

(*Continued from page 532*)

made, even if the Board gives its approval. Railroad wages increased $2,156,417,594 during the war period. The cost of fuel increased $200,000,000 and taxes $60,000,000. The increase in costs of materials cannot be calculated. Cutting off all the advances given to labor since 1916 would not make it possible to restore pre-war freight rates—and would precipitate a strike.

Granting that there will be some cut in railroad wages, how will the increase in railroad earnings be used? First, to "take the diphtheria sign off railroad securities" by paying dividends; second, to replace worn-out equipment, of which there has been no replacement for more than a year; third, to reduce passenger fares, since passenger trains must be run anyway, whether empty or full.

There may be something left with which to reduce freight rates, but railroad experts doubt it.

Business leaders, seeing that the railroads cannot be permitted to earn a 6 per cent profit without injury to business interests, are coming rapidly to the opinion that the vital service of transportation should be provided as the mail service is provided—by the Government, on a non-profit basis.

The railroads were the first efficient industry. But the legend of their efficiency is dying out, and it is coming to be seen by comparison that the Government didn't do so bad a job when it operated the lines.

Could freight rates be brought back to the old basis under Government operation? Certainly rates would not have to be so high, if it were no longer necessary for the railroads to earn a profit. Then there are certain economies, some introduced by Mr. McAdoo and some hinted by Secretary Hoover in his suggestion that an advisory bureau be created in the Department of Commerce looking to the elimination of transportation wastes both on the railroads and in shipping, and to freer use of the highways and canals, and further development of aerial transportation.

On the other hand, the Government would not reduce railroad wages nor could operating economies be put into practice, over a week-end. Rates could not be reduced to anywhere near the old levels within a period of some years . . . unless the Government stood a deficit. And no administration that operated the railways at a loss would be returned to power.

In the meantime industry must operate. It cannot close up shop and wait until that happy day when freight rates get back to the 1916 level. It is at present organized on the basis of the long haul. The cost of the long haul has been made prohibitive. It will, therefore, reorganize on the basis of the short haul, which means decentralization.

An enlightened Administration would not attempt to interfere with this process, but rather would encourage it, since it means the elimination of transportation waste. There will be no new period of railroad expansion in the United States during the present generation at least. Ways must therefore be found that will enable the railroads to meet the needs of the country for transportation without expansion.

One way of doing it would be to abandon the present crazy quilt rate structure, and substitute a scientific system of rate making, in which rates would be based on the cost of rendering the service.

The idea under consideration of Government officials, who look farther than tomorrow and believe they see Government ownership in the near distance, is that rates shall be based on a flat charge per mile, plus the cost of handling the goods at terminals. Mr. McAdoo made a gesture in this direction when he appointed his Committee on Classifications late in the war. It was the first step toward adoption of the mileage system of rate making, which is said to be on the point of adoption in England.

Business would support such a system in just the degree to which it had been decentralized when the time for installing it came. It would be of advantage to decentralized industry and would increase the pressure upon industries that had not decentralized by its tendency to make the cost of long distance transportation prohibitive.

To send a cord of wood twenty miles by cart in colonial days cost $3; to have it hauled three times as far cost three times as much, or more than the cord of wood was worth. The result was that every household cut its own, if there was wood in the neighborhood, instead of having it hauled from a dis-

tance. Gradually the railroads put the cartage systems out of business and the canals fell into disuse in many cases.

But now both are coming back.

In 1920 there was an increase over 1919 in the number of motor vehicles in the United States of 22 per cent. The increase lacks but 4 per cent of being equal to the total number of such vehicles in use six years ago. Within a radius of fifty miles freight can be transported cheaper by truck than by rail.

Adding railroad terminal charges to the mileage rate would exert another strong influence toward further decentralization. Since terminal charges are highest in the great cities and lower in the small towns manufacturing plants would be drawn away from the present congested centers.

A tendency toward decentralization is evident even in agriculture. The South, for instance, is planting less cotton this year and is giving more attention to the production of cereal crops for its own use, as a means of escaping the charges on flour from the West.

Perhaps the most interesting development in this line, however, is the drift back to the farms in New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The high prices that must now be charged for the products of western farms to cover the freight rate to the East have made it possible again to work these long abandoned farms at a profit.

The books of a firm of farm brokers of nation-wide scope in New York show that its sales of farms in February increased over last year in New England by 200 per cent and in the Middle Atlantic States by 175 per cent. Two-thirds of the sales now being made are to men from the cities—a proportion exactly reverse of that of former times.

Decentralization will never be so complete that the visitor to America in the future will find a flour mill in every cellar, but flour mills grinding flour for each neighborhood from wheat raised in the surrounding countryside may be as numerous as laundries. The milling trust, and all other trusts in the manufacturing industries, developed inevitably as a result of the concentration of manufacturing brought about by low freight rates. High freight rates will do what all the courts have been unable to do. They will break up the trusts by restoring competition.

Much machinery has been invented during recent years permitting of operation in small units quite as economically as in large units. When industry rebuilds, and old investments are abandoned, new inventions have their day. Not only the waste of transportation, but every other possible waste, principally the waste of manpower, is eliminated when industry is shaken up, as it is now being shaken.

Low freight rates have been of inestimable value in binding the nation together, by making each section de-


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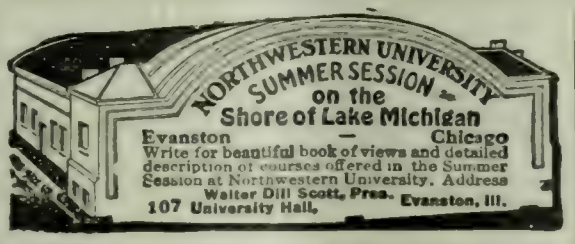
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## Patches of Peace

(*Continued from page 534*)

They said: "The thing is impossible!" But Mr. Carol is seeing it thru and it is all coming—airy rooms, central heating plant, the best plumbing, economy of space, and a clinic for expectant mothers. Everything which "could not be done" is being done, and will be finished in July, 1921.

It must be finished, for Mr. Carol fell in love with one of the English nurses and wants to be married and return to the States.

This Hospital will be a monument to the work of the Quakers in France. They were the first to come to reconstruct when German guns were menacing, they are the last to go. They leave behind them an imperishable work and name: "*L'Amis*," the Friends —of God and of man.

WHEN the American thought about the Germany he loved, or could still love, he often had in mind Bavaria and, above all, the city of Munich. The Germany lingering in his memory included Lake Constance, the mountains of upper Bavaria, Oberammergau, Nüremburg, Munich, with its art galleries, the lovely Frauenkirche, the Opera, Wagner's Ring.

It is all there, undamaged by bullets or the Volstead act, but as different from what it once was as a sick man is from one who is well; or as a psychopathic ward in a hospital is different from a kindergarten.

Fat-bellied men, rosy-cheeked women and children, the noisy throng of students, Cook's tourists making their weary rounds thru the art galleries, throngs crowding around the displays in the art stores, the martial beat upon the pavement made by marching soldiers, gossiping women in the doorways, tipsy beer consumers singing folk songs — are no more. Munich is ashen grey, the street traffic is negligible and the public buildings neglected. The Quakers occupy the king's palace and, from there, control the feeding of half-starved children. No picturesque soldiers are on guard, and the nights are silent and long. The steins are only half full and "the mourners go about the streets." Munich is sick, physically depleted and mentally deranged—and no wonder. It went thru the war, a terrible revolution, counter-revolution, and famine. It has to drink beer without "influence;" it daily sees women, children and University students fed by the bounty of a triumphant enemy; it feel

the relentless grip of the Allies; it swung from the extreme left of Bolshevism to the extreme right of Monarchism, where it now is, digging in—waiting—

The people of Munich seem perfectly sane till one touches politics, and then they begin to rave. In an interview with the Editor-in-Chief of the leading daily I realized as never before how sick the Bavarians are. I had not been with him two minutes when he began to talk wildly about the past, the dead, irredeemable past. He made a vain-glorious attempt to justify everything which Germany has done and cruelly and blindly condemned France and England. He cherishes a silly hope that a certain German-American Alliance in Chicago may save the Fatherland from utter ruin. I spent hours trying to calm the man, only to find that he was not merely sick but stupid; not only stupid but ignorant—in fact, incurable.

I met not only the most insane but also the sanest Bavarians, and chief among them, Prof. Frederick W. Foerster, of the University of Munich, now at Luzerne. I spent two hours, quiet and inspiring hours, with him. He was the one great man in Germany who condemned the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the "Lusitania."

As nearly all the people I met gave me the impression of confused, guilty men trying to justify themselves, so I received from him the impression of a man of absolute probity. He reminds one of Tolstoy, tho he is gentler, and his blue eyes are kindlier; but he puts the same insistence upon salvation thru the words of Jesus, upon the condemnation of war, of patriotism as the supreme virtue, and of brutal exploitation of the poor. He is convinced of the guilt of Germany, and believes in her redemption thru suffering.

His hold upon the masses is remarkable, and to that he owes the fact that he could preach and teach his doctrines during the war. He delivered his lectures, protected by his students, while his lecture room was being stormed by "blind patriots." The reaction at the present time, however, made his work so difficult that he thought it wisest to retire to Switzerland, where he is writing, and waiting in the quietness and confidence of those "whose trust is in the Lord."

I spent other pleasant hours with his successor, Professor ——, a very conscientious and effective teacher, but with no political influence. He told me that Professor Foerster could have been elected President of the German Federation; but, knowing that his convictions were shared by only a small minority, he declined the honor. Had he accepted it he might have been killed, for now, especially in Bavaria, the old spirit is triumphant. Clericalism, Aristocracy, and Monarchy are in the saddle. On Sundays, officers parade in full uniform with their decorations proudly worn, and I have noticed a growing tendency in the display of these tawdry toys. The Prince Regent's picture is everywhere displayed, and in the *Gymnasium* I visited, I saw the ex-Kaiser's photograph, tho it has vanished from the public schools.

Professor —— believes that this reaction is natural, that the Revolution on one side and the unconciliatory attitude of the Allies on the other explain it. He said:

> There was a time, especially in 1919, when the German people were beginning to feel their guilt, and were in a repentant mood; but now that they see the Allies depending upon might as their weapon, and that their greed is insatiable, they say: "We are no worse than they, and Kaiser Wilhelm is no greater criminal than Lloyd George."

The conditions are worse now than ever, and the confusion of mind greater. The only hope of the privileged class is in the restoration of the Monarchy, and that of the Left, in a Soviet republic.

Professor —— and others of his colleagues whom I met have a strong hope that salvation will come out of America—not from the hyphenated Americans, but from the right minded, disinterested men who are not pro-German, but pro-human; for the problem of Germany is practically the problem of the whole civilized world.

I have met sane women in Munich, women who show and confess the impress of Jane Addams. They see the salvation of Germany in confession and cleansing, and struggle politically for a democracy which is both safe and efficient. They are a growing minority, and are the hope of their country.

The immediate future of Bavaria is dark; she refuses to disarm, she is full of fear, and her little children are being poisoned by the prevailing mental disease. The bright spots are few: chiefly a small group of honest, intelligent men under the leadership of Foerster, a larger number of liberal minded women training themselves for the task of leadership, and in no small degree the fact that calm, sweet-spirited Quakers are feeding the starving children, and are heaping "coals of fire," or rather hot cocoa and beans, upon the heads of our enemies.

As Professor Becker, the head of the Student Social Service Department, told me: "The one bright spot in our dark times is the work and the spirit of the Quakers. They came and gave food and themselves; they asked no questions, and peddled no opinions.

"I am a convinced Roman Catholic, and I will die one, but I am conquered by the Quaker spirit, and I am not the only one!"

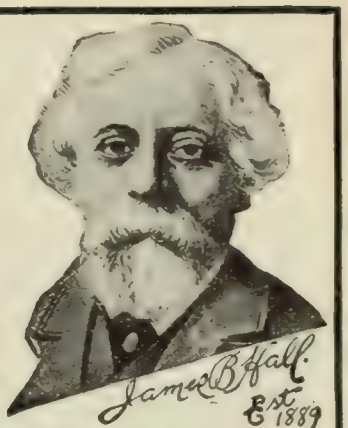
We walked together thru the old, picturesque part of Munich and talked; we were both in a spiritual agony. Then we saw from afar the outlines of the mountains, and he said: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help."

And I said, "Amen."

## A Correction

The immigration chart which was published on page 408 of The Independent for April 16 should have been credited to "Warne's Book of Charts," in which it was first published.


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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D., Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. Golden Fields.**

1. Why is the title, "Golden Fields," better than "Growing Wheat," or "Canadian Wheat," or "The Story of American Wheat," or "Finding the Best Wheat"? Why should you spend considerable thought in writing a title for any article?
2. Write an original short story in which you represent a wheat-grower struggling against the difficulties that confront him. Try to make your story as romantic and as exciting as any story of old-time adventure.
3. Give a clear explanation of what modern science is doing to aid the farmer in growing better wheat.
4. Imagine that you have found a letter written by David Fyfe, telling the story of his "better wheat." Reproduce the letter. Make a definite effort to indicate the daily life, and the individuality, of David Fyfe.
5. Prepare an instructive article on Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Emphasize strongly those points that you think should interest people most.
6. Write a paragraph of poetic prose, or a few lines of verse, telling what thoughts are suggested by a great field of wheat.

**II. The Angelus—1921.**

1. Write a poetic description of the picture called "The Angelus."
2. Imagine that you interview "the old woman of St. Aubin." Write the interview in full. Tell the circumstances under which you meet the woman. Reproduce her own words, so that they will reflect her character.
3. Imagine that you and some of your friends have contributed to the purchase of a bell for a French village. Write a speech of dedication, such as you might give just before sending the bell to France.

**III. The Custer Wolf.**

1. Write a narrative that will tell the story of "The Custer Wolf." Make your narrative lead the reader to sympathize strongly either with the wolf or with the people who hunted for it. Try to imitate the characteristics of Ernest Thompson-Seton's stories of animal life, such as "The Biography of a Grizzly." Write about the wolf as tho it had human emotions.

**IV. Quirks.**

1. "When not required for Shakespeare festivals the Shakespeare Memorial Theater at Stratford-on-Avon is to be used as a motion picture theater." Imagine that the shade of Shakespeare and the characters that he created return to the theater at night and discuss the present use of the theater. Give their conversation, writing it in the form of a dramatic sketch. Either defend or oppose motion pictures as worthy products of the dramatic art.

**V. Bryn Mawr's Labor College.**

1. Prepare a speech in which you try to interest women workers in Bryn Mawr's Labor College. Emphasize the advantages that women workers may gain.

**VI. Patches of Peace.**

1. Write, as if for a graduation oration, a contrast on "The Tomb of Napoleon and the Grave of the Unknown French Soldier." Begin by writing pure description. Make your work develop both thought and emotion.
2. Summarize what the article indicates concerning the character of the French Quakers.
3. Read aloud the first quotation from the words of the Quakers.
4. Read aloud the quotation beginning "Someday it is all coming true." Explain exactly what the quotation means.
5. Summarize what the article says concerning the present attitude of most people in Germany.
6. Read aloud Professor Foerster's words beginning "She is more guilty than the other European powers." Explain the meaning of all that Professor Foerster said.
7. Give reasons to show that the conclusion of the article is or is not a suitable conclusion.

**VII. A Literate Citizenship.**

1. Write two briefs, one to show the arguments in favor of the proposed constitutional amendment for the State of New York, and the other to show the arguments against the proposed amendment.

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D., Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. Railroads — Can Freight Rates Come Down? Are the Railroads Efficient?**

1. Why do increased freight rates encourage the development of local industries and discourage the competition of large producers in distant cities?
2. Suppose railroads and other cheap methods of wholesale transportation had never been invented; could modern large-scale industries have arisen?
3. Compare the effect of high freight rates in discouraging interstate traffic with the effect of tariffs in discouraging international traffic. What are the disadvantages of cutting off outside competition from a local market? What are the advantages?
4. In what ways do the labor unionists hold that the railroad companies could cut expenses without cutting wages?
5. What answer do the railroad operatives give to the charge that they have managed the transportation industry inefficiently?
6. Do you think that a railway system is most efficiently managed: (a) under full control of private owners, (b) under private control but with public supervision to fix rates and prevent abuses, (c) under public ownership but with operation by private contractors, (d) under full public ownership and management, (e) under joint control of owners, employees and the public as proposed by the "Plumb plan"? What objections might be urged against each of these methods?

**II. Economic Problems — Golden Fields. Steel Policies. Shipmen Still Out.**

1. Show how the wheat industry has made possible the development of western Canada. What qualities were needed in the wheat raised in the far north?
2. How is the steel industry affected by the industrial slump? What labor policies are being adopted to meet changed conditions?
3. Notice the tendency to reduction in wages in the merchant marine, in the steel industry, and on the railroads. What common causes are bringing about lower wages in so many industries? Can you mention, from your own knowledge, any other industries similarly affected?

**III. The Crisis in Europe—Patches of Peace The Warning. An End to "Splendid Isolation." The Upper Silesian War. Poles vs. Allies.**

1. Summarize Dr. Steiner's impressions of post-war Europe. Describe the part played by American charity in bringing back wholesome and normal conditions.
2. What light does Dr. Steiner's article throw on the refusal of Bavaria to disarm at the command of the Allies and even of the central German Government? What does he tell about the conflicting forces of militarism and pacifism in Bavaria?
3. What is the significance of the fact that the American Government has decided to be represented once again in the Allied Supreme Council?
4. Distinguish between the Supreme Council of the Allies and the Council of the League of Nations. Why do both bodies continue to exist?
5. What demands are contained in the ultimatum of the Allies to Germany?
6. On what grounds did Premier Lloyd George defend the Allied ultimatum?
7. Why in your opinion did the Allies grant Germany twelve days of grace to accept the bill presented by the Reparation Commission? Why did the German Government accept after threatening for so long to refuse? Show how a resort to military measures would have injured both the Allies and Germany, and why both sides were anxious to avert a crisis.
8. Why was it difficult to settle the question of Upper Silesia on the basis of the plebiscite? Refer to the map in your answer.
9. What was the cause of the Polish outbreak? In what embarrassing position does it place the Allies?

**IV. The Literacy Test—A Literate Citizenship.**

1. What arguments for and against the literacy test for voters are mentioned by Professor Giddings? What qualifications for voters are required in your own state?
2. Prepare a brief for debate on the topic: Resolved, That no one should be considered qualified to vote unless he (or she) can read and write the English language.

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## "I Am the—"

*Here speaks the member of society who is everybody, in different kinds of ways, in more or less degree, at some time or other:*

### I Am the Misfit

I am the woman who, having reached the age when those of my sex and generation are due to be fulfilling their promise to "love, honor, and obey," and are going about their, to some, prosaic, to others, beautiful tasks of home-making and citizen-training,—is *not!*

I am the woman who from early childhood has dreamed of the country home I should one day help make, where little boys and girls should romp and play and grow into Americans.

I am the woman who has realized that dream in a big sunny room of an apartment, where the boys and girls smile their beautiful smiles from the walls, and never change the position of romp or repose which they have assumed under the brush of the artist or the lens of the camera.

I am the woman whose dream kitchen is relentlessly besieged and pillaged of pies, doughnuts and goodies by my dream children, a place where little girls dabble in batter and work in dough; where little boys swing into the window and sit astride dangling their feet, munching my cookies.

I am the woman whose culinary dream has found its realization in a tiny kitchenette with a two-burner oil stove, homemade kitchen cabinet and other furniture—a place where I prepare the food that keeps me physically and mentally fit to give my employers value received for the salary they pay me, and where I make a few dainties now and then for friends, shut-ins, and—other people's children.

I am the woman whose dream of planning the routine of home duties and careful expenditure of income by budget has evolved into the duty of helping keep other people's accounts, the systematizing of office routine, and managing the simple budget of a bachelor woman.

I am the woman who smiles at other people's joys when I could cry because they are forbidden me, who applauds the success of another when my soul is worn with toil unrewarded, whose material ego is a mask that hides behind it a being unknown to my everyday associates.

I am the woman who laughs at life's denial, sets the mask more tightly, and then—"Carry On!"

I am the misfit.

## Remarkable Remarks

REPRESENTATIVE FESS—We are out of the clouds with both feet to the ground.

CONGRESSWOMAN ALICE ROBERTSON—The salvation of the country rests with the women.

MARGUERITE MARSHALL—Life for every woman is just one discarded illusion after another.

SAMUEL GOMPERS—The working people are producers of all the wealth of the country.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I am an American woman thru and thru and I want every one to know it.

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON—I am not going to wreck buildings or bite people in their legs. I am a democrat.

SENATOR NEW—Free and flowing conversation is the inalienable right of the United States Senate.

G. HEMBERT WESTLEY—Hyphenism simply indicates that more fuel is needed under the Melting Pot.

GRANTLAND RICE—The start of the baseball season is one of the big moments in the life of the nation.

HUGH FULLERTON—Nine out of ten persons who attend football, baseball, basket ball games, boxing matches, or horse races, or who play golf, must have a bet.

JAY E. HOUSE—The boon for which most of us yearn is that of waking up in the morning with the feeling that we are free to turn over and go to sleep again.

SCULPTOR R. T. MACKENZIE — The American college man is physically bigger and better than the best type of young Greek in the Golden Age of Athens.

## Opening Nights

Walter Hampden's presentation of *The Merchant of Venice* has a little too much melodrama in its tragedy and a little too much farce in its comedy and some cuts are made in the wrong places. But Mary Hall is such a charming Portia that we could forgive ten times as many faults in the production. (Broadhurst Theater.)

*Innocent and Annabel*, a one-act sketch by the late Harold Chapin, is a clever curtain-raiser to the fantasy, *The Harlequinade*, a pagan interpretation of how the gods became men. A delightful entertainment, in which the charm of Joanna Roos and the grace of Albert Carroll deserve especial mention. (Neighborhood Playhouse.)

*Biff! Bing! Bang!* is a top-notch musical show, somewhat in the spirit of "The Better 'Ole," but better. It is presented by "The Dumbells," a company organized to entertain the Canadian army in France. Every man in the show fought at the front—their average active service record is a year and a half. Since the war the "Dumbells" have gone right on entertaining, first in England, later in Canada, and now in New York. No one ought to miss hearing "Red" Newman sing "Oh, Oh, Oh, It's a Lovely War!" (Ambassador Theater.)




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Number 3773
Volume 105

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The Independent
May 28, 1921

# Goings-On in Georgia

## A Personal Testimony
## By a Georgia Cotton Farmer

I am a Georgia cotton farmer and my family has lived on and tilled my lands ever since the American Revolution ended; our first titles were in compensation for military services rendered in that struggle. We were slaveholders from early Colonial times to the end of the Civil War and believed that there was a great difference between white and black people—and I do, too. I say this in no harsh sense, but in a belief that only by recognition of that as an absolute fact, legally, socially and morally, can any solution ever be found of the problem that will be either just or lasting.



One of the negroes this article is talking about, trailing along after his plow down on a Georgia farm

The newspapers have recently filled the public mind with the "peonage" cases in Georgia, arising out of the trial and conviction of Williams for murder of eleven of his negro farmhands in my neighboring Georgia county. They make much of the fact that a sort of involuntary servitude exists in Georgia; and our able Governor, Hugh M. Dorsey, has published a pamphlet detailing about 150 cases of white outrages against negroes that he claims have occurred in my beloved native State. Maybe he knows what he is saying, but then again maybe he is like the Federal slacker list—talking only to be contradicted.

White men are ruled by reason and race pride; black people by their affections and sense of loyalty. My belief in my white point of view leads me to take a stand that may not look just or even reasonable to outsiders, but all of us farmers feel the same way; we live in the midst of a situation and must meet it day in and day out. I never have had a cruel thought toward any negro and I deal fairly with them in every relation of life. And yet I must be firm in my control of them, to some extent.

The terrible lessons of the "Reconstruction Period," right after 1865, make me absolutely deny them any sort of political equality, law or no law. We say that they shall not vote and they don't; that's final. Why, there are 9000 of them in my county and only 5000 whites, so you see that white supremacy can only be maintained in my way—and it surely is.

I desire them to be protected in their lives, their property, their domestic relations and their freedom of religious belief, but I will not accept them as either social or political equals and don't believe that the vast majority of them want either condition.

I feel that they do not have a square deal in many ways, particularly regarding their health, and will gladly do all I can to get it for them, for they are a weak, trustful, easily led people and have no sense of race cohesion, and are thus easy victims.

Whatever the centuries to come may bring forth, the present is problem enough and can only be solved by calm-thinking men right here among us, not by Federal legal interference or outside social pressure.

They are here to stay and must be protected against many things.

"Peonage" is a word that somebody got up to mean getting a negro out of jail and making him work on a farm for little or no wages or return to prison. This is partly true. Ordinarily it works this way: Big Sambo gets into trouble and is arrested and jailed, wants to get out right away and sees his only hope in "his white man," since very few negroes can make a bail-bond or will for anybody. So he sends for the man he works for or rents land from or obtains credit from at a country store. The white man is willing enough to sign the bond—much smaller in negro cases than in the same grade of offense by whites, of course—but very naturally asks some sort of security for his money risk; any bondsman asks that. The negro has only his future labor to pledge and he promptly agrees to "work it out," which means that he agrees to return to work, stay there and devote much of his earnings to paying this debt, first and above all others.

Under this condition he merely goes on working, while the charge against him is usually not pressed, but merely results in the bond being forfeited and the sum paid, in lieu of a regular fine levied by a judge, after regular trial.

Our reason for omitting trial in negro cases is this; we are a poor little agricultural community and can barely raise enough money to run the county mighty cheaply and give a good education alike to white and black children, patch up the muddy old roads and hope for better times some day. If we should have trials for even two hundred criminal cases a year—and if we actually carried out the letter of the law against black people in the same strict

way we deal with our white residents—we would have many times two hundred annually. The expenses would be impossible.

Furthermore, if we convicted even one hundred negroes annually we could not possibly raise, by taxation, the $65,000 which the chain-gang keepers tell me it would cost to guard, feed and clothe them for a year. All the work that they could do on our roads would not equal that in value, even if we could raise the money. So you see we cannot strictly execute white men's laws against black men for a very good reason. Poverty prevents us from having a parole system so we arrange otherwise.

We cannot allow them to even have one another arrested just because they want to swear out a warrant; for experience has taught us that they merely desire to use the criminal law to annoy by having somebody locked up and then never pressing the case to trial. Therefore our magistrates and grand juries exercize discretion.

Our critics usually charge that this is closing the courts to negroes; well, our critics don't have to pay the bills for those courts. We temper the laws of Georgia to the negro's weakness and where he gets six months or a fine of $50, a white man would get two years or $500 fine for the same offense. It would be a cruelty that I could not endure being practiced to hold them to the same accountability to the law as a white person.

"Peonage" at its worst is mighty bad and is about like this: some white farmers want to make more money and they make an agreement with the "courthouse ring," as we call the combination of petty county officials who live around the courthouse, so that when any wandering negro man is jailed this farmer will be sent for in much the same way that the professional bondsman in the city is called in. The poor darkey, friendless and anxiously desiring to get out, willingly avails himself of the bondsman and agrees to "work it out," and is straightway transferred to the farm, where he works at whatever little wages are doled out to him, for a very long time. Meanwhile the "case" is called, the bond forfeited in regular form of the law and promptly paid, and the accused declared a fugitive from justice. But no effort is then made to find him; for the game isn't played that way.

If he fulfils his obligation nothing is ever heard of the "case"; if he attempts to run away or fails in his work, why the majesty of the law suddenly wakes up and he is arrested as a fugitive and jailed. Then he can take his choice between the chain-gang or returning to work under a doubled burden of such debt.

Under such conditions it is only natural that the officers of the law obligingly arrange it so that a supply of cheap farm labor is handy for their white friends or actual partners.

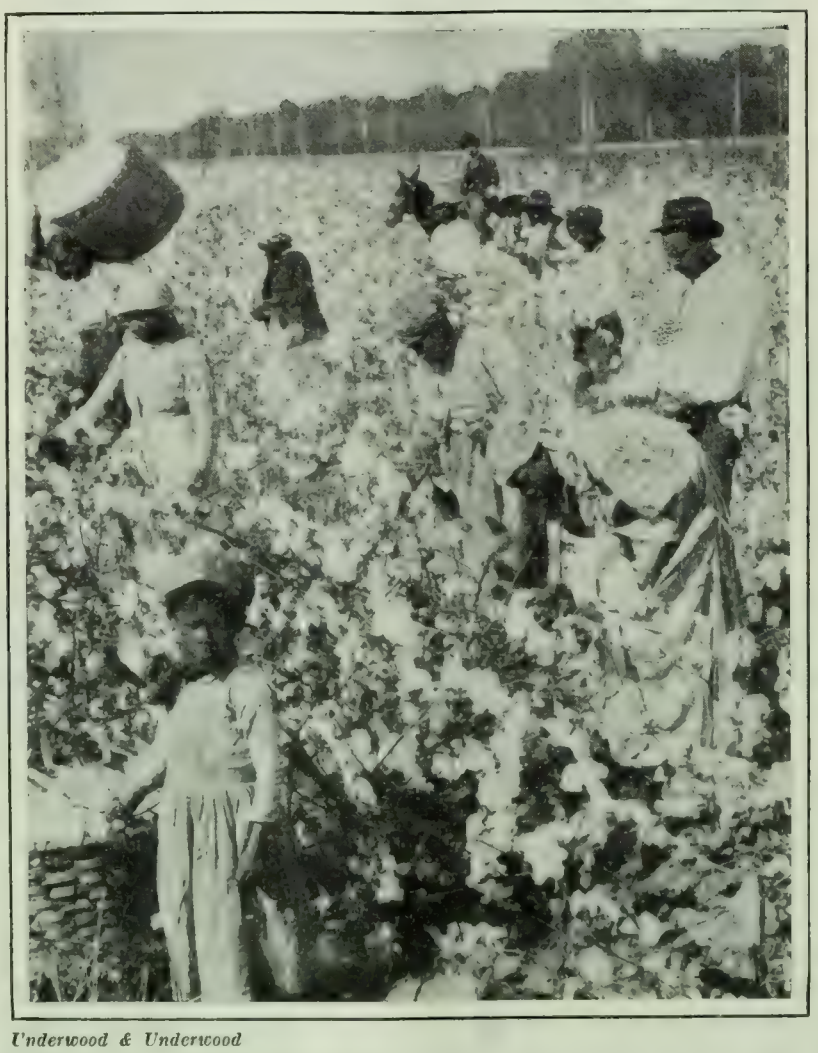
I fear that Mr. Williams was one of such men. The sad part of that case was that when the Federal secret service men talked with his darkies they were loyal to him and really told nothing and the investigators went away satisfied that there was no violation of Federal law. Williams was evidently scared and murdered the poor, helpless darkies because he thought that they might appear as witnesses against him.

I will tell you how a leading lady in my county just broke the Federal peonage law all to pieces, and what came of it—and leave you to judge what you would have done in such a case, if she had been actually arrested and you were one of her jurors. Billie is a fine type of young negro farmer. He got into a fight one Sunday near his church and that resulted in his being jailed for assault and battery and carrying concealed weapons, for a rusty old pistol fell out of his pocket. He appealed to his sister and she "saw her white folks" (she was the cook) and this lady went on Billie's bond for $200 and he moved to her farm and agreed to work it out. This resulted in his receiving $30 monthly (good wages down here, where house, food, fuel and spare-time earnings are included) and $10 monthly was deducted until the sum was paid off, tho the lady had advanced it in cash to get him out of jail.

That was years ago and never have I seen a better negro than Billie has turned out to be. Yet the way it all "worked," including Billie's daily knowledge that *if* he attempted to run away or idled or was at all troublesome, all the lady had to do was to tell the sheriff and Billie would immediately find himself jailed as a fugitive from justice, is as I tell you.

Recently the prohibition law has resulted in negroes doing most of the whiskey making, heretofore strictly the privilege of the small white farmers. You see, heavy losses in cotton, dropping from forty to ten cents last year, drove farmers, merchants and bankers to resort to distilling to make up. It was found best in every respect to have darkies do the actual work, mainly because white men know that it goes hard with them before the Federal courts and their bonds, too, are very high. Our State officials rarely interfere to enforce the Volstead Act and, one way or another, are often interested parties in those stills. Illicit distilling used to be held to be a disgrace, but times have changed.

I know a fine young white farmer, an "A. E. F." soldier with a record for bravery and soldierly qualities; he tried hard to make a cotton crop in 1920, but came out deeply in debt, so he turned to run off enough corn-whiskey to pay up and save his little farm. Somebody operating a negro still got the idea that he was competing and had him arrested. I gladly helped bail him out. Some families refused him social recognition and some stood by him; that split the county as nothing has in fifty years. The old-fashioned people "cut" him while the boys and girls who had fought or done war work stood by him. His friends denounced the "whiskey ring," and then shots were fired at darkies running stills for white men, and things got pretty hot. Some people took up this new cry of "peonage" and wrote to the newspapers and [*Continued on page 570*



*Underwood & Underwood*

**"They are a weak, trustful, easily led people," says this Georgia farmer; they need to be protected. The only question, then, is what constitutes protection. Is bailing Big Sambo out of jail and putting him to work in the fields a kindly action in his behalf, or is it—after all—just this much talked-of "peonage"?**

# Our Field Marshal

"The American Expeditionary Force in France was under the absolute command of General John G. Pershing. But General Pershing was under the command of Field Marshal Foch. Marshal Foch, therefore, was America's supreme leader in the world war.

It is now officially announced that the Marshal will pay a visit to America this fall. How can America best honor this great Christian and soldier whom future generations will venerate as much for his high moral standards as for his military genius?"

*In The Independent for April 30, 1921, appeared an editorial by Hamilton Holt, "Our Field Marshal," containing the above quotation and going further to suggest a fitting tribute to Marshal Foch:*

***"In addition to an honorarium we might give him the thanks of Congress and make him an American citizen. Possibly we should confer on him an honorary grade in our Army, thus putting his name forever on our military roster."***

*These suggestions created a wide interest, and brought us responses from men of nation-wide importance in many departments of our national life. The letters that follow are a representative selection:*

## William Howard Taft, ex-President of the United States and ex-Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States:

The case of Marshal Foch is an exceptional one in the history of this country and needs, therefore, exceptional treatment. He was in supreme command of the forces of the world, engaged in struggling to save the world from the domination of militarism. He, therefore, commanded our army, of more than a million men, in the greatest war in history, and a war the like of which we are all struggling to make impossible hereafter. Without any invidious distinctions, we may all admit that Marshal Foch was the great strategical genius of the war, and that he was able, in a marvelous way, to carry to successful demonstration the principles he had so lucidly set forth in his lectures on Military Science. When General Grant was dying at Mt. McGregor, and the heart of the whole country was throbbing with gratitude for what he had done in leading the army of the Republic to victory in our Civil War, and in saving the country whole, Congress enacted a law authorizing the President to appoint, and the Senate to confirm, as General of the Army on the retired list, at a salary of $12,000, a General who had commanded an army in the Civil War. President Arthur at once nominated General Grant, and the Senate at once confirmed the nomination; and this gracious and grateful demonstration of the feeling of the country toward him cheered the dying days of that national hero. It seems to me that using this precedent, with appropriate variations, the people of this country, thru Congress and the President, may evidence to Marshal Foch, and to the people of France, our deep appreciation of the great services of this son of France to us and to the world.

## Major-General R. L. Bullard, Commander of the Second Army of the A. E. F.:

The visit of Marshal Foch to the United States will undoubtedly be in the nature of a continuous personal triumph and it would be a fit and admirable climax if the thanks of Congress were bestowed on him at the conclusion of his visit.

The desirability of the other honors suggested is a question. Gifts from the American people of money, of military rank and even of honorary citizenship are not appropriate for a great soldier of another nation. Marshal Foch is a citizen and soldier of France; his allegiance, his love, his service is for France. We should not attempt to make a quasi-American out of him.

On the other hand, the thanks of Congress has ever been looked on by military men as the greatest honor which can be conferred by a grateful nation. It will be highly acceptable to a soldier like Marshal Foch. It is dignified and appropriate in this case and it will be one more bond to link together the two great republics.

## Major-General John F. O'Ryan, Commander of the 27th Division:

I am very glad to note that it is proposed to honor Marshal Foch in some fitting way when he visits the United States in the Fall. The greater the honors conferred upon him, the better we shall all be pleased. The American people owe a great debt of gratitude to this great soldier whose genius, more than that of any other man, turned the tide that finally won the war, and I myself should be proud to do anything I properly could to honor our great Field Marshal.

## Brigadier-General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of the "Rainbow" Division, (42nd):

The fame and distinction of this man have already reached so high a pinnacle that it becomes a matter of difficulty to adequately express to him the feelings which animate America. Whatever is done should in its simplicity and dignity accord with his scroll in the world's biography. It would be a pity indeed if anything of sordidness should be involved in such a testimonial. His real and greatest tribute from this country will always be the silent feeling of honor and reverence in the hearts of the men who followed his standards to victory on the bloody fields of France.

## Rear Admiral Sims:

Referring to the editorial in The Independent of April 30, 1921, advocating that our Government and citizens accord Field Marshal Foch, upon the occasion of his forthcoming visit to the United States, official recognition commensurate with his services in the Great War, I need hardly say that in my opinion no honors would be too great adequately to express the obligation of the American people to this great soldier and admirable character for his inestimable services as the leader under whose wise and skillful direction we were saved from impending disaster by brilliant victories that defeated the world-power ambitions of the Central Powers and insured the future of civilization.

While opinions may differ as to the degree of credit due a commander-in-chief for military success, there can be no doubt that success is possible only under a leader whose knowledge of warfare and whose military genius command

the respect and confidence of the armies, and whose character inspires devoted loyalty both to him and the cause he represents. That Marshal Foch fulfilled all these requirements is a matter of history, and the American people owe him a debt of gratitude that cannot be repaid.

## Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas:

I want to congratulate you most heartily upon the conception you have of our obligation to Field Marshal Foch. The occasion of his visit will provide us with an opportunity to pay him a tribute worthy of him and worthy of America. I am in hearty accord with your editorial and I hope that out of the suggestions there will come a manifestation of homage to Field Marshal Foch which will have the dignity and the eloquence the occasion warrants.

## Charles M. Schwab, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and Director of Shipbuilding for the U. S. Shipping Board, 1918:

According to unofficial statements that have come to my attention, Marshal Foch will make the voyage to America with General Pershing on board the vessel that brings the body of the unknown soldier which is to be buried in Arlington Cemetery on Armistice day. Surely nothing could be more appropriate than the arrival of the distinguished visitor upon that ship and in the company of our gallant General.

That Americans in all walks of life will greet the Marshal with enthusiasm goes without saying, and I assume that there will be an appropriate program in the way of public receptions and similar ceremonies. As an official tribute from the Government, I should think that Congress might well adopt resolutions of welcome, and that it might also invite him to address the Senate and House in joint session.

These official and semi-official plans will, of course, be arranged by very competent persons, and my own suggestions in that connection may be superfluous. However, I feel that, apart from all such honors that can be tendered, something should be done toward making a gift that would be a lasting symbol of America's gratitude.

Your own editorial suggestion of an honorarium to be granted by Congress is an appealing one, but we might perhaps better express the sentiment of the occasion by making a presentation as coming from the American people. The gift could be purchased with popular subscriptions, I believe.

My thought is that after we have bidden good-bye to Marshal Foch he should have a lasting token of our love and esteem—something that could be handed down in his family for generations to come, and that could be a source of pride to them, as the gift of the American people.

## Myron T. Herrick, ex-Governor of Ohio, and Ambassador to France, 1912-1914:

It was with a deep feeling of satisfaction that I read your excellent editorial relating to Marshal Foch's proposed visit to America.

You refer to the expressions of appreciation and the substantial recognition by the United States of Lafayette when he came over. In bestowing those honors and emoluments upon him, Congress voiced the heart and will of all the American people, who believed that Washington would have been beaten but for the timely reinforcemeent of France.

Marshal Foch was the potent force in defending, as Lafayette was in establishing, the benign principles of democratic government which we have enjoyed for a century and a half.

Because of this, I hope that Congress will once more express the desire of the American people in conferring upon Marshal Foch, on the occasion of his visit to America, high honors such as you have so gracefully suggested in your admirable and timely editorial.

## William G. Sharp, Ambassador to France, 1914-1919, and the first American to be dean of the diplomatic corps in Paris:

I am sure that the generous sentiments expressed in your recent editorial on "Our Field Marshal" but echo the feelings which move the hearts of all Americans toward Marshal Foch. I am particularly impressed with the sentence, "How can America best honor this great Christian and soldier whom future generations will venerate as much for his high moral standards as for his military genius"? Enjoying, as I did, the privilege of a personal acquaintance with this distinguished man, I am glad that you emphasize his Christian character and high moral standards.

Those who know him best must recognize in such a tribute the cardinal qualities that are chiefly responsible for his greatness.

Democratic and modest as he is brave, I am persuaded that any form of recognition of America's appreciation for his immortal service to mankind should partake of such a character as will appropriately reflect toward him the feelings of the masses of our people, of whom two millions of the best blood served in arms under his supreme command. It was in tribute to such that Marshal Foch, in a touching peroration of a banquet speech in the city of Paris after the signing of the armistice on an occasion attesting the good will between the two Republics, said, "I think of those moving memories, of days of anguish and days of success, as I raise my glass in honor of President Wilson, who so valiantly upheld us in the war, and in honor of my American comrades in [*Continued on page 578*



© *Wide World*

**An ancient trench 2000 years old, near Lloyd George's country home "Chequers," and Marshal Foch, with his militant stick, going "over the top." It is easy to see that the Marshal, whether in peace or in war, is always going gallantly over the top**

# Taking the Temperature of Business

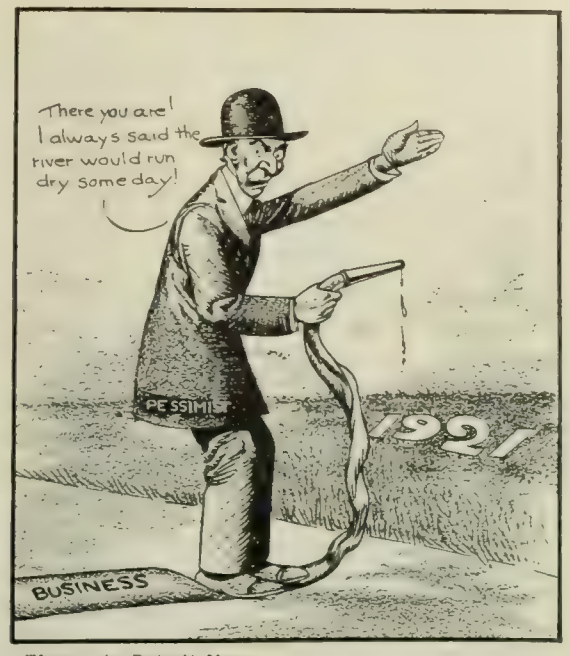
## By a Financial Expert

THE past few weeks have been marked in financial circles, for the first time since the business reaction began a year ago, by discussion of the probability of revival in trade from its long depression.




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THE FIRST SIGN OF SPRING




Thomas in Detroit News

GET OFF THE HOSE!

THE OPTIMIST AND THE PESSIMIST

This more hopeful state of mind has not been caused by any visible change in the news from trade and industry. If current statements from that quarter were allowed to be the basis of judgment, it would not be easy to draw cheerful inferences; the mercantile agencies report for almost every trade the continuance of unprofitable business, the absence of normal demand from consumers, and the decrease both in production and sales. The fall in commodity prices has not been arrested; the statistics show a further decline of 3 to 4 per cent in April, bringing the general average more than 40 per cent below last year's high point.

The country's export trade has shrunk to less than one-half the value of a year ago. If the steel and iron trade is still the traditional barometer of industry, it has been pointing to continued depression; for not only have both prices and wages been reduced, but the country's production of iron in April was the smallest of any month since 1908, and of steel scarcely one-half that of four months ago. Arguing from these indications alone, the evidence might appear to indicate, not business revival, but increased depression.

But the signs which indicate a possibility of a change for the better have appeared in markets which commonly reflect causes rather than results of industrial prosperity or adversity; notably in the movement of money rates and of prices on the Stock Exchange. Both markets indicated at the close of 1919 the economic influences which were making for the great trade reaction; the tightening of credit and the fall in stocks being visibly in progress at that time, long before the momentum of active trade, of rising prices for commodities and of excited speculation had been checked.

In all other periods of financial and industrial depression, easier money and advancing stock markets have foreshadowed the eventual business recovery and have often done so at a time when the trade depression seemed to be at its worst.

What has happened during the past month is that the stock market, whose decline had been only momentarily checked during the whole of the past year, turned to an advance which was sustained and reasonably continuous; prices of investment bonds recovering at the same time. In the money market, where the abnormally high rates of 7 and 8 per cent had prevailed almost uninterruptedly during the period of reaction and forced liquidation, a gradual lowering of rates had already begun on Wall Street and in the large foreign markets, when, toward the close of April, the Bank of England officially reduced its discount rate from the high figure of 7 per cent, which had been maintained unchanged for a full year; an action which was followed a week or two later by a similar reduction at nearly all the Federal Reserve Banks in this country.

The rise on the Stock Exchange was not of violent rapidity, and it began with prices at an extremely low level. The reduction of the bank rates from 7 per cent to 6½ still left the official money market abnormally high for this time of year. But it was the fact of a change in direction of the movement on the two markets, when no change for the better had occurred during the long period of trade reaction, which impressed the financial mind.

These preliminary indications of improvement in the underlying factors in the business situation are necessarily considered in the light of possible influences which may operate directly, later on, in causing a change for the better in trade or industry. Notwithstanding the absence of any visible revival at this present time, there are several important influences at work.

One is the progress of readjustment in retail prices of goods to the fall in wholesale prices, and of cost of production to the lower wholesale values. So long as the retail consumer did not get the benefit of the 40 or 50 per cent decline of the past twelve months in wholesale markets, he was absolutely certain not to resume his ordinary purchases. All other things being equal, he could be depended on to postpone his buying and wait for the reductions which he was sure must come.

DURING the rapid fall of wholesale prices the decline in retail was exceedingly slow. Even now, the reduction of retail prices from the high level of 1920 has been less than one-half as great as the fall in wholesale markets. It has, however, proceeded more rapidly in proportion as delivery of goods by wholesalers for the spring trade has begun in quantity. Many of the heavy wholesale price reductions applied only to such deliveries. If the consumers' demand increases as a consequence, the fall in wholesale prices would naturally be checked.

In the matter of cost of manufacture, reduction in price of many essential materials, notably steel and iron, was very long delayed; even a month ago, the largest steel manufacturers were still charging for their products the same prices as a year ago. Within a few weeks, however, these prices have been sharply reduced.

Along with such readjustment in materials of manufacture, there has also been in progress the unavoidable reduction of labor costs, which [*Continued on page 574*

# A Memorial Day Editorial

## By Hamilton Holt

### 1918-1919

WE entered the war a united nation, determined to do our part to make the world safe for democracy, and after victory to substitute coöperation for competition in international affairs.

We submitted for the first time in our history to a universal draft. Half the male population of the country registered for service; 4,800,000 joined the colors.

In order to carry on the war expeditiously and efficiently, we nationalized the railways, built a great merchant marine, regulated mining, commandeered all the wool and other staple products thruout the land.

We sent across the seas over 2,000,000 soldiers. So many men had never been sent so far before in so short a time.

We supplied them with 40,000 trucks, 2,500,000 rifles, 227,000 machine guns, 18,000,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 10,000 tons of gas, 3800 aeroplanes, etc., etc.

Two out of every three American soldiers who reached France took part in battle.

America held 101 miles of line, or 23 per cent of the entire front. At the end of the war we had more troops in France than had Great Britain.

We played our full part in winning the war. 206,000 of our boys were wounded; 50,000 were killed in action.

The American people taxed themselves $1,000,000 an hour for two years. The direct cost of the war was about $22,000,000,000, or nearly enough to pay the entire cost of running the United States Government from 1791 to date, or enough to have carried on the Revolutionary War for 1000 years.

We loaned our allies nearly $10,000,000,000 in addition.

The President of the United States became the spokesman of the Allied cause. He focussed the heterogeneous ideals of the war on the one ideal of democracy. As a result a dozen new republics, conceived in the likeness of the United States, were born.

The President of the United States suggested the basis on which peace was negotiated.

The President of the United States, more than any other man, framed the League of Nations. It was and is the noblest attempt yet made by man to promote peace and insure international progress. All the nations have now joined this League save the Central Powers, Russia, Mexico, and the United States.

As a result of America's unselfish coöperation in conducting the war and negotiating peace the United States reached in 1918-19 a position of moral leadership never attained before by us or any other nation.

### 1920-1921

WHEN the Peace Treaty came before Congress for confirmation it was immediately made a party issue. From that moment the moral slump of America began.

The majority party so emasculated the Treaty with reservations that the Democrats united with the "irreconcilables" and twice rejected it.

The Republican Senators thereupon proceeded to get themselves endorsed in the Republican platform and nominated one of their own members for President

During the entire campaign the country was in doubt as to what was Mr. Harding's real attitude on the League. But he was overwhelmingly elected and in his first message to Congress (April 12) he unequivocally repudiated the existing League, saying he preferred to seek a new "association"—terms not specified—for peace.

In the meantime, Congress is trying to declare a separate peace with Germany.

We turn a deaf ear to the pleas of heroic France. We send Viviani home with a stone instead of bread.

We refuse to give any official aid to the despairing cry of perishing Armenia.

We continue to pass discriminating laws against Japan. We insult Great Britain, because of Ireland's grievances. Yet from every standpoint of self-interest it is more important to live on cordial terms with these two great powers than with any other nations.

Altho we are in the throes of severe financial depression with 3,000,000 workers out of employment and altho Europe is on the brink of revolution, famine, and pestilence, we won't even call into a conference England and Japan to consider a naval holiday. We go on putting eighty or ninety cents out of every dollar of taxes we pay into wars past, present, or future.

We propose to revive trade and bring back prosperity by reënacting prohibitive tariffs!

We pass drastic immigration exclusion laws; forgetting that the American people themselves are all immigrants or children of immigrants.

The one glimmer of light on the horizon is the announcement that the United States is to be represented once more on the Allied Supreme Council and on the Reparations Commission.

But on the whole America continues in her policy of selfish isolation adopted in 1920. Having failed to seize the greatest opportunity for service ever offered a free people, we have now become the great "piker" nation of the world.

## *Into the Night*

### *By William E. Brooks*

*When the house is still I sit here by the window,*
*Nights when the old pain will not let me sleep,*
*And watch the swaying light upon the pavement,*
*Where the arc-lamp casts its white and glaring circle,*
*While I live over again those solemn midnights,*
*When they used to march full-packed to the waiting trains.*
*Far off I'd hear them coming thru the darkness,*
*On their way from the little camp outside the city,*
*Hear the heavy tramp of their hob-nails on the pavement;*
*And I would wheel my chair where I could see them,*
*As they swung into the circle of the arc-light,*
*Long straight lines of brown, with gleaming faces,*
*Faces stern and strong with mighty purpose,*
*Going forth like knights to high adventure.*
*God! How I wanted to go, but the old pain held me,*
*When I wanted to march away as they were marching,*
*To the train, to the ships, to the fields where glory waited.*
*I would follow their lines as far as I could see them,*
*Follow the sound of their feet after their lines had vanished,*
*The click, click, click, of their hob-nails on the pavement,*
*Till it too died away, and into the night they'd gone.*

*And into the night they've gone! Their glowing story*
*Is as an old tale told; the quests that called them*
*Forgotten as are their deeds by a narrowed people,*
*Selfish, secure, content, lust-mad, gold-mad, pagan,*
*Piling as barrier walls about its isolation*
*The very seas they trod to high adventure.*

*I envy the ones who died, believing!*

# Wars and Rumors of Wars

## By Preston Slosson

ANYONE would suppose that the phrase "wars and rumors of wars" was written in our modern era of journalism, but its use in biblical times shows that even then many clouds of war gathered on the horizon which never burst in storm. One of the most remarkable things about this world is how frequently it goes near to the edge of the precipice without quite falling over. For every strike that paralyzes industry there are a score of strikes which are settled by conference either just before they are due to start or within a week or so afterwards. For every war there are a score of diplomatic "crises" which are settled at the last moment by some hasty compromize or backdown.

It may be worth while to make a partial, a very partial, list of the important wars which *almost* took place within recent years. The wonder is not that human folly, and especially the blind pride of Germany, precipitated a war in 1914, but that human common-sense has managed to bring the world safely thru so many perilous situations. Any careful student of history could easily double the following list of imaginary wars, and every careful student of history can confirm the fact that in each case the danger of war was very great. We are not sufficiently grateful for our narrow escapes.

1. The Anglo-American War of 1862 caused by the seizure of the Confederate agents Mason and Slidell. Averted by President Lincoln's action in surrendering the captured men.
2. The Anglo-American War of 1863 caused by the "Alabama" raids. Averted by the agreement of Great Britain not to make any more Confederate warships.
3. The American War against France and Mexico of 1865 owing to Napoleon's attempt to establish an Empire in Mexico. Averted by Napoleon's desertion of Maximilian.
4. The war between England and Prussia arising out of the Schleswig-Holstein question in 1864. England was practically pledged to the support of Denmark, but refused to intervene actively in the Danish War.
5. The war between France and Germany in 1875, threatened by Bismarck in consequence of the increase of the French army. Averted by England and Russia.
6. The war between England and Russia in 1878; averted by the Congress of Berlin.
7. The war between France and Germany in 1887 over the arrest of a French official (the Schnaebelé incident). Averted by the collapse of General Boulanger's propaganda.
8. The war of England and the United States as allies against Germany over the Samoan Islands in 1888. Averted by a storm which wrecked the gathered warships and the subsequent calling of an international conference.
9. A general European war, probably involving Britain, France, Germany and Italy, over the partition of Africa. Averted by the peaceful partition of Africa into "spheres of influence" in 1884 and subsequently.
10. The Anglo-American War of 1896 over the Venezuelan affair. Averted by British recognition of President Cleveland's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.
11. The war between the United States and Germany over the Philippines in 1898. Averted by the pro-American attitude of Great Britain.
12. The war between England and France in 1899 arising out of the Fashoda incident and the disputed control of the Sudan. Averted by diplomatic agreement and a partition of central Africa.
13. A general European and Asiatic war arising out of the alliances between France and Russia on the one hand and Great Britain and Japan on the other. The Russo-Japanese War brought the two alliances into opposition but the neutrality of other powers and the arbitration of the Dogger Bank incident kept France and England out of it. Germany also at this time negotiated a secret alliance with Russia against England but it fell thru owing to the opposition of some pro-French Russians.
14. The war between France and Germany in 1905 over Morocco. Averted by the resignation of the anti-German French diplomat, M. Delcassé.
15. The Swedish-Norwegian War of 1905. Averted by Sweden's consent to the secession of Norway.
16. The war between the United States and Germany in 1903 over the naval blockade of Venezuela. Averted by Germany's consenting, under American pressure, to arbitration.
17. The war between Austria and Serbia, perhaps involving Russia and other powers, over the annexation of Bosnia in 1908. Averted by Russia's fear of German intervention on the side of Austria.
18. The war between France and Germany in 1911 over Morocco. Averted by Germany's fear of British intervention on the side of France and by a compromize treaty.
19. The war between Germany and Great Britain about 1912 over Mesopotamia and the Bagdad Railway. Averted by Lord Haldane's diplomacy, resulting in the agreement of 1914.
20. The war between France and Germany in 1913 over the Zabern incident. Averted by the pacific attitude of the French Government.

Then came the Great War which the world did *not* escape. Yet its occasion, the assassination of an Austrian archduke by a Serbian fanatic, was not more perilous to European peace than any of the twenty international crises mentioned above. The world went over the precipice at last and today lies crushed at the bottom of it. And yet, even since 1914, new wars have been escaped. A general European conflict might easily have arisen out of the Fiume affair, if it had not been ended by the Treaty of Rapallo; or out of the ownership of Teschen, if Poland and Czechoslovakia had not agreed to a peaceful settlement; or out of the Bolshevik raids on Poland, Finland, the Baltic States and central Asia, if the Powers had not been too exhausted to intervene in earnest for or against Soviet Russia; or out of the Vilna dispute, the Aland Islands affair and many other little "incidents" in which the League of Nations intervened and succeeded in restoring peace. Just a few days ago a military occupation of Germany which might have set all Europe in a blaze was averted by the timely concession of the Allies in granting Germany twelve days of grace to accept the reparations ultimatum and the surrender of the German Government to the inevitable at the last moment.

It may be laid down as a general principle of diplomacy that any crisis, however serious, may be solved without war under either of two conditions: (1) that both parties desire a peaceful settlement; (2) that even if one party desires war it fears to start one because it is doubtful of the outcome or fears the intervention of third parties. On the other hand, any crisis, however trivial, may lead to war if the will to war is present on either side and there is no fear of the consequences.

Since it happens only once in a great while that a nation has both the evil will to start a war and the power to carry it on successfully, "rumors of war" outnumber the war in vast proportion. Conscience and Prudence, singly or united, guard the peace of the world. With permanent and adequate international machinery it should be possible to solve all international crises as nineteen out of twenty are peacefully solved even as things are.

# Raw Head and Bloody Bones!

WE ought to have been horrified of course. But the average American reacted to the revelation of the rules of the "underground section" of the Communist party with something like amusement. It seemed so much like the fuss and feathers of a little boys' "secrut sassiety." It is hard to realize that grown men are planning for an armed revolution in the United States. Nor are they. They may be adult in body, these conspirator communists, but their minds are those of romantic eleven year olds.

For those who would set up a red dictatorship on the ruins of the American Republic, or for those still sillier conservatives who think such a thing possible and lie awake nights on account of it, we suggest a little census work. How many are the forces on the side of "the exist-

ing order" and how many are out for the Red Soviet? The United States is still nearly half rural and farmers are not Bolshevik; even in Russia, as Lenin admits. The commercial and professional classes are excluded by the fact that the first business of the revolution will be to plunder and suppress them; at most a few radical pamphleteers may be salvaged for revolutionary uses. Nobody pretends that the army or the police are on the side of rebellion. Now, as for "labor"; meaning proletarian labor. In so far as it is unorganized it is non-revolutionary; no one expects the village blacksmith to come out with his hammer and pound the sheriff over the head. The greater part of organized labor is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which is so notoriously anti-revolutionary that the Communists hold it up to proletarian scorn as a by-word and a hissing. The Socialists, even, have parted company with the Communists on the question of revolutionary tactics. If we take all the anarchists, I. W. W.'s, Communists, Communist Laborites, radical Socialists, radical trades unionists, parlor Bolshevists and the like in the country their number would not exceed 100,000 all told. Imagine this number doubled or tripled in some great industrial crisis. Even so you have only about 1 per cent of the adult, employed population of the United States. And what strength has that 1 per cent in resources of money or mind which would enable it to dominate the 99 per cent?

Haywood and Max Eastman as revolutionists are in a class with Penrod and Tom Sawyer.

## Give 'Em Time

PRESIDENT Harding and his associates have now discovered that there was a war, and that the United States was a belligerent Power therein and so is entitled to sit in at the meetings of the Allied Council.

By and by they may find out that there was a peace, and that a League of Nations was established and is now carrying on business.

Elephants are ponderous and slow-moving, but they get there in the end.

# The Right to Be Ignorant

### By Franklin H. Giddings

THE questions by which Mr. Edison has been testing the knowledge of college graduates seeking employment in his enterprizes have provoked a little resentment, a good deal of amusement and, possibly, enough serious thinking to have made their publication worth while.

Resentment has been voiced chiefly by gentlemen older than the applicants for positions to whom the tests were applied. The temptation offered to sons and daughters to puncture Dad's conceit of learning, particularly if he has happened to be one of those "practical" persons who insist that the knowledge worth while is that which one picks up from the newspaper or from the down-town club, was too acute to be resisted.

It would be interesting to know, also, what "marks" university professors would have scored if they had been subjected to the ordeal. I did not wait to be humiliated by my juniors, but went thru the list, answering or "flunking" the questions seriatim from beginning to end. Marking myself somewhat more severely than I would mark the papers of a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, I found that I had made a grade of exactly 78 on a scale of 100, which is not much to brag of. I presume that there has been more or less resentment also among young men who have slipped thru college easily and have enjoyed posing as "educated" without having much information actually at command.

Amusement over the list has been betrayed by men and women who quite frankly claim the right to be ignorant. In their happy-go-lucky philosophy there is no place for intellectual toil. They are too well occupied with routine duties and having a good time to read books or hunt up curious facts in encyclopedias. Here and there, in circles where interest in books is "bad form," the amusement has been touched with scorn.

OF serious questions which the tests have suggested, there are two or three that possibly are worth a word or two of comment. One is this of the right to be ignorant, which is rather sturdily asserted by a good many persons who are neither unintelligent nor depraved. One of their practical contentions is that common sense and sound judgment are not imparted or increased by schooling, and that American citizens who two hundred years ago signed deeds and wills with their mark were quite as good members of the body politic as were the relatively few who in those days obtained the college diploma. This contention is being used just now for purposes of argument against the policy of requiring literacy tests for immigrants and for voters. The contention might be admitted and the right to be ignorant might be conceded, if social relations were as simple today as they were five or six generations ago; but the obvious fact is that modern society is a complicated affair, and we are trying the difficult experiment of popular self-government on a basis of universal suffrage, of men and women. Very few of us believe that the experiment could succeed without an efficient public school system; and the public school, together with the compulsory attendance in the lower grades which most of our commonwealths have enacted, constitute a denial of the right to be ignorant.

If, then, knowledge is an obligatory factor in citizenship it is a pertinent question whether the knowledge should not be as far as possible accurate, precise, varied and abundant. There is reason to fear that we are careless and perhaps indifferent as to both the quality and the quantity of actual knowledge imparted nowadays in schools and colleges. Those of us who teach have too frequent occasion to deplore vagueness of ideas and inaccuracy of information. We discover, for example, that students who take up graduate work as candidates for higher degrees, or in professional schools, are not well grounded in fundamentals, and that their stock of "general information," so called, is meager. If this state of things is not inevitable it is discreditable.

Is it inevitable? After long consideration of this question I am satisfied that it is not. The pupils of our public schools and the students graduated from our colleges ought to get and to keep at command thruout life a much larger equipment of actual knowledge than they possess. They ought to read more, and they ought to retain more, than they do. Somewhere in the educational process or, perhaps, at every stage of it, there is serious waste.

In part, I suspect, the loss may be accounted for by an actual skepticism that has invaded educational circles as to the value of the mere memorizing of facts. Emphasis has more and more been placed on the training of the powers of observation and of reflection. This has been necessary. A man who can see and think is worth more to himself and to society than one whose memory is stored with unorganized facts that he does not know how to use. But a yet more efficient man is one who not only can see and think, but who also has abundant information at command. I am convinced that without remitting any of our present attention to training we ought to get back to the old time attention to acquisition.

How to do it without overtaxing the pupil is the practical problem. It could be solved if we had the courage to cut down the time now devoted to class exercizes and lecture periods and permitted the hours so salvaged to be given to uninterrupted study. There is far too much diversion of attention from one subject to another. A longer

period of concentration upon each subject in turn would, as a rule, be more fruitful of results.

Another fact upon which a revision of opinion and of policy seems called for is the inability of one-half or more of all school pupils and college students to profit by that kind of educational freedom which consists in leaving its victim (that is the precisely right word in this instance) to play in his own way at observation and thinking. They lack the mental power to discover or to construct; and for such individuals memorized knowledge is, after all, the best guidance that they can ever obtain.

Be this as it may, the right to be ignorant is being over-indulged.

## 100 Per Cent Russianism

AS sure as iron sinks and smoke ascends a New York legislature is certain to be guilty of folly. The recent legislature made a better reputation than the average by virtue of Governor Miller's energetic bossing, but it found time for the usual absurdities. Last year it was the expulsion of duly elected Socialists; this year the passing of laws amounting to a state censorship of teaching. One of the Lusk bills requires a license from the Regents for all private schools except those conducted by religious and fraternal orders. Notoriously this sweeping measure is aimed at a single school which it is desired to suppress—the Rand School of Social Science, an institution where Socialism is taught along with other studies to a handful of the Comrades. It would be bad enough to prohibit to Socialists what is allowed to Catholics and Freemasons, the privilege of conducting orderly private schools. But to pass a bill which seems to place every dame school and correspondence course under state censorship for political orthodoxy in order to wipe out one harmless little Socialist collegette is like using siege artillery to kill a mosquito.

Another Lusk bill applies to the public schools. Among other provisions it bars every teacher who "has advocated, either by word of mouth or in writing, a form of government other than the Government of the United States or of this state." No doubt Senator Lusk meant this to apply only to revolutionists and "reds." But as it is worded any teacher who advocated even outside school hours any fundamental amendment to the constitution, such as the British parliamentary system, may forfeit his certificate and lose his livelihood. Had the bill been passed a few years ago it might have been applied to the woman suffragists.

Our readers, who (fortunately for them!) live mainly outside New York State, may wonder that The Independent has so frequently called attention to the doings of the Wild Men of Albany. But the evil we complain of has no state boundaries. Unfortunately legislatures in many parts of the country—oh, with the best intentions in the world!—are passing laws so broad in scope that if they were literally and rigorously enforced would destroy all the constitutional liberties of which we boast. But, like other blue laws, they will probably never be enforced except against very unpopular individuals. Our bark is worse than our bite.

## Plebiscite by Sword and Gun

IT is hard to support an enemy against a friend, but it is the duty of the Allies and equally so of the United States to tell Poland that the world will not tolerate any more land grabbing expeditions, whether avowedly in the name of the Polish Government or by a mutinous soldiery. To do otherwise would be to invite every discontented nation to fix its own frontiers by the Prussian method of "Help yourself and explain afterwards." The seizure of Vilna was bad enough; the invasion of Upper Silesia strains the world's patience to the breaking point.

## Playing at Science

DURING the past year the press has for various reasons devoted a great deal of space to popular presentations of science. This includes not only the scientific periodicals and such dignified general periodicals as—ahem!—ourself, but even the yellow journals which circulate among people quite innocent of scientific training. The measurement of stout old Betelgeuse, the Einstein theory of relativity, and the discoveries in radioactivity of which Madame Curie's visit has reminded us have filled the front pages, the Sunday magazine sections, even the humorous pages. No doubt some old-fashioned scholars are shocked at this flippant way of handling the most abstruse discoveries in physical science. But in reality the good much outweighs the evil. So long as people are afraid of Science, regarding her as an austere Goddess more given to frowns than smiles they will keep as far away as possible from the august presence. Nothing will do so much to get people to study science seriously as the discovery that science is interesting, making "good copy" that can compete on even terms with the baseball games, the prize fights and the divorce cases. We must work at science or the world will starve; but that is no reason why we should not play at science too.

## Mingo

Does anyone want a mandate for the West Virginia coal fields?

## The English Language

"I have," said the Man from Mars, "acquired a certain knowledge of your quaint and beautiful language. That your spelling is merely decorative and not intended to give any clue (or clew) to the pronunciation I can understand. But there are certain mysteries of expression which must be plain to you, but which my slower comprehension fails to grasp. Thus you say 'It rains.' Who or what is 'It'? Why not simply state the fact without any pantheistic hints and just say 'Rain is'?

"Your use of prepositions is not self-evident. Why do you look 'up' a word in the dictionary? Is the dictionary in the skies? Why does a house burn 'down' and the man inside burn 'up'? Why do the English say that something is 'different to' something else while to the American it appears to be 'different from'?

"Then why in colloquial speech do you introduce so many unnecessary verbs? It would seem natural that in popular speech brevity would be sought and that the elaborate forms of correct written English would be abandoned for simpler constructions. But it seems to be the other way around. In a book the hero says 'It grows late; I must go,' six words. In common phrase a man says 'It's beginning to get late; I have got to go'—eleven words. Why all these 'haves' and 'gots' and 'dids' before verbs that don't need them, or, in simpler terms, 'that need them not'?

"Ambiguity seems to be a special literary merit, for everything in your bounteous but bewildering tongue gives it full scope. You have no way of distinguishing between subject and object save by position and your pronouns are beautifully indefinite. Take the following pathetic tale:

> John met Peter by the brook, and while he was looking in the other direction he struck him a blow which sent him sprawling at the other's feet. From a distance he heard footsteps but could not distinguish whether they were those of a man or a woman or of more than one of either or each or both. He thought to flee the spot but could not venture into the open until he found out in what direction he (or she or they) was (or were) waiting him that he (or she or they) might find out who it was that had done the fell deed.

"English is a great language for the poet who likes to clothe his meaning in the mists and flickering colors of imagination, but for the man who must use this wonderful toy as a tool of precision it has its drawbacks."

# The Story of the Week

## Lloyd George Cautions Poland

I dislike and I fear more than I can tell this sort of trifling and playing with the Treaty and saying that, after all, they are "only Germans." They are entitled to everything that that bond either imposes on them or takes from them or gives to them, and we are to judge impartially and with a stern sense of justice, whether it is for us or against us.

IN these ringing words Premier Lloyd George laid down the law to Poland and, in some measure to France, on the question of Upper Silesia. He was deeply offended at the action of the mutinous Poles in seizing the contested industrial districts of Silesia without awaiting the verdict of the Allied Powers based on the plebiscite as to what part of the region should be awarded to Poland and what part returned to Germany. But even stronger than his moral indignation was his statesmanlike fear that the Poles would undermine the whole basis of European peace by disregarding the terms of the Treaty of Versailles; for he saw, and pointed out to the House of Commons, that if the Treaty were violated contrary to German interests, Germany would be justified in violating it in her own interest as soon as she felt strong enough to do so.

"The Treaty of Versailles," he said, "is the charter of Polish freedom." It was won not by Polish arms, for during the greater part of the war many Polish regiments were compelled against their will to fight for the Central Powers against the Allies, but was bought for Poland's benefit by the blood of British, French and Italian (he might have added American) soldiers. "There is not a letter of the Treaty of Versailles that does not mean a young British life." He compared the action of the Polish rebels in Silesia to the action of the Polish rebels in seizing Vilna from Lithuania, and D'Annunzio's raid on Fiume, and said that this sort of lawlessness "has happened once too often." If the Allies insisted on the disarmament of Germany they had also the right to insist that this disarmament did not open the way for wanton attacks on German territory. The British Government was determined on no account to recognize the Polish seizure of Upper Silesia as affecting in any way the establishment of the new frontier.

Premier Lloyd George has never been very popular in Poland, for it was he who insisted at the Peace Conference that there must be a plebiscite in Upper Silesia and that Danzig should not come under Polish rule. French policy has been much more pro-Polish; unscrupulously so, the Germans would say. Yet the French Government is not behind the raid on Silesia; on the contrary the incident is most embarrassing to French diplomacy. The French have the main responsibility for policing the plebiscite zone in Upper Silesia and General Lerond throws the blame for the outbreak on the British for not sending sufficient troops to help the French and Italians keep order. It is an open secret that France would have been glad to have given Poland the whole of Upper Silesia even without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants, but now the voting has actually taken place the French are as anxious as the British to maintain the integrity of the Treaty of Versailles, since on that Treaty rest all their hopes of reparations. The Italians stand with the British. The United States has refused to take sides.



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**Dr. G. Wirth, the head of the new German Cabinet, which celebrated its formation by accepting the Allied ultimatum concerning reparations. Dr. Wirth, who has been the leader of the Center party for years, has managed to form a coalition cabinet chosen from the three leading parties**

## German Policy and Politics

GERMANY by a vote of 221 to 175 in the Reichstag accepted the Allied demands unconditionally just two days before the expiration of the ultimatum. The British, who ever since the armistice have labored to avoid new crises in dealing with Germany, were unfeignedly glad. The French viewed the German surrender with more mixed emotions. They were glad to have a promise of reparations, but they do not place much confidence in German promises and the Parisian press insisted that France must be ready to invade the Ruhr district the first time Germany defaulted in any payment or in any other way failed to carry out the Treaty of Versailles. Some of the more chauvinistic French journalists and politicians rather regretted that Germany had surrendered since that prevented a French advance into the coal mining districts where indemnities could be raised directly by taxation levied on the occupied region.

The German surrender, tho belated, was complete. Dr. Wirth, the new Premier, outlined his foreign policy in an address to the Reichstag on the Allied ultimatum:

> Acceptance means that we declare our readiness to bear in voluntary labor the heavy financial burdens demanded year by year. Refusal would, however, mean surrendering the basis of our entire industrial activities, and, as a consequence, dismemberment of our economic body, already so greatly weakened, and the shackling of our entire industrial life and the effects might be even more terrible for our political existence and our realm.
>
> For these reasons the Government accepts the ultimatum. We know that acceptance, by reason of the place Germany will occupy in the economy of the world, will entail the gravest consequences. The responsibility for this falls on the Allies.
>
> But there is one point concerning which there must be no obscurity. It would be useless to say "Yes" without the resolution to do our utmost to meet the obligations imposed upon us. By acceptance we believe we will remove the imminent threats of occupation of the Ruhr. The fear often expressed that occupation will take place in any case, whether we sign or not, is not supported by any passage in the ultimatum.

In consequence of the vote in the Reichstag Dr. Sthamer, German Ambassador to Great Britain, delivered a note on the following day declaring that "The German Government is fully resolved to carry out without reserve or condition its obligations as defined by the Reparation Commission" and to execute the other unfulfilled parts of the Treaty. Thus

was ended, as regards the immediate present at any rate, the greatest diplomatic crisis which has arisen since Germany consented to sign the Treaty of Versailles.

Dr. Wirth, the new German Chancellor and Foreign Minister, is a leader of the Center or Catholic party and a Minister of Finance in the Fehrenbach Cabinet, which resigned rather than accept the Allied ultimatum. His colleags are drawn from the Center, Democratic and Socialist parties. But the new ministry is as yet uncertain from what portions of the Reichstag to find its strength. The Nationalists, who are reactionary and monarchist, will have nothing to do with the existing Government. Their domestic policy involves the reëstablishment of the old régime, Kaiser and all, and their foreign policy consists of defying the Allies to do their worst. Neither can the Communists and the Independent Socialists be counted on, because they will have nothing to do with a "capitalist" Government. The Democrats (who are the liberal non-Socialists) and the Center party, which is also pacific and moderate in temper, form a natural part of every coalition, but they are not strong enough to control a majority of the Reichstag without the aid of other votes. These votes must be found with the two other big parties, the Majority Socialists and the German People's party. These two groups are willing to support the Government, but they are not willing to unite with each other, so that the real question before the Wirth ministry is which to unite with and which to discard. Thus one possible coalition would consist of the Center, the Democrats and the Socialists with all other parties in opposition; the other would be a coalition of all the "bourgeois" parties except the irreconcilable Nationalists, with the Socialist groups in opposition.




*London Evening News*

AS IRISH AS IRISH CAN BE

Bewildered Damsel: There's no doubt about it, this *is* Ireland

## Irish Events and Paradoxes

A strange contrast between northern and southern Ireland was revealed on the nomination day, May 13, for the two new Irish Parliaments. For northern Ireland all parties nominated candidates and actual elections will therefore be held. Forty Unionists (anti-Home Rule party), twenty Sinn Feiners, twelve Irish Nationalists and five Laborites were placed in nomination for a total of fifty-two seats. The Parliament of northern Ireland will meet and function whatever the result of the elections.

In the south all was different. The Unionist party is so weak that it dared not place a single candidate in the field except for the university constituency of Dublin. Dublin University returned four Unionists. The Nationalist and Labor parties might have carried a few constituencies, but they voluntarily withdrew from the field in order to give Sinn Fein a chance to carry out its own tactics. As a result of the abstention of the Unionist, Nationalist and Labor parties Sinn Fein nominated 124 unopposed candidates. This means that no elections will take place at all in southern Ireland; for according to British custom when only one candidate is nominated the formality of election is dispensed with. Sinn Fein could, if it chose, enter the Parliament for southern Ireland with 124 out of a total of 128 members. But this will not happen, as Sinn Fein refuses to recognize the sovereignty of the British crown or the lawfulness of the Home Rule law under which the elections were held. The elected Sinn Feiners will meet in their own revolutionary assembly, the Dail Eireann, and "boycott" the new Parliament, leaving southern Ireland without any representative body recognized by the British Government.

Ireland will therefore be under three different authorities. Northern Ireland, the only part of the country which opposed Home Rule, will be the only part governed by a Home Rule Parliament—a paradox truly Irish. Southern Ireland will be under the direct government of the British authorities; the machinery for self-government under the Home Rule Act having broken down by the Sinn Fein tactics of first capturing all the seats in the local Parliament and then refusing to sit in them. And the whole of Ireland will also be as much under the control of the third authority—the Irish Republic—as Sinn Fein is able to achieve.

Violence and disorder continue to increase. They have even spread outside Ireland. Bands of masked Sinn Feiners invaded houses in London and Liverpool which were owned by persons who were or had been members of the Royal Irish Constabulary or other Crown forces in Ireland. A number of houses were set on fire and in some cases the occupants were shot.

## Reds in Mexico

IN addition to all the other troubles that there are, Mexico has been afflicted by an outbreak of Bolshevism; not on a serious scale but in a peculiarly annoying fashion. A clash between Catholics and radicals in Morelia in the state of Michoacan had resulted in the death of Isaac Arriaga, a former Socialist member of the Mexican Congress. More than a thousand Socialists and Communists attended the funeral. As part of the demonstration a band of radical sympathizers invaded the halls of Congress and raised the red flag over the speaker's chair while Congress was in session on May 14.

President Obregon is angry and has ordered an investigation of the incident. A good many officeholders who have been suspected of sympathy with the reds or lack of vigilance in repressing their outbreaks will lose their positions and some of them may face jail sentences. Mexico is not an industrial country and Bolshevism in the strict sense of the word is almost as rare as it is in the United States, but there are a few convinced Communists in the oil districts and the mines and some foreign propagandists that have fled from the United States to escape the draft or have come from European countries. The real red menace in Mexico is that the agricultural masses are both poor and reckless—a dangerous combination. Their degraded economic position gives them plenty of grievances and the ten years of continuous revolution which Mexico has experienced have accustomed them to "direct action" under the leadership of rebel chieftains. Now, if instead of some discontented general or bandit leader a Bolshevist propagandist should head the next insurrection he would find plenty of inflammable material ready for his torch. The insurgents wouldn't understand the economic theories un-

derlying the revolt, but they wouldn't have to. It would be enough to raise the old cry of dividing the land among the poor to rally the non-Communist peons around the Bolshevist standard, just as the non-Communist peasants were won by a similar cry in Russia. So the Government has decided to nip the Bolshevist propaganda in the bud.

The Mexican Government is still unrecognized by the United States, but for most practical purposes the Government of Obregon is rubbing along smoothly enough with the United States. President Wilson rarely found the Rio Grande so quiet as it has been since he left the Mexican problem to President Harding. Formal recognition is delayed by the old difficulty of getting from the Mexican Government definite legislation or treaty obligations respecting American property rights.

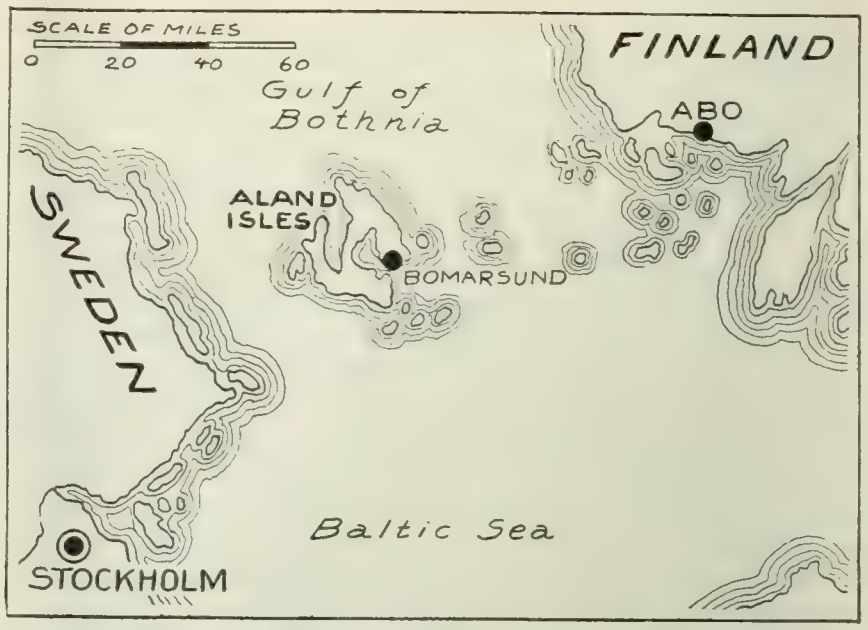
## Finland Keeps the Alands

THE commission appointed by the League of Nations to examine into the question of the Aland islands has reported in favor of the Finnish claims. The islands are to be considered as territory indisputably belonging to the Republic of Finland, but only on condition that Finland guarantees the national rights of the islanders. Instruction in the schools is to be in Swedish, and the islanders may have local home rule, including the right to present to the Finnish Government a list of three candidates from which Finland must select the Governor General. In case Finland fails to grant these guarantees, the islands should be awarded by plebiscite, which would probably mean that they would be transferred to Sweden.

The Aland islands dispute is, like Yap, an illustration of the saying "how great a matter a little fire kindleth." In themselves the islands are a most inconsiderable part of this planet, a tiny little archipelago with not more than 25,000 inhabitants, and yet the question of who should own them brought Sweden and Finland almost to the verge of a diplomatic rupture, if not of open war. The reason for this is, as again in the case of Yap, mainly strategic. The Aland islands are located in the midst of the Baltic sea and they command the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia and the approaches to the port of Stockholm. There are a number of excellent harbors, ice-free for the greater part of the year, which afford every facility to merchant ships and also to war vessels.

Both Finland and Sweden could make out a good case for the ownership of the islands. The Swedish case is based on the principle of self-determination. The Aland islanders are Swedes. About 96 per cent of the people speak the Swedish language and the majority of them are strongly desirous of union with the Kingdom of Sweden. Moreover, the geographical location of the islands, tho as a group somewhat nearer the Finnish than the Swedish coast, has always made their possession by a foreign power something of a menace to Sweden. Of course, this was much more the case when they belonged (together with the rest of Finland) to the vast and militaristic Empire of Russia than today when they belong to the little Republic of Finland, which could never be in itself much of a military danger to Sweden. But in either case, the Swedish desire to annex islands of Swedish population within a few miles of the nation's coastline is a very natural one.

The Finnish case is that the islands in question are politically and geographically part of Finland. They were annexed by Russia with the rest of Finland; they won their independence from Russia with the rest of Finland. Legally their status is, and has been, that of an integral part of Finnish territory; altho, as a result of the Crimean War, Russia was forbidden to fortify the islands or establish naval bases there. The fact that the effective establishment of Finnish independence was interrupted for awhile by the Bolshevist insurrection of 1918 and that a Swedish force temporarily occupied the Alands, in no way altered




**The dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aland Islands seems literally to make a mountain out of a mole hill—said islands being a very small spot of land, with perhaps 25,000 inhabitants. But the point is, as in the case of Yap, a strategic one. The islands command the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia and the approaches to the port of Stockholm; and they provide a number of excellent harbors**

the legal relationship of the islands to the Finnish State. As to the argument from nationality, the Swedish population of the Alands is but a part of the much larger Swedish population of the Finnish mainland; for Finland is a bilingual state and its western coast is peopled by some 385,000 Swedish-speaking inhabitants. It would be a geographical impossibility to give Sweden the whole of the Swedish-speaking area of Finland, and there is no reason why a part of this area should be split off from the rest and given to Sweden while the rest remains Finnish.

These are the arguments on both sides which were weighed and examined by the commission. Two points of special interest may be noted. One is that an American, Abram Elkus, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, was one of the three members of the commission; his colleags being M. Calonder, ex-President of Switzerland, and Baron Beyens of Belgium. The other point of interest is that this important diplomatic controversy was settled under the authority of the League of Nations; thus disproving the reiterated statements that the League is "dead" or has been "killed" or is "accomplishing nothing."

## What Congress Is Talking About

ALTHO the new complexities in our foreign relations have rather overshadowed domestic issues, Congress is making fair speed in passing legislation. Perhaps the most contested measure thus far passed was the emergency tariff bill on agricultural products. It passed the Senate on May 11 by a vote of 63 to 28 and was then sent to conference to adjust some differences between the measure as it passed the Senate and as it passed the House. The vote followed party lines very closely. Seven Democrats left their party entrenchments to support the bill, but only one Republican opposed it.

Senator Moses of New Hampshire, the lone Republican opponent, denounced the bill as "class legislation of the most vicious and dangerous kind." He declared that it was inconsistent to include in an agricultural measure restrictions on the importation of dyestuffs, "for by no stretch of the imagination can it be adequately contended that suffering agriculture can be benefited by an embargo on dyestuffs." Senator Knox of Pennsylvania replied that the dyestuff industry was granted protection "from the standpoint of national security." Numerous attempts to amend the emergency tariff so as to eliminate the dyestuff provisions were defeated. The Democrats from several agricultural states supported the measure and others who

opposed it did so on the ground that it afforded no real protection for the farmer. "They bring this bill here," said Senator Reed of Missouri, "after foreign competition has practically ceased and it is framed so that it will die before the next crop is harvested."

The real struggle over the tariff is still to come, as the emergency tariff is limited both in point of time and as to the scope of its schedules. The permanent tariff law will be the chief work of the session when it emerges from committee. A tax plan must also be worked out. Two main difficulties are encountered here. One is whether to follow Secretary Mellon's recommendations and replace the excess profits tax by new direct taxes or to try the dubious experiment of a sales tax. The other is how far may the army and navy appropriation bills be safely cut, as that is the one point in the budget where really extensive savings are possible.



*Underwood & Underwood*

**Madame Curie, the discoverer of radium, who arrived here recently on the "Olympic," has already begun her travels thru the country. This picture of her was taken at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, where the degree of Doctor of Science was conferred on her by the president of the college, Dr. William Allen Neilson. One of the great scientist's first articles on the subject of her discovery appeared in The Independent in 1903**

Senator Borah is leading a vigorous fight for naval disarmament. The naval appropriation bill in the Senate calls for approximately $500,000,000, which is about $100,000,000 more than was provided in the measure which passed the House of Representatives. The proposed increase, Senator Borah contended, was not only needless, but would make it impossible to cut the national expenditure below that of the previous year and therefore impossible to reduce the crushing burden of taxation.

Senator La Follette of Wisconsin has started a private war against President Harding for readmitting the United States to the Supreme Council of the Allies. He introduced a resolution declaring that the American people had condemned at the recent election the whole Treaty of Versailles, which was "a crime born of blind revenge and insatiable greed"; and expressing the fear lest American participation in the work of the Supreme Council might amount to an endorsement "of the imperialistic policies which the members of the Supreme Council are now pursuing in Europe, Africa and Asia," besides being "a sanction of the barbarous and uncivilized warfare which is now being waged against the people of Ireland"—tho what Ireland has to do with the Supreme Council of the Allies is a mystery. Even the bitter-ender Republicans looked coldly on the La Follette resolution for, with two or three exceptions, they had objected to the Treaty of Versailles on account of the League of Nations clauses and not because of the severity of the conditions respecting Germany.

Altho the Knox resolution for a separate peace with Germany passed the Senate, an equivalent resolution in the House of Representatives was halted; partly because of a difference of opinion as to whether the resolution should be so phrased as simply to declare a state of peace with Germany and Austria or should also include a formal revocation of the declaration of war. There was also a feeling that in the hight of the reparations crisis it would be embarrassing to the Administration to declare a separate peace, and that the United States could stand a few days delay after having been in a "state of war" for so very many months.

The bill restricting immigration to 3 per cent of the resident aliens of any nationality passed the Senate by an almost unanimous vote and then went to conference. Senator Reed of Missouri was the only opponent of the bill on final reading, tho several Senators vainly tried to secure an amendment admitting to the United States persons subject to religious or political persecution in their home countries.

## The Slacker List

THIRTY months after the armistice the Federal Government is starting a "drive" to catch and punish those who failed to answer the call of duty during the war. As part of the drive, lists are published of men of draft age who failed to respond when their local registration boards notified them that they were wanted. Great complaint has been made in every section of the country over the numerous errors found in the lists. The most common cause of errors was the fact that many men liable to the draft volunteered directly and neglected to notify their local registration board that they had already entered service.

Major General Harris, in answer to much sharp criticism in the press over the inaccuracy of the lists of deserters,

issued a statement explaining the policy of the Government. He said that originally a list of 489,003 supposed draft deserters was prepared and that this number was reduced by subsequent investigation to about 155,000 before the names were made public. All persons who could be found to have enlisted in the American army or with the Allies, or who had died, or who had already been arrested for desertion by the military authorities, or who for any "good and sufficient reason should not, in the opinion of the draft officials, be classed as wilful deserters" were taken from the lists. "Everything that is humanly possible has been done by the War Department to insure the correctness of the lists." But he admitted that there were still errors, which the Government would be glad to rectify if attention were called to them; errors arising from the difficulty of finding out whether an individual who enlisted was the same person as the man who failed to answer the summons of the draft. There were many cases of men with identical names, thus there were over 3000 John Smiths in the army; and "Under these conditions the War Department found it impossible at times to identify a registrant charged with desertion with a man of exactly the same name who voluntarily enlisted in some other state." This was especially the case when difficult foreign names were incorrectly noted or when a man enlisted under an alias.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Why not?**

## Pershing Takes Hold

THE original plan by which General Pershing was to be placed in charge of a "skeletonized" General Staff to prepare the army for its sudden expansion on a war footing in case of emergency has been modified. It was discovered that it would be difficult, at least in time of peace, to define the frontier between the duties of the ordinary Chief of Staff and duties of the special officer acting as Chief of Staff for active service. In consequence it has been decided to combine the two functions in one head, and General Pershing has been appointed as sole Chief of Staff in succession to Major General Peyton C. March, who retires on the first of next July.

To relieve General Pershing of much detailed administrative work that ordinarily falls to the Chief of Staff of the army Major General James G. Harbord has been appointed as Executive Assistant. He will be subordinate to General Pershing, but he will handle many administrative functions directly with the Secretary of War, thus freeing General Pershing's energies for the special task assigned to him by the original plan; the organization of a general headquarters for the army on a war footing. General Pershing retires on account of age in 1924. No one in America—or Europe—needs to be told who he is, and much gratification has been expressed in army circles and in the press that he has been given a task which will require his full measure of ability for the remaining period of his service instead of being shoved aside into a position of decorative leisure. General Harbord rose from the rank of private to the position of one of the best admired general officers in the army. He was head of the American mission to Armenia in 1919 and reported to President Wilson on the advantages and disadvantages of accepting a mandate.

Secretary of War Weeks has entered a vigorous protest against any reduction of the army below an establishment of 175,000. He did not base his objections on the general principle of large armaments or any war clouds on the horizon, but simply on grounds of administrative efficiency. He pointed out that at present the army contained 230,000 men and 14,000 officers and that a cut to 150,000 as proposed by the House of Representatives would disorganize the military system. The personnel in some branches could not be reduced without loss to Government property and equipment, whereas if the cut came in the actual fighting force it would leave only about forty men to an infantry company and would cut the cavalry in two. He asked the Senate to increase the army appropriations bill to maintain 175,000 men, the figure advocated by the Senate during the last Congress.

## The Mingo Coal War

ANYONE picking up the paper is fairly sure to notice something wrong in Upper Silesia, Teschen, the Saar, South Wales or some other coal mining district. Where there is coal there is strife. This is not peculiar to the Old World, for Pennsylvania and West Virginia have had more than their share of the labor troubles of the United States.

For some months past the borderline between Kentucky and West Virginia has been the seat of acute conflict between the mine owners and the miners. At times both sides have made use of weapons. On May 13 strikers and strikebreakers exchanged shots and several people were killed. It is not known who began the firing. The version made public by the United Mine Workers of America is that "the shooting in Mingo county began when tent colonies of striking miners were fired upon. It is a well-known fact that immense quantities of arms and ammunition, including Browning machine guns, have been secured by the coal operators of Mingo and Pike counties in the last few days." The mine operators, on the other hand, say that the strikers began the fight.



*International*

**Strike troubles in the West Virginia mines have turned many of the miners into gypsies, picking up a living in any way they can, and living in huddled settlements of tents. Here is an interesting and representative group of miners, both colored and white**

The Secretary of War received telegrams from Governors Morgan of West Virginia and Morrow of Kentucky, asking the aid of Federal troops in putting down the disturbance. Kentucky National Guardsmen were sent to keep order on the Kentucky side of the battle zone.

## Sending Industry to School

### By George French

A great many men have undertaken to harmonize labor and capital, and a great many men have failed to do so. One has now brought together employers in a plan that seems destined to succeed, within a sphere that is gradually widening. It is the national organization of corporation schools. The corporation school, as it has been developed within something like half a hundred large concerns, is exceedingly simple in plan and operation. The main object is to fit the man to the job best adapted to him, and to make him efficient. This means happiness in employment.

The first corporation school established specifically to restore that unity of purpose and harmony of effort that prevailed in the earlier days of industry, when employer and employees were able to work together in direct personal contact, was begun nine years ago by the New York Edison Company, under the leadership of Mr. F. C. Henderschott.

The movement progressed until a year after the Edison school began there were eighteen schools in the country, and a national association was formed, at the New York University on January 24, 1913. At this time the purposes of these schools were thus defined: to increase the efficiency of workers and managers, to eliminate waste and strife, and to seek to induce institutions of learning to enlarge their business courses.

The scope of the schools may be realized by noting that the mother school, that of the New York Edison Company, provides for its pupils five technical courses in electricity, eight general and eight special commercial courses, a course in the theory of accounting, beside the constant effort to relate the man to his special job in the Edison organization.

The corporation schools do not seek to educate, but to train. Specifically, these schools deal with production, marketing, distribution, finance, accountancy and personnel—with emphasis upon personnel along lines calculated to eliminate waste and strife, create a better understanding between stockholders and workers, and between managers and the public.

At the convention recently held in New York thirty corporation schools took measures to become incorporated as the National Association of Corporation Training, to choose trustees, and formulate plans for the establishment of a national school, modeled as a university, with buildings and a competent faculty. Funds were assured and committees chosen. It is probable that this institution will be located in New York, but there are two other cities being considered, Pittsburgh and Buffalo.

When studies are satisfactorily completed, the student will receive some form of certificate which will establish his grade and the range and quality of the work he did at the school;




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### Combats the film

You feel on your teeth a viscous film. It clings to teeth, gets between the teeth and stays. The tooth brush, used in old ways, does not end it. So nearly everyone has suffered from some film attack.

Film absorbs stains, making the teeth look dingy. It is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. Thus most tooth troubles are now traced to film.

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After diligent research, methods have been found to fight film. Careful tests have amply proved them. Now they are being very widely adopted, largely by dental advice.

The methods are embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. They can thus be twice daily applied. And to millions they are bringing a new dental era.

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It stimulates the salivary flow—Nature's great tooth-protecting agent. It multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva, to digest starch deposits that cling. It multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva, to neutralize the acids which cause tooth decay.

These things should be daily done for better tooth protection.

### See the benefits

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the viscous film. See how teeth whiten as the film-coats disappear. Watch the other good effects.

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# TRAVEL AND RESORTS

The Independent invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to Travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea; tours domestic and foreign. This Department is under the supervision of the BERTHA RUFFNER HOTEL BUREAU, widely and favorably known because of the personal knowledge possessed by its management regarding hotels everywhere. Address inquiries by mail to INFORMATION, The Independent, New York.


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and this certificate will have specific value in his contact with employers.

Mr. Henderschott says that "the school will not be academic nor technical. It will seek to qualify men to act as employment managers, corporation school directors, health directors, managers of thrift activities, managers of welfare work, etc. And by 'welfare work' I do not mean the usual variety of that activity, which has become discredited by men and bosses alike. Welfare work in the future is going to be originated, managed and for the most part financed by the men themselves.

## Goings-On in Georgia

(*Continued from page 556*)

Federal agents appeared to investigate. Then came the newest element in our troubled community, the Ku Klux Klan.

It seems that there is a new fraternal order, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, which calls itself "The Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan." Colonel Simmons is the "Imperial Wizard," and it has branches now all over the United States and numbers its members by tens of thousands. This is not the old-time Ku Klux Klan of the post-Civil war period; that largely ceased to exist in the seventies.

Well, when some folks here found that shooting at the negroes, breaking up their stills and scaring them did not stop them, the real Ku Klux of old days seems to have revived, for two reasons; to protect the young white distillers and to stop the negroes from making whiskey for themselves or anyone.

Then this new Ku Klux seems to have done a little amateur night-riding. People tell me that once they were having a ghostly parade of men and horses, such as you all have seen in that film, "Birth of a Nation," along moonlighted roads, when they were amazed to see another band of hard-riding Ku Klux dash right across their path. This caused the new ones to beat a hasty retreat.

I know that the old Ku Klux is, and yet is not, affiliated with this new fraternal order, and so it turns out that the Ku Klux, whatever sort they are, are absolutely known to be "out" for two purposes, as the rudely scrawled signs which people find on their doorsteps show; to protect the independent young white distillers and to stop the making of whiskey by negroes, for themselves or for white men.

The Klan proposes to stop the negroes without recourse to the courts, while the type of men who really carry on "peonage" desire also to stop them, but prefer to have them arrested and thus get them back to work as farmhands deeper in debt and more easily controlled—such is their fear of Federal cases—than ever before.

I know that the present low price of cotton also has its bearing, in that cotton can only be raised at today's prices, or for less than thirty cents a pound for that matter, by mighty cheap negro labor; and this peonage game is one sure way to get cheap labor. So you

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see that the South seems cursed with northern and European spinners' greed for cheap cotton eternally working to make trouble for us, white and black alike, and to literally enslave anew the poor darkies.

May I say that I saw the whole war thru right here at home and bear my testimony to the devoted patriotism and sturdy manhood and womanhood of the American negro? Every call made by their country they met, and did their full duty. I find that the negro boys who went overseas have returned to us bettered by that trip; they are happy to be home and at work, and nobody can complain that having lived under other social conditions than those here in the South has had the slightest tendency to make them troublesome in any respect.

In view of their race's valiant services in the great war, surely some means that is practical ought to be found to protect them alike from themselves and from those of the white race who care more for money than for human happiness, black or white.

## Independent Opinions

"It frytens thinking people to see how we ar drifting downwards so fast in many directions," writes Dr. Melvil Dewey, in suggesting that The Independent give impetus to a crusade against the modern "slump" in manners and morals. Dr. Dewey is a trustee of Chautauqua Institute, president of the National Institute of Efficiency, and of the Lake Placid Club, which he founded in 1895. He is also a trustee of the Carnegie Simplified Spelling Board and, as the following letter shows, a pioneer in spelling, as well as in other, reform:

The Independent has always been a moral leader and gyd and has a world wide respect for its editorial caracter. I think yu ought to help us squarely in protesting against such things that just now ar dragging us down. Anne Morgan's prize fyting activities hav disgusted 1000s and it has been an exampl for other society girls to get into the debasing so-cald sport. Speak out as strongly as yu must feel on this. For 1 that doesn't like it ther wil be several of yur best readers who wil hartily approve yur curaj in standing for the ryt.

The other thing is the frytful growth of smoking cigarets, cigars, and now pipes, among yung girls. We always send 1 of that sort home promptly from the Club, for our best families ar absolutely unanimus that they don't want that kind of women about. Perhaps an aftermath of the war, but a wave is spreding that dishartens the clean element in the community, and I hope yu wil use yur powerful pen to help stem it.

This goes wel with the jaz craze that demoralized so many. We hav bard jaz music from the Club by unanimus vote after giving the so-cald liberal element a chance to try it 1 season. On ful discussion absolutely every 1 of the 30 of our council voted to bar it from a family Club becauz its influence clearly puld down not only musical, but moral standards.

I don't want yu to be a Don Quixote, but ther ar some things wher we need a John the Baptist who isn't afraid to speak the truth.

*Lake Placid, New York*




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Prof. H. Augustine Smith, of Boston University, the newly appointed Music Director of Chautauqua Institution, in working to make Chautauqua the summer music center of America, says: "At Chautauqua are to be heard 5000 persons singing with true music and art values, led by orchestra and chorus—a convincing negation of the theory that the mass of people are incapable of expression along high art lines. Pageantry is to take a large place in Chautauqua life with rich choral and symphonic backgrounds. The season is to be made memorable for the hundreds of Chautauqua children thru educational rehearsals, intensive study of the masterpieces and antiphonal singing with the adult choral units."

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THE PRESS DEPARTMENT **Chautauqua Institution,** CHAUTAUQUA. NEW YORK

# Our Field Marshal

(*Continued from page 558*)

arms, of the generals and soldiers, all equally glorious, thanks to whom a decisive victory has been achieved for freedom."

While later circumstances will tend to give more definite form to the particular kind of testimonial considered most fitting to be offered to our distinguished visitor, yet certainly in character it should be expressive of the feelings of all America's heart.

## George W. Wickersham, ex-Attorney-General of the United States in President Taft's Cabinet:

Ferdinand Foch, ablest lieutenant of Marshal Joffre at the battle of the Marne, organizer and directing genius of the Allied offensive, which turned the tide of the war in July, 1918, and led to the surrender of the German armies—misnamed an armistice—on November 11, 1918; Generalissimo of the French, British, American and Italian forces in Flanders and France—the greatest aggregation of armies ever commanded by a single General in all history, in a few months is to visit the United States.

A true soldier of the republic; one who served his country and the cause of freedom, but who, when the enemy was defeated, was ready to sheath his sword, and who asked no reward but the happiness of contemplating his land freed from the menace of invasion, law and order restored, and just reparation made by Germany for the wanton damage done to France; Marshal Foch embodies those qualities which characterized Washington and Grant. He is as modest as a Sherman, Sheridan and Pershing.

How shall the American Government evidence our appreciation of this great man? Lafayette bore a Major-General's commission in the Continental army. When he revisited the United States in 1824-1825, Congress voted him a grant of $200,000 and a township of the public lands. Why should not Congress vote the thanks of this nation to Marshal Foch for his great services to this country and to all civilized peoples during the great war, authorize the President to appoint him a Lieutenant-General in the Armies of the United States, and direct a gold medal to be struck bearing his image? This great soldier would value such a tribute more than a grant of money, and it would adequately express the esteem and honor in which he ever will be held by the American people.

## Jacob M. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of War in President Taft's Cabinet:

I beg to say that I am heartily in sympathy and hope very much that the American people will take steps to honor Marshal Foch in a way commensurate with the great interest which we had involved in that war and with the genius and character of Marshal Foch. No recognition that our people could give him could be regarded as extravagant.

## Senator John Sharp Williams:

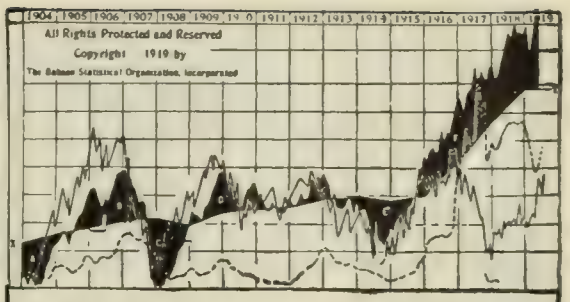
Like all the English-speaking people of North America, I shall welcome the visit of Field Marshal Foch. I don't think that Congress has power to "appoint a General in the American Army." The Constitution vests that right in the President. I doubt if the President has a right to appoint a foreigner a General in the American Army. The American Congress gave an *honorarium* to General Lafayette because, by the result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, both put together, he was left almost insolvent—at any rate, heavily in debt, beyond the capacity of payment out of his inherited estates. Then, Lafayette had *come to America* to fight for *American* independence. In this war Foch was fighting for France, for civilization, for democracy, and for local independence of peoples thruout the world. What he fought for doesn't pale in comparison with what Lafayette fought for. On the contrary, as far as the world and civilization are concerned, it was of more importance; but it was *not exactly to the same extent an American cause.* I doubt if Marshal Foch would be willing to receive money from the American Congress. I, of course, know nothing about it. I know that if I were in his place, I would not. I think Congress ought to extend to him its thanks for his great service in "saving the civilization and democracy of the world," and ought especially to mention his great achievements as "Generalissimo of the Army of which the American forces were a part, and, as then acting on European soil, as virtually the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army." No greater General than Foch has appeared since Robert E. Lee died; no greater fighter or patriot has ever appeared at any time. *There is no living man to whom this world now owes such a debt as it owes to Foch.*

## Senator Atlee Pomerene:

I have read your editorial in The Independent of April 30 on this subject with very great interest. No man in the history of civilization stands higher as a Christian soldier than Marshal Foch. I have no well defined ideas as to what honor should be conferred upon him. I know that he is already enshrined in the hearts of liberty loving patriots everywhere.

## Senator Key Pittman:

There are a thousand ways in which the American people would like to demonstrate their affection and high


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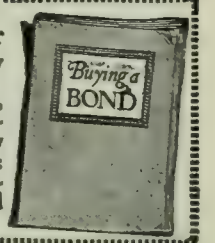
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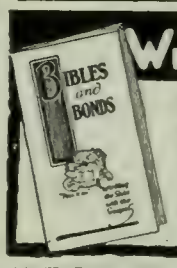
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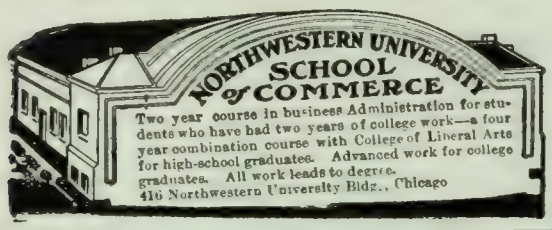
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It Pays to Advertise

admiration for the most distinguished son of France and the premier figure of the World War, but our people must remember that Marshal Foch in all of his greatness and glory is a modest, retiring man, and therefore those who have charge of the General's reception and who are responsible for his pleasure and comfort while in the United States, should be most careful and firm in protecting him against the well-meant but tedious entertainments that are too often imposed upon great characters to whom we seek to do honor. Every entertainment provided and every honor conferred should be official, so that it may be truly an expression of our Government and of all of our citizens.

### Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, the General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America:

Mr. Holt's editorial carries me back to a plain, little building which constituted the general headquarters of the Allied Armies in 1918. As a commissioner of the Federal Council of Churches, I had transmitted to M. Clemenceau a message of the American churches to Marshal Foch, and a few days later had received word thru the War Department that Marshal Foch was glad to see the message, but "would like also to see the messenger."

After its presentation I started to withdraw on the ground that the Marshal was pretty busy, it being shortly after the beginning of the last great offensive, but was detained by him between three and four hours, while, in the midst of his maps and telephone messages from all parts of the front, he discoursed mainly upon the religious life and institutions of America as calmly as if that was his main interest and responsibility.

Marshal Foch is undoubtedly the type of man whom we desire to honor. How can we best do it? Make him a General? Yes. Give him an honorarium? Yes—but as a secondary matter.

I wish we might find some way of enrolling him as a Christian citizen so that not only our army, but our entire people, our schools, our churches, all our institutions, might honor him, not only as a soldier, but as the strong, simple man of character that he is. Let us try to think out something that will accomplish this.

I suspect that something for his nation rather than himself, would please him best, some national American memorial, by popular subscription in which every man, woman and child could participate, and I would suggest the appointment of a representative group to think and carry it out.

## Taking the Temperature of Business

(*Continued from page 559*)

had been heavily advanced during 1920 to conform to the higher cost of living of that time. That readjustment was a necessary element in restoring equilibrium to the producing industry. In the case of the railways it was an indispensable preliminary to placing the transportation business on a profit-earning basis, and the Railway Labor Board now has in hand the question of railway wage revision from its 25 per cent average increase in the award of last July.

Largely because of the recent uncertain outlook for surplus earnings alike of manufacturing enterprizes and of the railways, the market for investment securities had been so greatly depressed as to cause doubt over the capacity of American investors to support the new and large impending demands on capital. That question received a crucial test when it became necessary for the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railways to raise some $230,000,000 in order to pay off a loan issued by them jointly twenty years ago and maturing next July. Offered with considerable apprehension at the end of April, this loan, the largest ever issued on our market aside from the war loans of our own and foreign governments, was immediately taken by investors. The bond market drew its inferences at once as to the available supply of investment capital.

A year ago the highly unsatisfactory banking and credit situation—the cash holdings of the New York Reserve Bank showing at one time a deficiency below the legal minimum percentage to note and deposit liabilities—was a potent cause for the severe restriction of credit which foreshadowed the trade reaction. During the past six months, however, import of gold from the outside world into the United States has occurred on an almost unprecedented scale. No less than $281,000,000 was received between January 1 and the close of April; a movement never exceeded in volume except for the four months' period immediately preceding our own entry into the European war.

Bank reserves and the ratio of such reserves to bank liabilities have increased so rapidly as a consequence that the Federal Reserve position is now stronger than at any time since 1918. The total stock of gold in the United States, and the gold holdings of the Federal Reserve itself, are now the largest on record. By degrees this new situation is bound, in the light of all experience, to be reflected in restoration of more normal credit facilities.

It will be observed that these financial occurrences are of a very general character, that they bear only indirectly on the state of trade and that even with them, the change for the better has been cautious and gradual. Probably this means a similarly gradual recovery in trade and industry when

such recovery begins. At the moment, the rise in grain prices from their recent very low level, notwithstanding the outlook for another large wheat crop and the firmness of cotton prices despite the very large unsold surplus from the previous year's crop, are movements of some significance. Curtailment of the farmers' buying power, thru sale of much of last year's product at a price which brought a virtual loss in the year's undertakings, has been one of the serious aggravating causes of trade depression.

What will be the longer influence of Germany's formal acceptance of the Allies' terms of reparation is as yet in large degree a matter of conjecture. The great decline in our trade with Europe has been a potent factor in the business depression, and that decline has itself unquestionably been largely due to the economic reaction thruout Europe while the German payments were in doubt and while a new invasion of Germany by the Allies was a possibility. If, as a result of the German settlement, Europe's financial and industrial situation improves substantially, that would certainly exert a favorable reflex influence on our own situation.

Much necessarily depends on the success of the plans which must now be devised for using the German reparations bonds as a basis of credit for the Entente countries. Financial judgment on this general question is at least partly reflected in the remarkable movement of New York exchange rates in favor of England, France, Belgium and Italy. Sterling exchange advanced on the news of Germany's acceptance to practically the highest point since 1919, and rates on the other Entente markets to the best figure since the dispute with Germany over the terms of reparations began last summer. Whatever other causes may have existed for this notable recovery, the fact is not disputed in financial circles that the prospects for or against recovery—economic as well as political—in the European markets, have been pretty accurately foreshadowed during the past few years in the movement of foreign exchange.

---

He—I wonder what makes her eyes so wise?

Him—Perhaps their pupils went to night school.—*Yale Record.*

Sunday School Teacher—Tell me, Willie, how many commandments are there.

Willie—Ten.

Teacher—That's right. And if you should break just one of them, what then?

Willie—Then there would be nine left.—*Exchange.*

A kindergarten teacher asked her class: "Have you warm coats?"

"Yes," was the answer.

"Can you take off your warm coats?"

"Yes."

"Has the bear a warm coat?"

"Yes."

"Why can't the bear take off his warm coat?"

This puzzled the youngsters for a moment and then one yelled: "Cause God only knows where the buttons are."—*Art in Buttons.*


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JOS. T. MACKEY, Treasurer.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
127th Dividend
A quarterly dividend of two dollars and twenty-five cents per share will be paid on Friday, July 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, June 20, 1921. H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
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Due December 1, 1946.
Coupons from these bonds, payable by their terms on June 1, 1921, at the office or agency of the company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

### I. Into the Night.

1. Point out at least three distinct pictures that the poem suggests. Tell what emotions are associated with every one of the pictures.
2. Point out and explain the criticism of the American people made in the poem.
3. Read Wordsworth's sonnet, "The World Is Too Much With Us," or Matthew Arnold's "The Scholar Gipsy." Explain in what way either one of those poems is like "Into the Night."
4. What is the meaning of the last word of the poem? What did the ones who died believe? How much of the effect of the poem depends upon this last word?
5. Point out examples of figurative language. Explain every figure.
6. How is the poem related to the prose article that is printed on the same page?

### II. A Memorial Day Editorial.

1. Draw from the article a series of propositions suitable for public debate.
2. Write a brief for any one of the propositions in which you are particularly interested.
3. What advantage has been gained by the use of short sentences, short paragraphs and parallel columns?
4. Define the following words, and use every word in an original sentence: staple, heterogeneous, unequivocally, repudiated, discriminating, cordial, drastic, isolation.

### III. Goings-On in Georgia.

1. What are your reasons for approving, or for disapproving of the point of view of the writer of the article? Write a brief in support of your own point of view.
2. What is the rhetorical effect of the last paragraph?

### IV. Our Field Marshal.

1. Select from the various letters that compose the article a number of highly expressive sentences concerning Marshal Foch. Unite all the sentences that you select, in a single paragraph that could be used as an inscription on a tablet to be erected in honor of General Foch.
2. Write an editorial article in which you express your own thoughts concerning a fitting tribute to General Foch. As a means of strengthening your article make use of one or two quotations from some of the famous persons who have written about General Foch.

### V. The English Language.

1. What does the writer mean by saying that our English spelling is "merely decorative"? How could it be other than "decorative"? What is phonetic spelling? What is simplified spelling? What is the difference between the two? Find, in the front of any large dictionary, the rules for simplified spelling. What general principles of simplified spelling may everyone employ?
2. Re-write the "pathetic tale" in such a way that every word will be clear.
3. Give some simple rules for increasing the clearness of your style in writing.

### VI. The Right to Be Ignorant.

1. What is writer's attitude toward reading and study?
2. Why is education peculiarly essential in the United States? Of what national value is the study of "English"?
3. What means can you take to increase accuracy of knowledge?
4. Name ten standard books with which every well-educated person should be familiar.
5. "We ought to get back to the old time attention to acquisition." What does the writer mean?
6. "A longer period of concentration upon each subject in turn would be more fruitful of results." What reasons lead the writer to believe that statement to be true?

### VII. Sending Industry to School.

1. Write a clear exposition that will explain just how a corporation school differs from an ordinary public school.
2. What advantages may be gained by a student of a corporation school?

### VIII. The Story of the Week.

1. Imagine that you are a newspaper reporter, and that you were sent into the Mingo coal district. Write a vivid account of your experiences. In your account give an explanation of the situation and its causes.

## History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

### I. The Great War—Memorial Day. Our Field Marshal.

1. Summarize from Mr. Holt's editorial the contribution made by the United States to the winning of the Great War.
2. What reasons can you give for the contrast pointed out by Mr. Holt in the American attitude toward European affairs in 1918 and at present?
3. Estimate Marshal Foch's genius as a military leader and compare him as a man and as a general with *any* of the following: (a) Napoleon, (b) Grant, (c) Lee, (d) Ludendorff.

### II. Peonage—Goings-On in Georgia.

1. What recent events in Georgia have called attention to the peonage problem? What revelations were made by Governor Dorsey (See also Independent of May 14, "The American Congo")?
2. What explanation of peonage does the "Georgia Cotton Farmer" give? On what grounds does he defend the policy of the courts toward the negro?
3. What was the Ku Klux Klan of reconstruction days? Is the modern organization connected with it?

### III. Finance—Taking the Temperature of Business.

1. What signs of trade revival does the writer see?
2. Why do retail prices fall more slowly than wholesale prices? What economic factors cause prices to fall?
3. "In all other periods of financial and industrial depression, easier money and advancing stock markets have foreshadowed the eventual business recovery." Explain.

### IV. Modern History—Wars and Rumors of War.

1. What is a diplomatic "crisis"? An "unfortunate incident"? "Strained relations"? Give some illustrations of these diplomatic terms not mentioned in the editorial.
2. What can you tell about the relations between Great Britain and the United States during the American Civil War? Have the two nations approached war with each other at any time since then?
3. On what three occasions before 1914 did Germany and the United States come near having a war? (Hint—the answer can be found in the editorial).
4. On what occasions between 1871 and 1914 did France and Germany come near having a war? Why were these two countries in a generally hostile mood toward each other during this entire period?
5. Take any *one* of the twenty "near wars" mentioned in the editorial and imagine that it had actually taken place. Write the history of it, bearing in mind the diplomatic conditions at the time and the stage of military science (for example, don't introduce airplanes into any war of the nineteenth century). Which side do you think would have won, and why?

### V. Germany—Lloyd George Cautions Poland. German Policy and Politics.

1. Why are the French stronger supporters of Polish claims than the British? What is Lloyd George's attitude?
2. Does the German Government rest like the American upon a single party having a majority or like the French on a coalition of parties?

### VI. Ireland—Irish Events and Paradoxes.

1. What is "Home Rule"? Is the greater part of Ireland now content with Home Rule? How does the position of the Nationalists (Redmond's old party) differ from that of the Sinn Feiners?
2. What was the result of the elections for the Parliament of southern Ireland?

### VII. The League of Nations — Finland Keeps the Alands.

1. State the claims of Finland and Sweden respectively to the Aland islands. Which, in your opinion, has the better argument?
2. What part did the League of Nations play in settling the dispute?

### VIII. National Politics—What Congress Is Talking About.

1. What important legislative issues are now before Congress? Which of them played a part in the deliberations of the last Congress?

# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

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## We Genuflect

Our esteemed contemporary, Franklin P. Adams of the New York *Tribune*, is a little peeved at our failing to quote him at full length. In order that no injustice may be done, we now cite his remonstrance in full:

It is not a matter of great pride to be quoted in The Independent's Remarkable Remarks; but The Independent should blush at its shameful way of quoting. "We genuflect to none," is how we are quoted. What we said was "We genuflect to none in our worship of the Mute Drama's newest interpreter." Will The Independent please genuflect?

If it will please our good F. P. A. we are perfectly willing to blush and genuflect and apologize to him and to the Mute Drama (or Silent Screen), without even stopping to call attention to the fact that the remainder of the sentence which we omitted in no way alters the highly original treatment of the verb to which we admiringly called attention. On but one point we venture a mild remonstrance, F. P. A.'s assertion that "it is not a matter of great pride to be quoted in The Independent's Remarkable Remarks." On the contrary, it should be a matter of greatest pride to be numbered with the illustrious company of celebrities, notorieties and occasionally nonentities whose remarks we emblazon weekly. There is no greater honor possible to humanity, unless mayhap a place in F. P. A.'s own colyum.

## "I Am the—"

*And now King Baby (or the Lord High Something for him) gives vent to his feelings in a brief burst of rhythmic eloquence:*

### I Am The Baby

You are all so big, so strong, so important—
I am the wee little baby.
In me is poet or peasant,
Priest or pope,
Politician or president,
King or kaiser.
I am the most precious of all of you.
For my mother will sacrifice her life for me,
My father centers all his hopes on me.
I will be the only future reader of The Independent.
Without me none of you would be,
For I am the potential all of you;
I am the baby.

Chicago.

*Here speaks the voice of the times:*

### I Am the Soda Boy

Thru the long summer I toil day and night, your thirst and taste to satisfy. You yell out your orders in a commanding way, and with aching head and weary feet I obey.

Young and old, they seek my fountain more eagerly than was sought the Fountain of Youth.

My salary is poor, my toil unappreciated, altho without me this great nation would be like Sahara.

But my time is coming when old man Booze is surely dead; then I will reign supreme.

But still with weary feet and aching head, I will drag each night to my bed.

I am the soda boy.

S. Manny

Schenectady, New York

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## Remarkable Remarks

William G. McAdoo—Disarmament or bust.

Madame Curie—Radium is a positive cure for cancer.

Percy Hammond—The human knee is a joint and not an entertainment.

Harold MacGrath—Humdrum isn't where you live; it's what you are.

Policewoman Mary Hamilton—Most of the runaway girls come from Boston.

Glen Buck—Ears were made for a better purpose than to hook spectacles on.

Thomas A. Edison—The average college man doesn't seem to know anything.

Roy K. Moulton—Only 3 per cent of the men propose marriage of their own free will.

Hugh Fullerton—Some folks will believe anything about you so long as it is the worst.

General Nivelle—Napoleon remains the world's greatest savant, diplomat and statesman.

Grantland Rice—President Harding does not expect to become open golf champion of America.

Congresswoman Alice Robertson—I cannot be bought, I cannot be sold, I cannot be intimidated.

Rt. Hon. James H. Thomas—The American labor movement is fifty years behind Great Britain.

President Harding—I have liked to believe in an analogy between the spiritual and the physical world.

Prof. John R. Commons—Labor unions have fallen down every time they have undertaken productive operation.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.—My father does not judge a man by the cut of his clothes or by his bank account.

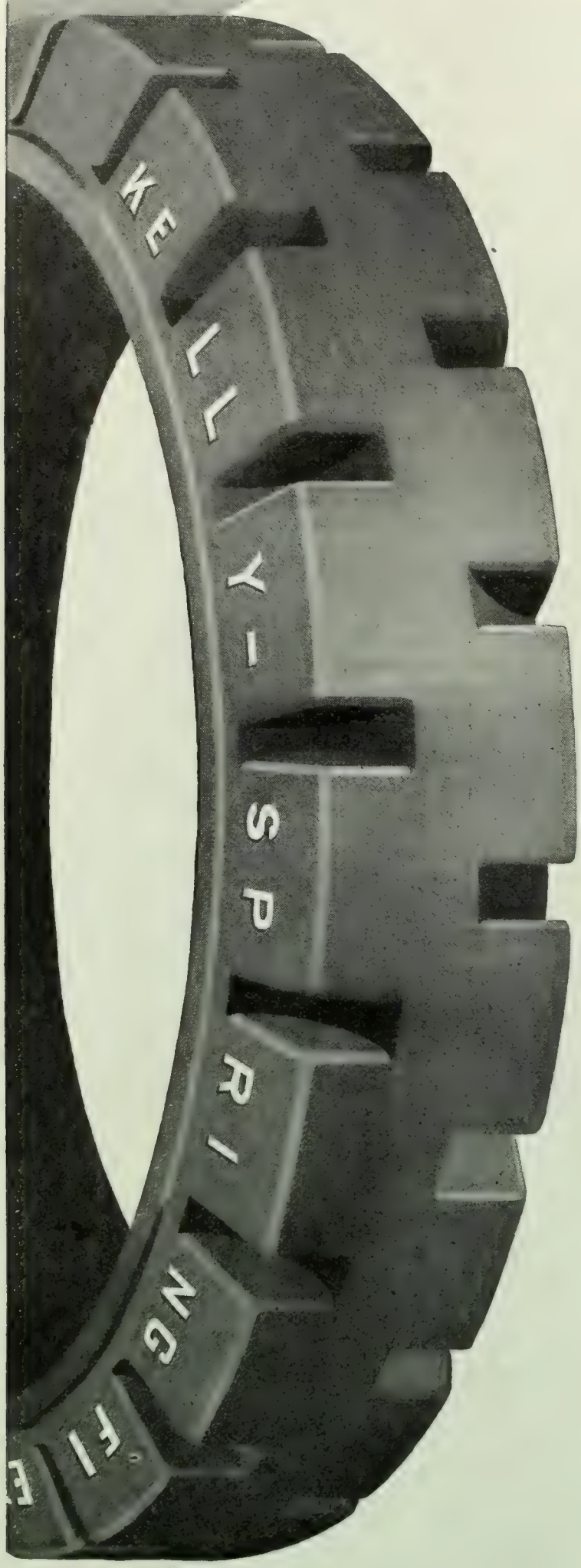
Ex-President Charles W. Eliot—Young men and young women nowadays talk chiefly slang to each other.

H. I. Phillips—It was a brilliant idea to hold National Thrift Week in February and follow it up with Income Tax Week and Easter Clothes Week in March.



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# The tire that walks away with the load

The one quality a truck tire *must* have is ability to get traction.

Mileage is important and resiliency desirable, but unless the tires are able to dig in their toes and push when the engine's power is delivered to the wheels, they might as well not be on the truck.

Few trucks are operated under ideal conditions; in sand, in snow, in mud or on wet, slippery asphalt, you've got to have something on the wheels more efficient than smooth bands of solid rubber.

Solid tires are becoming obsolete. Big pneumatics are expensive and undependable. There is only one tire that in all kinds of weather and over all kinds of roads can carry the truck wherever the driver wants it to go, and do it at a lower cost per mile than either the plain solid or the big pneumatic.

That tire is the Caterpillar. It is made in sizes suitable for trucks of every type and weight.

**Kelly-Springfield Tire Co.**

GENERAL SALES DEPARTMENT

**1710 Broadway** **New York**

The Independent
June 4, 1921

# "Straight Down to China"

## A Tale of Mules and Thrills in the Grand Canyon of Arizona

### By Chester T. Crowell

THIS is the season of the year when the American citizen takes his railroad and steamship folder in hand and faces the problem of what to do with his vacation. If the averages of past years hold, some various and sundry unassorted thousands will visit the Grand Canyon of Arizona. To those who do I promise "the thrill of a lifetime."

As a viewer of scenery I want to step to the witness stand right now and qualify as an expert. I have seen just about all there is in the United States and Mexico. The Grand Canyon of Arizona is the only item of scenery I have encountered which exceeded my anticipations. I may as well admit that I don't get much of a kick out of scenery. When I run into that much abused word "picturesque" I am likely to become sarcastic. I am a hard-working, practical-minded sort of person. I looked Niagara Falls right in the face without a thrill. Niagara Falls is a lot of water going over a rock cliff and making a tremendous splash at the bottom. There are rainbows playing in the mist that rises; it is quite natural that they should be. You can get the same result by screwing down the spray on your garden hose.



Mr. Crowell, the last man in the string, does not look as scared as he says he was. But perhaps he and the rest of them are just "looking pleasant" for the moment. This descent into the Grand Canyon was made February 28, 1921, which explains the white patches of snow

I admit I am hard-boiled. I was in a storm at sea and I couldn't get much out of that. I know something about the natural laws which cause a ship to ride the waves, so the sight of an approaching mountain of water couldn't scare me. I know a boat will ride the top of it just as well as the troughs between. I have been up the Hudson River and the thing that interested me most was the phalanx of icehouses and the marvelous system they represent for supplying the largest city in the world with ice. I have tramped thru the Catskills and the place I like to go back to is where the water is reservoired to supply New York City. I have been up on Mount Popocatepetl and it struck me that the ascent could be much better planned. One of many things I liked about California is that they put automobile roads on their mountains.

I don't even care much for the Goddess of Liberty. She always looks fat and squat to me. The pictures of her are much better than the old girl herself. As for Niagara Falls, the moving pictures are marvelously beautiful—much more so than the Falls. So you see the Grand Canyon probably never had a harder customer to please than on the day I arrived.

Have you ever laughed at one of those comic strips in the newspapers showing a man falling over backward, from astonishment, his eyes represented by two crosses like the plus signs in arithmetic? Well, that was me when I took my first look at the Grand Canyon. As they say in Manhattan, it simply knocked me loose from my shoes. It is impossible to picture or describe the Grand Canyon. Such distances cannot be represented by either photography or painting. I walked up to within ten feet of the rim and looked down. If I had seen a Chinaman peeking at me thru the bottom it would not have surprized me. And then they told me that I could see only half way down from the top; I adjourned to a near-by bench to contemplate that fact and see if I could digest it.

The walls of the Grand Canyon are made up of dazzling whites and dull, soft whites and grayish whites and bright reds and dull reds, all laid in layers. Over it and in it the clear air of Arizona sparkles like diamonds. You see the sunlight going into it as tho it were being poured. Having looked down you look up and seem to be able to gauge the distance to the clouds. You suddenly feel that you are suspended somewhere in the free ether of this universe so that you can survey all creation.

You have doubtless come in contact with the phrase "millions of years." That, of course, cannot really mean anything concrete to you—unless you have seen the Grand Canyon. If you have, you know exactly what "millions of years" means. There it is pictured before you. Somewhere down below you lies the stream that cut that Canyon. The marks of that stream are all along those walls. You have a photograph of millions of years before your eyes. The weird things you have read in scientific works cease to be abstractions. They are as conceivable as potatoes or chairs or clothes.

I sat there, a safe distance from the rim of that Canyon —a very safe distance—and I breathed very deeply and I

felt my heart pounding against my ribs and then I uttered this eloquent tribute to Nature: "Damn." That is all I could think of to say and it is a very relieving thing to say when you are too full for utterance. I looked down there, a mile or more, at a white ledge fringed with green grass. Then I levelled a pair of glasses at that ledge and observed that the green grass was sturdy trees. I looked down at Turtle Back Plateau, more than a mile below me, and I saw a small green field. I levelled the glasses again. More trees! About forty feet high!

I want to warn you right here, if you are going to the Grand Canyon, that you can get all the beauty and thrill of it from the top. In fact, from an artistic point of view—well, the top is the artistic point of view. But I didn't know anything about the Grand Canyon. I had never met it before and I had no reports on it. I met a man three minutes after I stepped from the train who offered me a ticket to the Grand Canyon and I bought. So did sixteen others. I didn't know that it was within ten minutes' walk of the station. I didn't know anything about it. Except what I had read in books—and I am so used to reading that sort of thing and then finding the beautiful place littered with lunch boxes and tin cans that I didn't pay a great deal of attention to it.

As I said, I bought this ticket, and after breakfast those of us who had tickets were induced to put on overalls or riding skirts and mount a collection of tough-mouthed, sleepy-eyed mules that were penned up in a corral across the street. Even then I supposed that we were going to ride around the rim of this Canyon. We started off on a little narrow path on the rim of the Canyon and the first thing I knew we were bound down the side of the thing.

Now, I like that Canyon, but I hadn't come out there to tease it. The side of a Canyon has always seemed to me to be something that a man should let strictly alone, but we went on down and by the time I was ready to ask if we were coming up presently, it was apparent that the path was too narrow for me to turn around on. There were eight persons on mules in front of me and nine behind me. As I afterward learned, [*Continued on page 600*



*H. T. Cowling. Courtesy of the National Park Service*

**"The walls of the Grand Canyon are made up of dazzling whites and dull soft whites and grayish whites and bright reds and dull reds, all laid in layers. Over it and in it the clear air of Arizona sparkles like diamonds"**

# Nothing to Lose but Chains

## A Picture of Germany Today

## By Edward A. Steiner

**This is the third of a series of articles in which Dr. Steiner is giving to the readers of The Independent the record of a trip made at the request of the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia to visit their relief stations in France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Poland, and Russia. The first of the series, "The Story of the Steerage," appeared in the issue of May 14, the second, "Patches of Peace," in that of May 21**

"ONCE upon a time," when I arrived at the *Anhalter Bahnhof*, there stood a helmeted, white-gloved policeman who handed me a brass check, which established my place in the line of patient travelers waiting for a cab. The cab was clean, the top hat of the driver was of patent leather and shining, the *Leipziger Strasse* thru which we drove was brilliantly illumined and electric signs performed their gymnastics, advertizing champagne and other luxuries. This time there was no crowd, no policeman; the cab, and the horse looked battered and weather worn; cabby's hat had lost its luster quite as much as the *Leipziger Strasse* and the *Hohenzollerns*.

"*Unter den Linden*" looks shabby now. (Perhaps I am comparing it with Fifth Avenue and not with its own glorious past.) All its architectural monstrosities seem doubly discordant; the *Dom Kirche* looks like a wedding cake at a funeral; the series of statues on the bridge leading to the *Schloss*, and representing the making of a warrior, are in the poorest taste, and the big *Kaiser Wilhelm Denkmal* is a German atrocity. With Kaiser Wilhelm II on the throne, these things harmonized; they now offend the eye. They were part of him, they emanated from him.

I visited the New University Library. My companion, a disillusioned professor, pointed to the baroque curves and heavy-limbed gods, the gilded crowns and the spreading initials of Wilhelm guarding its portals, and he said: "This is what deceived us. We thought we were somebody, and we discovered that we were nobody."

The *Friedrich Strasse*, which was never a road to Paradise, has become a sewer in Sodom. Around the *Bahnhof* is a clustering Coney Island. One sees open gambling, an unashamed woman market, foul pictures and fouler print offered for sale; the pellets of saccharine which are served in the coffee houses cannot sweeten the cup of wormwood which the Berlinese are asked to drink, and *liqueurs* served in grotesque cabarets are their deadening myrrh.

The Market Halls have been turned into soup kitchens where the children of the half-starved poor, the University students, expectant mothers and new born infants are kept alive, being fed with Quaker food, by the grace of the American people. Berlin is vocal from the crunching of stale *Brötchen*. At the University, the Philharmonic, the opera, the church and the banks, bitter war bread is being eaten "in season and out of season," and the *nouveau riche* eat the delicacies, drink expensive wines, and occupy the choice seats at concerts and the theater.

The red flag makes a lurid background to the insistent black and white of the Prussian. Communistic pamphlets are peddled openly, poverty once restrained and decent has become insistent. War cripples sit on the sidewalks exposing their maimed limbs, and gassed soldiers writhe and twitch to arouse pity, and lure from passers-by the depreciated mark.

"Once upon a time" the mighty were unapproachable; they barked their commands at their underlings, and those who wore no uniform, were anathema; now, Samson has been shorn of his locks, and he says: "*Bitte*" and "*Danke schön*" and is straining his weakened muscles against the pillars of the young republic. The civil servants, once the pride of Germany, are struggling between ingrained honesty and the falling value of the mark, and they yield to temptation; for they are human.

Politics is putting its greedy fingers on charitable institutions, on the schools and on business; parties are splitting into new factions, the Allies are moving their soldiers beyond the Rhine, and the German "will to power" is paralyzed.

The past lies heavy upon the spirit of the Berlinese. A few, a very few, are repentant, and call upon the people to free themselves from guilt by open repentance. But their voices are drowned by a stormy protest, and they are called the "new traitors."

A year ago they could say it openly, and many repeated with them "*mea culpa*." Now the reply is: "We are sinners, but our sins were those of an age, of a world policy, of a competitive struggle for dominion."

A larger number admits a greater share of guilt for Germany thru an unnecessary provocation, an unrestrained, open worship of the "golden calf," dumb devotion to the nation and an unparalleled cult of militarism.

Many, and one knows not how many, are waiting for another "*Tag*." "In the *Schloss*," they say, "a new *Kriegs Herr* will lodge. . . In twenty-five, fifty, a hundred years he will lead out another army, weaponed with the might of hate and hurled forth by the spirit of vengeance."

Slowly but surely the hope of an age of peace is waning. As the Allies move the occupation forward, one sees too few signs of hope among the war-weary people.

"We must teach our children that we were betrayed by words and not conquered by arms, that we were humiliated and starved by our merciless enemies; we must train them for vengeance." One hears that, with ascending emphasis, the further the Allies march beyond the Rhine; and it will become the belief in Germany, if justice is not tempered with mercy and good will.

THE University of Berlin has grown reactionary, and the older men have lost faith in the future, standing as they are in the midst of chaos. American Anthropological scholars know the founder and curator of the *Natur Wissenshaftliche* Museum, Professor Von Luschan—a genial, sunny soul, in spite of the fact that most of his life has been spent digging for skulls, of which he has secured and accumulated some ten thousand. He was always gracious, and now is more so, mellowed by misfortune. He led me thru Asia, and Africa, the latter his especial pride. He showed me negro sculpture and bronze castings, and then step by step thru his discovery that the use of iron came from Black Africa into Egypt.

We walked for two hours thru the loot from ancient civilizations, which once were Babylon and Tyre. Then came his "swan song" for the departed glory of scientific Germany. "Now lawyers and saddlers rule the country. They have no regard for culture." His collection of skulls has been bought by America, his library is being scattered; in a year he must retire because [*Continued on page 597*

# The Landing of the Pilgrims 1920



*Being the story told in pictures of a score of girls who, by right of possession of the old names that were signed in Bradford's book, came together from all parts of the country to re-live as far as possible the experiences of their ancestors of the "Mayflower" —voyaging to Provincetown on Cape Cod in a "Mayflower" of their own, the catboat "Romp," and camping and tramping there for five weeks of free adventure, in proud and pioneer independence of fashion and convention and the luxuries of life*

"They had now no friends to welcome them . . . the season it was winter. . . . Besides what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness full of wild beasts and wild men?"

*—wrote Gov. Bradford*

"The children of the Cape were there to welcome them. They were as free from fashion as when Gosnold, Captain John Smith and Myles Standish set foot on Cape Cod"

*—records the Log of Romp in 1920*



"The same day, as soon as we could, we set ashore 15-16 men, well armed to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with"

*Pilgrim Diary—1620*



"We went ashore as soon as possible to see the Cape and to get a view of the village and the harbor"

*Pilgrim Diary—1920*



"So they set forth three sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night"

*Pilgrims—1620*



"And we cooked our supper on the Atlantic shore. 'A man may stand here and put all America behind him'—Thoreau"

*Pilgrims—1920*



"Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven"

*Bradford*



"The next day being Sunday they crossed Uncle Tim's bridge to church"

*Clarke*



"The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast"

*(Written by an English poetess who never saw New England)*



The unspoken fun of tobogganing a rockless cliff to the sandy beach where the waves roll high

*Pilgrims—1920*

"And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to bless their outgoings and incomings, for which let his holy name have praise forever, to all posteritie"

*1620 Pilgrims*



"At the end of the summer they returned to their city homes thankful for all they had learned of the Pilgrims and Pilgrim Land"

*1920 Pilgrims*

# The Vacation Mind

## By Preston Slosson

SOME people cannot take a vacation at all. This applies not only to the man who must work all the time at his trade, but quite as much to the man whose temperament or social code forces him to work at something else when the office or shop is closed.

Let us take the case of Mr. Jones. He is an ambitious man and something of an athlete and he goes for a vacation in the mountains. This is an admirable start for a vacation, but Fate has fitted an arrow to her iron bow and soon it will stick quivering in his breast. As soon as he reaches Smither's Inn at the foot of the Blue Rabbit Range he learns that another tourist has broken the world's record by climbing to the peak of Grimmerhorn and back again in twenty-three hours, forty-six minutes and seven seconds.

The ambitious soul of Mr. Jones takes fire. He whets his alpenstock, summons his guides, overhauls his equipment and starts before daybreak. Frantically he climbs over broken pine boughs and boulders. The noonday sun pours down on him in undimmed brilliance. He slips amid the ice covered slopes near the summit of that well known mountain. He sinks exhausted on the top and pulls out his spy glass to enjoy the view. But in another minute he pulls out his watch. No time for idle sightseeing if he is to beat the record! Already he is thirteen minutes behind schedule. Down he starts, resolved to make up for lost time.

Did you ever try to go down a mountain in a hurry? Then you will pity Mr. Jones. The only easy way to go down a mountain at record speed is to jump off the top on the steepest side; if you try to *climb* down, it is better to make haste slowly. Scrambling, sliding, slipping, tumbling, he at last reaches the bottom. He is happy. He has clipped eight minutes and two seconds off the record. But he has not had a vacation.

Mr. Smith's tastes were for old clothes and an old farm; chicken dinners and the hay field. But he is married; his wife wants to "keep up with the Joneses" (not the above mentioned Jones who went mountaineering, but a cousin who lives in summer at Seaside Cottages, Millionairehurst). Mr. Smith shares the social ambitions of his wife and daughter, tho he does not enjoy the late evening entertainments and the damp sea air gives him a cough. Martyr-like he goes thru the social ritual of dancing, dining and dressing with his secret yearnings all the time for a fishing pole and a country brook. He scores a great social success. But he has not had a vacation.

Mr. Robinson, like Mr. Jones, is a man of active and athletic tastes. But he has been overworking on Wall Street and the doctor orders "a complete rest" and says all sorts of things about what will happen to his heart if he exerts himself. So he moves out to the quiet farm where Mr. Smith wished to be. Yawning the weeks away he wanders along the brook with rod in hand or lies in the hammock fanning away the mosquitoes. The rest restores his health. He has had an excellent medical treatment. But not a vacation.

Mr. Jones may have been right in putting a world's record ahead of idle play; Mr. Smith may have been right in attending to his social duties; Mr. Robinson was very probably right in taking the rest cure on the doctor's advice. But, granting all that, their vacation time was still in reality work time. One can work at making money, or at athletic sports, or at social climbing, or at getting well or at anything else. Whatever is done for the sake of some object outside itself is work.

Now a real vacation, if you can get one, consists of play. Play is the opposite of work. Play is whatever is done for its own sweet sake. If you build a fire to warm yourself or to cook a dinner you are at work. If you build a bonfire because you like to see sparks redden against the sable background of the night you are at play. If you dance to improve your waistline or to learn a new step you are working. If you dance because you "just can't make your feet behave" when the orchestra starts you are playing. If you go fishing to catch fish you are as much at work as if you were building bridges or writing editorials to make money. If you go fishing in the true fisherman's spirit you won't care much whether they bite or not.

The vacation mind is a law unto itself. If it enjoys an occupation it keeps on while the enjoyment lasts, tho every fiber of the tired body may be shouting "quit!" If it ceases to enjoy an occupation it stops at once, tho it create consternation all around. If you have forgotten how to play watch a little child; a child too young to take games with conscientiousness. Watch him, engrossed in some occupation, call out "do it again" until his weary playmates have taken refuge in flight and he is left to continue his exhaustless sport alone. Watch him also stop in the very middle of a tennis game and try to balance the racket on his nose. That strange thing which those who like it call "liberty" and those who disapprove of it call "whim"—that is the inmost essence of the vacation mind. A real vacation is a trip into a fairy land where the natives never heard of duties or obligations and the only law is "Do what you *really* like; not what other people like, or what you think you ought to like, or what you are supposed to like, or what you try to make yourself believe that you like."

### *A Driftwood Fire*

#### *By Bernice Lesbia Kenyon*

*Remember how you piled the driftwood high*
*Upon the sand that night? The silence swept*
*Down with the darkness, and a slow fog crept*
*Upon us from the sea, and stood close by,*
*Walling us in with quiet; till your spark*
*Made all the hidden magic that had slept*
*In dead dry timbers wake, so that it leapt*
*In the clear flame, and shattered all the dark!*
*Then were all colors of the changing sea*
*Set forth in fire,—and suddenly we knew*
*In our small vision all the tyranny*
*Of storm,—and the far calm of placid blue,—*
*And in a breathless moment, we could feel*
*The vast sea-monsters move against our keel.*

## The Non-Existent Masses

IN the recent Italian elections the Communists or Bolshevists polled fewer votes than either of the other two Socialist factions and made no showing at all in comparison with the bourgeois parties. Yet Italy has a democratic franchise, a very impoverished proletariat, high taxes and high cost of living and every other factor which can aid radicalism at the polls. This is one more proof that Bolshevism has no popular following worth mentioning in western Europe. Even in Russia the Bolshevist dictators have never dared appeal to the people even by holding an honest and free election on the basis of their own limited, gerrymandered and indirect franchise system. The revolutionists appeal to the "masses," but they actually represent a very tiny mass of people indeed.

# Madame Curie and Her Gram of Radium

## By Edwin E. Slosson

SHE seemed small and insignificant as she stood beside the stately President, before what the Washington papers —in their customary way—called "the most distinguished assemblage that had ever gathered in the East Room of the White House." A tired-looking, gray-haired, plainly dressed, sweet-faced and sharp-eyed woman, looking like a Kansas farmer's wife, one of the pioneer type who had carried the homestead thru drought and grasshopper years and brought up a fine family of children.

Only some such experience as this puts this expression of limitless patience and calm determination and tried competency on a woman's face.

President Harding spoke at length and eloquently, reviving an exploded theory of the external source of radium's energy in order to lead up to a compliment for its discoverer.



*International*

**Madame Marie Curie**

Madame Curie expressed her thanks in brief and perfunctory phrases, speaking good English in a low and timid voice. She was wearied with travel and hospitality. Her right hand was lamed by overmuch shaking. It seemed that each of the hundreds of Americans who had been privileged to grasp her hand had tried to express his admiration for science and France by the strength of his squeeze. She could not have carried away with her the gram of radium which President Harding had presented to her in the name of the American people who had bought it for her. A gram is not so much, only about fifteen grains. Many of us have taken fifteen grains of quinine at a dose and this amount of radium could be put into smaller capsules because it is heavier. But Madame Curie, even if her hand had not been disabled by her American admirers, could hardly have picked up the casket whose key the President had delivered to her. For inside the polished wooden case was a heavy leaden box. The precious salt was distributed in a number of small sealed glass tubes, each enclosed in a thick lead tube. This is to prevent the escape of the deadly emanation, the heavy luminous fog that is given off continuously by radium—the most energetic form of matter known to man.

Niton, "the shining one," it is appropriately named. Radium in eruption shoots out at rapid intervals atoms of helium, charged with positive electricity, projected with one-fifteenth the speed of light and a million times the energy of a rifle bullet of the same weight. This gram of radium is firing off thirty billion such bullets every second. But these are the heaviest, slowest and least penetrating of the three kinds of radiation emitted by this magical metal. The stream of negative electrons travels almost as fast as light and will penetrate a metal sheath a hundred times as far as the former, while the third radiation, waves of the x-ray type, will penetrate more than a hundred times farther than the electron stream. Such a bombardment of infinitesimal projectiles at almost infinite velocity will corrode the flesh against which it strikes—that is why radium is used to destroy cancerous tissue. An extremely minute amount of a radio-active salt will suffice to illuminate our watch dials and keyholes.

Radium passes thru seven stages in the brief period of its eruptive activity. The last of these, Radium F, is polonium, the first of the radiant elements discovered by Madame Curie and named by her in honor of her native country, then in eclipse but restored to the map by the Great War.

Lead is the corpse of radium. It is the dead matter left after the escape of these very fiery particles of radiant energy; cold, inert and unchangeable. Half of this gram of radium will have disappeared in 1690 years, and practically all of it in 10,000 years—no matter how safely kept or tightly imprisoned. Without haste and without rest it decomposes into common lead, helium gas and electrical energy. Or—to turn the statement backward—all the radium in the world must have come into existence since man first appeared on the earth. It is younger than the human race.

The parent substance is uranium, the ultimate element, the ninety-second and last of the series in the order of their atomic weights.

In 1896, Becquerel, a French chemist, found that a piece of uranium ore wrapt in paper and laid on a photographic plate in a dark room would make an impression on it the same as light. That is, here was a mineral giving off dark rays capable of penetrating paper or wood like the x-rays that Röntgen had just discovered. On this hint of the existence of an unknown radiant element Professor Pierre Curie and his Polish bride set to work to find it. It was a tedious and difficult process. Tons of rock had to be ground and dissolved and precipitated and filtered and redissolved and reprecipitated and refiltered over and over again, following thru it all that fraction which by its increasing radio-activity betrayed the presence of the unknown element.

This epoch-making investigation was carried on in a laboratory such as one of our new-hatched Ph. D.'s would despise to consider; a narrow room with a kitchen table and a stove.

After some years of such labor they were able to make a joint report to the French Academy of Science, announcing the isolation of a pure salt of a new metal which they named radium.

There has been some discussion recently as to whether Professor or Madame Curie deserves the greater credit for the great discovery. To raise such a question is to dishonor both by implying a rivalry where coöperation was conspicuous. Pierre Curie had proved his ability as an investigator before he met and married Marie Sklodowska. She

has proved her ability as an investigator since he was killed by being run over by a dray on a Paris street in 1906. But they did their best work when they lived and labored together. Professor Curie refused to accept any reward that did not include his wife, whom he said was equally deserving of the honor. So the Nobel Prize, the Davy Prize and Osiris Prize was awarded to them jointly. It was a professional partnership as well as a marriage and such are coming to be common in modern times. They gave to the world two elements, radium and polonium, and two daughters, Irene and Eve, who sat beside their mother during the White House ceremony.

On the following morning Madame Curie formally opened the new cryogenic laboratory of the Bureau of Mines. She was looking more tired and bored than before. Even the presentation of a large bouquet of red and white roses, the Polish colors, and the delivery of a Polish address of welcome failed to arouse her from her indifference.

But when she caught sight of the big lump of carnotite on the table her face became radiant. Her eyes were fixt upon the mineral as tho fascinated, and when Dr. R. B. Moore, of the Bureau of Mines, explained that this was the finest piece of radium ore ever discovered and that it was to be given to her she reached out her arms for it with the eagerness of a mother for her baby. She cast aside the flowers carelessly and insisted upon holding the heavy specimen upon her lap and interrupted the proceedings while she questioned Dr. Moore about its analysis. All trace of weariness and ennui had vanished.

Another specimen was presented to her for its historic significance. It was part of the first shipment of Colorado carnotite sent to Pennsylvania in 1898 to be worked for vanadium. That it also contained radium was unknown, so more than a gram of radium was lost thru ignorance.

America has been the largest producer of radium. Probably the total world output of radium from 1900 to date amounts to 160 grams, of which about 120 grams have come from America. Of course not all this is still in existence. Some has been used up in making luminous paint. Some has been lost in medical treatment, altho, properly handled, there would be no loss, since only the radiation is employed. The war was wasteful here as everywhere.

We may assume that not more than half the radium salts that have been prepared have been lost or used up, so that the total amount in existence is about 80 grams. To get a gram of radium some four hundred tons of ore has to be worked up.

America also leads in the production of helium, one of the decomposition products of radium. This is the lightest gas next to hydrogen and, unlike hydrogen, is not inflammable. It would then be an ideal gas to fill balloons, since the lifting power would be almost equal to hydrogen and there would be no danger of explosion. So during the war American chemists undertook to produce this rare gas in sufficient quantity for aeronautical purposes and were so far successful that helium, which before 1917 cost $2,000 a cubic foot, is now five or six cents a cubic foot.

In the separation of helium from the other gases with which it is mixed as it comes from the wells, refrigerating machines are necessary such as are used in liquefying air. It was for such low temperature operations that the new laboratory has been opened in the Bureau of Mines. As Madame Curie pressed the button that set the liquid air machine in motion she said:

"I dedicate this laboratory to the cause of science and humanity."

The two words here conjoined are significant and—let us hope—prophetic. "Science and humanity," when science and inhumanity have been partners for the last seven years! If the governments of the world would spend a thousandth part as much on science for the promotion of peace as they have spent on science for the promotion of war this world would be happier.

## A Suggestion

COLONEL Harvey declares that we must never, never enter the League of Nations. If he feels so strongly about it why not compromize? Let the rest of us enter and Colonel Harvey stay outside.

## Capitalist Bad Manners

WAGES are coming down; probably they must come down. Employers are not to be blamed if owing to a depressed market they cut expenses, since the only alternative would be to shut up shop altogether. But they might at least refrain from taunting the unions with their helplessness and from taking advantage of widespread unemployment to assume an arrogant tone toward labor. A great deal of recent press comment and not a little recent legislation seems to have back of it a certain vindictiveness, a desire to punish the men who went on strike so frequently in the days when work was urgent and men were scarce. But, granted that the labor unions sometimes abused their power, there is no excuse for the corporations in turn repeating the same mistake. Trades unionism has come to stay, and those who aspire to restore the old relationship of the "boss" and his "hands" are playing a short-sighted game.

# From This Side of Death

## By Franklin H. Giddings

*"Ah, now I was to know the great secret. For forty years I had been wondering, wondering. Often I had said to myself that I should summon to my mind when this moment came some words that would be somewhat a synthesis of my philosophy. . . .*

*" 'Lead, Kindly Light' was all the gospel I had. I accepted."*—From Franklin K. Lane's dictation on his death-bed.

MANY years ago a brilliant specialist in nervous disorders, when not much over forty years of age and in the fullness of his powers, was fatally stricken with pneumonia, which swiftly ran its course. A few moments before the end, and when barely able to make himself heard, he said, "I wish I could tell the thoughts of a dying man."

It is doubtful whether real "thoughts" of a dying man conscious of impending death as certain rather than merely possible, have ever been told. Deathbed phrases are innumerable and often admirable, but they are not in general enlightening. Like the laconic remark of the surgeon who said, "This is the end of me," when he cut himself while operating on an abscess, and quietly went on with his work until he had finished it, they reveal character rather than discovery.

The statement left by Franklin K. Lane to his intimate personal friends is no exception to the rule. Deeply interesting as it is, and in details unusual, it adds nothing to our knowledge. It reveals a profoundly human character, modest, sincere, courageous, admirable and likable, but nothing more.

It was written (or probably dictated) after a surgical operation when the patient was surprized to find himself alive, but was expecting then to recover, and it gives us his remembered reflections as he faced the possibility, but by no means the certainty of death.

There is not much in these reflections that can be used for hortatory purposes by those evangelical religionists who insist that confident belief in conscious personal immortality and in a specific way of salvation are necessary for dutiful living and serene dying. Mr. Lane was sustained by no such faith. Still less did he have, on the contrary, any pride or obstinacy of unbelief. He seems to have been a quite sincere and unpretending agnostic. The

great secret was for him literally the great secret. Thru death he might learn and know, or he might not. He could not even fortify himself with the apothegm of Socrates, that "no evil can befall a good man," because, as he confessed, "it involved a declaration that I was a good man, and I don't know anyone who has the right so to appreciate himself."

The conclusion of the whole matter for himself, therefore, was that "perhaps the best statement of my creed could be fitted into the words 'I accept,' which to me meant that if in the law of nature my individual spirit was to go back into the great ocean of spirits my one duty was to conform."

This creed is not new. It is possibly the oldest as it is the simplest and almost certainly the commonest one that men have lived by and died by. Rougher characters have expressed it more tersely, for it is neither more nor less than the creed, "Do your bit and take your luck," with which men have subdued the wilderness, crossed the desert, stood at the throttle, gone down to the sea in ships, exposed themselves to contagion, and faced death in battle.

That this simple agnosticism is repellent to men who eagerly accept the traditional theologies or the pretensions of spiritism is no reason for thinking meanly of it. It has the quality of elemental things, among which courageous truthfulness is not the least. Men who live by it neither boast of it nor conceal it. They tell frankly when asked, but they rarely proclaim, and never obtrude.

# Hughes, Harding or Harvey

## By Hamilton Holt

COLONEL Harvey has put his foot in it. In his first public appearance in England he has not only gone President Harding one worse in repudiating the existing League by repudiating every "commission or committee" appointed by it, but he tells the British people that America entered the war not to destroy autocracy or to save democracy or to serve humanity, but "solely to save the United States. . . . We were afraid not to fight. That is the real truth of the matter."

Unless Colonel Harvey is rebuked by his superiors for these statements, the country must assume that he is voicing the policy of the Administration not only because he is an Ambassador but because he represents the United States on the allied Supreme Council. If this be the case, certain conclusions follow:

In the first place Mr. Hughes must have radically changed his views on the League of Nations since the election. For in his lucid analysis of the Covenant made before the Union League Club just after the first draft of the Covenant was published Mr. Hughes was in favor of America's going into the League if seven suggestions he made were adopted. All of these suggestions were embodied in the revised draft of the Covenant by President Wilson except Mr. Hughes' proposal to exclude the guarantee in Article X. But now the Allies would gladly eliminate Article X, as everybody knows, if the United States would accept the rest of the Covenant.

Moreover, Mr. Hughes joined with thirty other eminent Republicans last October in an appeal to the voters of the country to elect Mr. Harding on the theory that he would enter the existing League, modified to meet America's objections. He assured them that Mr. Harding would follow that course.

If Secretary Hughes still holds these publicly expressed views he cannot be in a very happy frame of mind today. In that case he should take warning of the predicament in which ex-Secretary of State Lansing eventually found himself when he publicly supported his President in a policy which he privately disapproved.

If Mr. Hughes, however, now approves of discarding the present League and all pertaining thereto he should make the fact known to the public.

But whatever the course of Secretary Hughes, the friends of the existing League can now hope for little from President Harding. If Colonel Harvey is correct, Mr. Harding has not only thrown the whole League overboard, but he will have nothing to do with the great international Court of the League created largely by the genius of Elihu Root; he will take no part with the League in discussing universal disarmament; he will not even coöperate with such beneficent agencies of the League as those now trying to improve conditions of labor, to wipe out the white slave trade and the opium traffic, and to promote international commerce, science, hygiene, and Red Cross work.

So be it. Then it is squarely up to the President to make concrete suggestions for a better Association. So far he has done nothing, tho the question has been before him as Senator, Presidential candidate, and President for over two years.

We cannot wait much longer. The world is on the verge of revolution, famine and pestilence. Mr. Harding must choose between the pro-Leaguers in his Cabinet whom he made, or the bitter-enders in the Senate who made him. The decision must be made reasonably soon. If not, all friends of the League must organize so as to capture Congress in 1922 and the Presidency in 1924. They must tread the path of the opponents of slavery, who continued fighting even tho election after election went against them.

Nearly all the Democrats and more than half of the Republicans—a clear majority of the American people—want the United States to enter some kind of an Association with enough teeth in it actually to lessen the probabilities of war. They can win if they unite.

As for Colonel Harvey's insult to his countrymen whom he charges fought and died in France for only the most selfish and sordid motives, I beg leave to quote the following passage from one of John Masefield's lectures given before many American audiences during the dark days of 1918. That great Englishman knew that Britain was fighting for something much more than her own safety.

> "I know my nation's faults," he said, "as well as I know my own. They are the faults of a set and of a system. They are faults of head, they are not faults of heart. When I think of those faults I think of a long graveyard in France, a hundred miles long, where simple, good, kind, ignorant Englishmen by the thousand and hundred thousand lie in every attitude of rest and agony, forever and forever and forever. They did not know where Belgium is, nor what Germany is, nor even what England is. They were told that a great country had taken a little country by the throat, and that it was up to them to help, and they went out by the hundred and the hundred thousand, and by the million, on that word alone, and they stayed there, in the mud, to help that little country, till they were killed.
>
> "I've been along many miles of that old line, and seen those graves, many of them not even marked, except by a bayonet, or a bit of packing case, and I've thought, as I went along, what epitaph could be put above that unending graveyard, and I could only think of one epitaph. 'These men came here of their own free will to help their fellow men in trouble.'"

The American soldiers, also, went to France "to help their fellow men in trouble." The American Ambassador has traduced his countrymen.

## The Voice of Sanity

THE Pope has done honor to himself and to his mighty Church by his plea for peace and a settlement by agreement in Ireland. It should be plain to all by now that Ireland has not the military resources to break away by main force from the British Empire, and it should be equally plain that methods of repression will never make the Irishman a willing subject of British rule. Where neither side can win, a "peace without victory" is the only possible peace. The words of truth and soberness from the Vatican should find an echo in London, Belfast, Dublin, Cork—and New York.

# The Story of the Week

## British to Police Silesia

OWING to the acute situation in the plebiscite zone of Upper Silesia the British have decided to aid the Italians and the French to keep order. The British have complained that the French were opposing no serious resistance to the Polish insurrection; the French complained in turn that the British had furnished no troops to help the French army of occupation keep order. Both contentions are now answered by the despatch of British soldiers from the Rhine to Silesia. If the French lack the will to keep the country quiet the British can take up the task which they neglected; if the French had the will but lacked the power, they now have reinforcements.

What provoked the sudden British decision was the fact that German patience under the Polish invasion broke at last—it was a fragile patience at best—and German soldiers began to enter Upper Silesia from the west at the same time that Polish troops crossed the frontier in the east. The French were angry, with the Germans and with the British. With the Germans, because they believed that the German counter-invasion of the plebiscite zone had the secret support of the German Government. With the British, because Premier Lloyd George had hinted at the possible use of German forces to quell the Silesian insurrection in case the Allies were unable to do so. The French press clamored for an immediate invasion of the Ruhr to punish Germany for entering Upper Silesia. Premier Briand did not want to take this step, being a man inclined to moderate measures and aware that public opinion in Italy and in Great Britain would not under the existing circumstances support a French occupation of the Ruhr district. So he contented himself with warning the German Government to stop the counter-invasion.



*International*

**General Korfanty, the Polish leader in Upper Silesia, who has announced that he will permit the Allies to take over the line now held against the Germans**

Germany took the same stand that the Polish Government had formally taken. It might be summarized in some such terms as these: "We quite agree with everything you say. It would be quite wrong to send official aid to our distressed fellow-nationals in the plebiscite zone. We would not dream of doing anything of the sort, and we are doing all that is humanly possible to close the frontier. But we cannot control the natural sympathies of our people who in spite of all orders are joining with the natives of Upper Silesia to resist foreign aggression." It would be wrong to leap at once to the cynical conclusion that either Poland or Germany or both are guilty of duplicity and are not permitting the left hand to know what is being done by the right. For all that is yet certain both Governments may be sincerely striving to keep the peace. But what is beyond question is that many German and Polish veterans, whether with the permission of their respective rulers or against their will, are throwing themselves into the broil. What is gained by the official attitude of Germany and Poland is that what is already a war of peoples is not yet a war of nations. Germany and Poland are at peace, whatever Germans and Poles may do as individuals.

In the meantime Upper Silesia is suffering from all the consequences of a civil war. Food supplies are halted and industrial districts brought to the brink of famine. Bolshevism is beginning to play a part in the situation, for the Polish miners regard a war against the German mine owners as a class struggle as well as a national one. Korfanty, the Polish leader, announced that while he would not surrender any ground to the Germans he would permit Allied troops to take over the line now held against the Germans. Not much importance has been attached to his offer, however, because some regard it as a shrewd bid for diplomatic recognition of the Polish insurgents and others who give him credit for sincere intentions think him no longer able to control his followers. The Germans have had some success in beating back the Poles, but the greater their success the greater the danger of an open war between Germany and Poland or between Germany and France. Nothing but an Allied army of occupation sufficiently strong to keep both Poles and Germans in awe can restore peace.

Another essential is a prompt settlement of the boundary by the Allied Supreme Council. Altho the United States is represented on this body our representative will take no part in the discussion of the question because Secretary Hughes has expressed the official opinion that "the settlement of such boundary disputes as arise in the matter under consideration is a matter of European concern in which, in accord with the traditional policy of the United States, this Government should not become involved." Of course, if the Silesian situation should become a menace to the general peace of the world the American Government would doubtless regard it as a matter affecting American interests. The meeting of the Supreme Council to fix the new German-Polish frontier was postponed for several days to give Premier Briand opportunity to obtain a vote of confidence from the Chamber of Deputies.

## Riots in Egypt

ON May 22 there was a serious race riot in Alexandria as a result of which thirty-seven persons were killed and over 150 injured. Several fires were started and there was a good deal of looting and general disorder. The police and the native soldiers were eventually able to control the situation without directly involving the British army of occupation in the struggle. The riot began in a slum row between Egyptians and Greeks and altho it spread into a general demonstration against all foreigners nearly all of

the victims were either native Egyptians or Greeks.

The disorders in Alexandria have an importance extending beyond the immediate occasion. Ever since the heavy hand of martial law was lifted at the end of the Great War, Egypt has been in a national ferment. This has been due in part to resentment at the formal establishment of a British protectorate over Egypt during the war and its confirmation by the Treaty of Versailles; in part to Mohammedan chagrin at the downfall of Turkey, and in part to popular feeling against the somewhat arbitrary actions of the British military authorities during the war. The Mission headed by Lord Milner to investigate the Egyptian situation recommended that Egypt be recognized as an independent and sovereign nation and that the protectorate be abolished, the British Government retaining the right to keep an army to protect the Suez Canal and to control by right of a special treaty the foreign policy of the Egyptian Government. Zaghlul Pasha, the nationalist leader who had represented the popular cause before the Milner Mission, became a popular idol and returned to Egypt in triumph.



1914



*Berlin Lustige Blaetter*

1921

WAR AND PEACE

But trouble was in store. The British Government refused to commit itself to the Milner program and announced simply that it would open negotiations with the native Government over the future constitution of Egypt. Adly Pasha, the Prime Minister, refused to appoint Zaghlul Pasha head of the Egyptian delegation and a split in the nationalist ranks resulted. The more moderate Egyptians supported the Ministry of Adly Pasha, but the radicals rallied around Zaghlul and refused to consider any negotiations with the British except on condition that the abolition of the protectorate be conceded in advance. In this vexed and uncertain situation public feeling was readily inflamed and riots were frequent.

The Egyptian situation resembles in many ways the nationalist movement in India. The national feeling in both cases was stimulated by the war and by the world-wide revolutionary impulse that followed the war, and in both cases the Mohammedan element finds a special grievance in the partition of the one remaining independent Mohammedan Power, the Ottoman Empire. The popularity of Zaghlul Pasha parallels the popularity of Mahatma Gandhi in India. In both countries the British Government has been attempting to quiet agitation by introducing a measure of home rule.

## Pope Urges Irish Peace

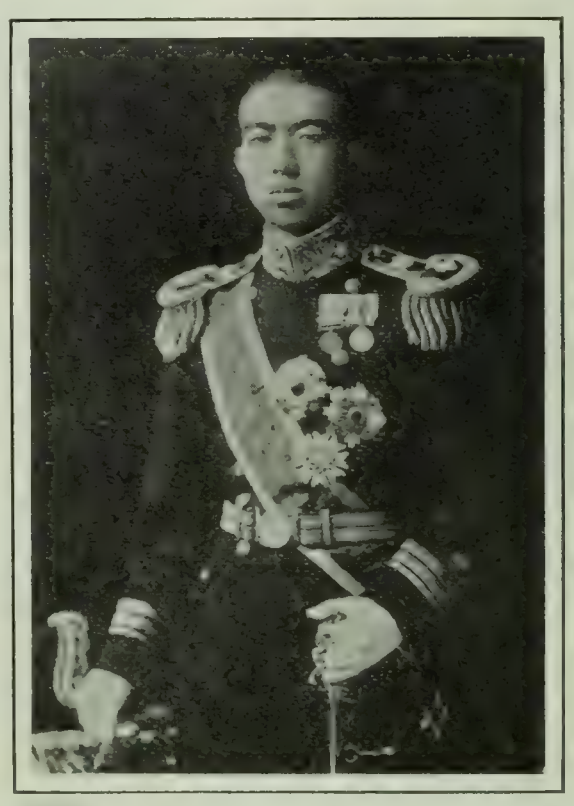
THE latest development in the Irish situation is the intervention of the Pope, not in behalf of either side, but to halt the conflict as a friendly neutral. Pope Benedict's letter to Cardinal Logue, Primate of Ireland, declares that "While we are filled with anxiety in regard to all nations, we are most especially concerned about conditions in Ireland" where so many un-Christian outrages were being committed by both sides. The letter declares it "the deliberate counsel of the Holy See . . . to take sides with neither of the contending parties," but that such neutrality "by no means prevents us from wishing and desiring, nor even from praying and beseeching the contending parties, that the frenzy of strife may as soon as possible subside and a lasting peace and a sincere union of hearts take the place of this terrible enmity." Then comes a practical suggestion for another Irish conference or convention:

> Mindful, therefore, of our apostolic office and moved by charity which embraces all men, we exhort the English, as well as the Irish, to calmly consider whether the time has not arrived to abandon violence and treat on some means of mutual agreement. For this end we think it would be opportune if effect were given the plan, recently suggested by distinguished men as well as distinguished politicians, that the question at issue should be referred for discussion to some body of men selected by the whole Irish nation.
>
> When this conference has published its findings, let the more influential among both parties meet together and having put forward and discussed the views and conclusions arrived at, let them determine by common consent on some means of settling the question in a sincere spirit of peace and reconciliation.

There is precedent for Pope Benedict's action in the appeals made by both Pope Benedict and his predecessor, Pope Pius, to the belligerent nations in the Great War; urging them to cease fighting and make a peace by agreement. These appeals had no effect, even on such Catholic nations as Austria and Italy; it is to be hoped that the appeal for peace in Ireland will meet a more favorable response.

## Reds Defeated in Italy

THE outstanding result of the elections of May 15 was the defeat of the Socialists and Communists. The elections of 1919 left the Government without any secure majority and divided the Chamber of Deputies into three main groups: the coalition of parties supporting the Government, 189; the Socialists, 170; the Catholic or Popular party, 100. There were also some minor groups, usually in opposition. Under such circumstances a ministry had to make its way from one crisis to another by compromizes and opportunist expedients; it could not really *govern*. Premier Nitti tried it for a while, but was forced to resign. Then stepped into power the one man in Italy who was adroit enough to meet the needs of the hour, the wily veteran of Italian



*Adachi*

**The imminent visit to Europe of the Prince Imperial of Japan is an event of merely sociable interest until one understands that this is the first time a crown prince of Japan has ever traveled outside the Japanese Empire. This fact gives the event a deeper significance, as marking a general tendency away from the ancient isolation and exclusiveness. Prince Hirohito has already reached England, and it is said that the Prince of Wales, as one who knows from experience, intends to "show him a good time"**

politics, Giovanni Giolitti. Premier Giolitti's policy was to give the Socialists endless rope in the confident expectation that they would hang themselves.

They did not fail to do so. Riots all over the industrial parts of Italy, attempts to seize the factories, disorderly scenes in Parliament provoked popular anger and reaction. Bands of conservatives and nationalists called Fascisti were formed as a sort of bourgeois Ku Klux Klan or vigilance committee to repress radical violence by methods of "direct action." The Socialists also had trouble within their own ranks. They were already divided into two parts, a large group of official Socialists who held to orthodox Marxist doctrine and a much smaller group of "reformist" Socialists who had violated Marxian orthodoxy by supporting the national cause during the Great War. At the Leghorn party conference a more serious split occurred. The question of adhesion to the Third International (the Bolshevist organization for the world revolution) divided the main body of Italian Socialism into a Socialist faction, continuing the old traditions of the party, and a Communist faction which is affiliated with Moscow and proclaims as its goal the dictatorship of the proletariat.



*L'Asino, Rome*

**Reaction: "It is a pleasant surprize to find working for me and for the traitor Giolitti the youth of 1915"**

The popular reaction against radicalism, the split in the Socialist party, and the settlement of the long standing boundary dispute with Yugoslavia by the Treaty of Rapallo, all strengthened the ministry and encouraged Premier Giolitti to dissolve Parliament and hold a new election with good hope that he might obtain a working majority in the new Chamber of Deputies. As the event showed, he had seized the right moment to appeal to the people.

Considerable disorders accompanied the elections. A "casualty list" of sixty-three killed and over two hundred wounded is reported. Most of these election disturbances were clashes between the reds and Fascisti. About half of the people entitled to vote took part in the elections. This is somewhat below the American average, but is high for Italy, where a large part of the population is usually quite indifferent to politics. The heaviest vote was cast in the newly acquired territories taken from Austria.

Early returns indicate that the coalition of parties supporting Premier Giolitti has obtained 266 seats. The largest opposition group is the Socialist, with 125 seats. The Communists obtained only fifteen. The Catholics maintained their previous strength without much change, winning 106. Former Premier Nitti has a little group of personal supporters and there are also small groups of Reformist Socialists, Radicals and Republicans. Of the twenty-seven Deputies from the new provinces, seventeen were Italians, six Slavs and four Germans; corresponding fairly closely to the division by nationality of the inhabitants of the annexed territory.

About half the Chamber will be "Constitutionalist," that is to say allied with the coalition supporting the present ministry. On most issues the smaller groups will also support the Government and even the Catholics are not uniformly in opposition. The Socialists and Communists are sure to be hostile, but they are also sure to be outvoted now that they have lost so many of their representatives. The Giolitti Government has thus attained its object of establishing a stable rule; at least so far as electoral majorities can give stability. But the longevity of coalition Governments is uncertain at best, and some new crisis may rend asunder the present political groupings. In particular, the new members most strongly under the influence of the Fascisti will be very critical of the Government if it flirts with Socialism or makes what they consider undue concessions to radical labor.

The Fascisti are also strongly nationalistic and patriotic and some of them are slow to forgive Premier Giolitti for advocating neutrality in the early days of the Great War.

# The Passing of Two Great Americans

ON May 18 Franklin Knight Lane, for seven years Secretary of the Interior, died in a hospital at Rochester, Minnesota. Early the following morning Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the United States, died in Washington. Death could hardly have taken from the nation two more popular and familiar figures among the veteran servants of the Federal Government.

Justice White was born in Louisiana in 1845. This is more than an item of biography, for his nativity had a double effect on his subsequent career. It meant that as a lawyer he was trained in the legal code of Louisiana, which, unlike that of the other forty-seven states of the Union, is French and not English in origin. It meant also that he was a Democrat in politics and a sympathizer with the southern cause in the Civil War. In fact, he saw active service for a time as an infantryman in the Confederate army. After the Civil War he practised at the Louisiana bar and won distinction by fighting the Louisiana lottery. From 1891 to 1894 he represented his State as Senator. This brought him into touch with national affairs, and in 1894 President Cleveland appointed him to the Supreme Court. In 1910 President Taft made him Chief Justice. It was creditable to the greatness of both men that a President who was a Republican, a Unitarian, a man of northern traditions and antecedents, should have promoted to the highest judicial office a Democrat, a Catholic, a former Confederate soldier.

Secretary Lane, like Chief Justice White, was a Democrat, but his party creed did not come from Louisiana. He was born as far away from Louisiana as an American could be, in Prince Edward's Island, Canada. Altho his parents moved to California while he was a boy his foreign birth kept him from aspiring to the Presidency. Shortly before his death he gave a characteristic account of his early career as a Far Western journalist:

> I have seen death come to men in various ways, some rather novel and Western. I once saw a man hanged, and I have seen several men shot and came very near going out that way myself two or three times, but always the other fellow aimed poorly. I was being shot at because I was a newspaper man and I should have been shot at. There must be public concern in what is printed, as well as its truth, to justify it. That is something that newspapers should get to know in this country.

Mr. Lane was Democratic candidate for Governor and for Senator, but was unsuccessful in both instances. In 1905 President Roosevelt appointed him to the Interstate Commerce Commission, where he served with great distinction until President Wilson made him Secretary of the In-

terior. He fought and worked zealously for conservation and won much favor by his tactful dealings with Indian tribes. During the war he was active on the Council of National Defense and he acted as Chairman of the National Industrial Conference. He was commonly spoken of as the ablest member of President Wilson's Cabinet. In leaving office he made a remarkable statement on the needs of the civil service. The Federal service he said was "rich in brains and character. It is honest beyond any commercial standard. . . . But it is poorly organized for the task that is before it. Fewer men of larger capacity would do the task better." His personal philosophy is well summed up in a statement made at the last crisis of his ilness:

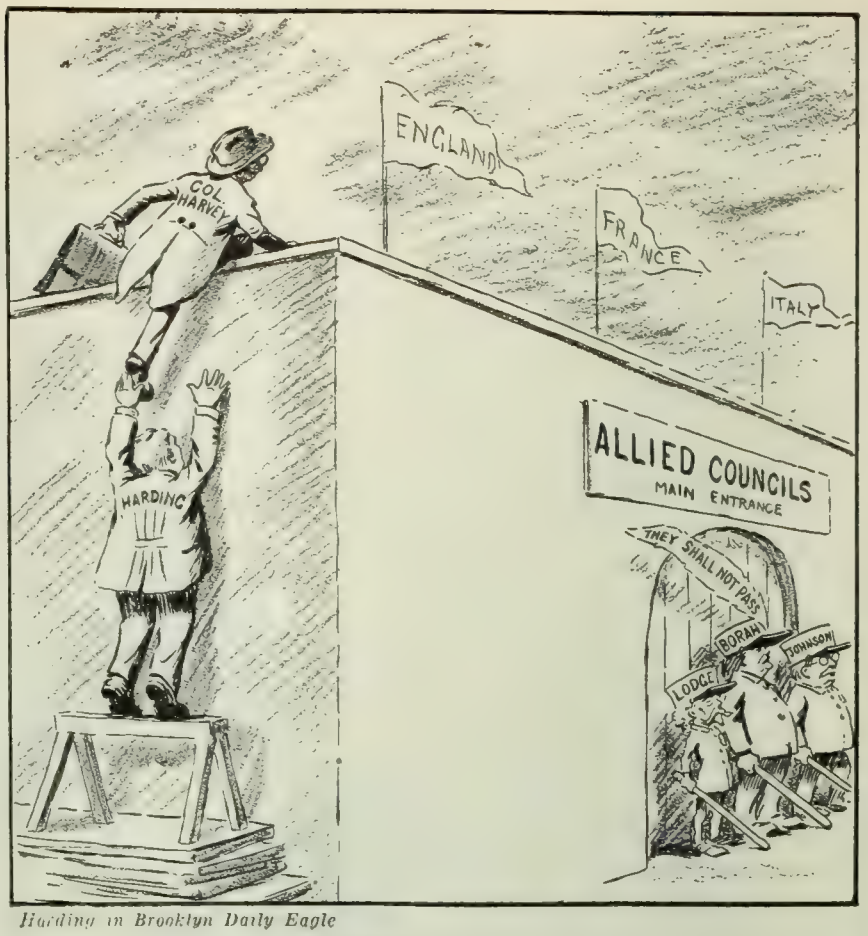
Socrates said to those who stood by after he had drunk the hemlock, "No evil can befall a good man, whether he be alive or dead." I don't know how far from that we have gone in these 2400 years.

The apothegm, however, was not apposite to me, because it involved a declaration that I was a good man, and I don't know any one who has the right to so appreciate himself. And I had come to the conclusion that perhaps the best statement of my creed could be fitted into the words "I accept," which to me meant that if in the law of nature my individual spirit was to go back into the great ocean of spirits my one duty was to conform. "Lead Kindly Light" was all the gospel I had. I accepted.

# The Harvey Doctrine

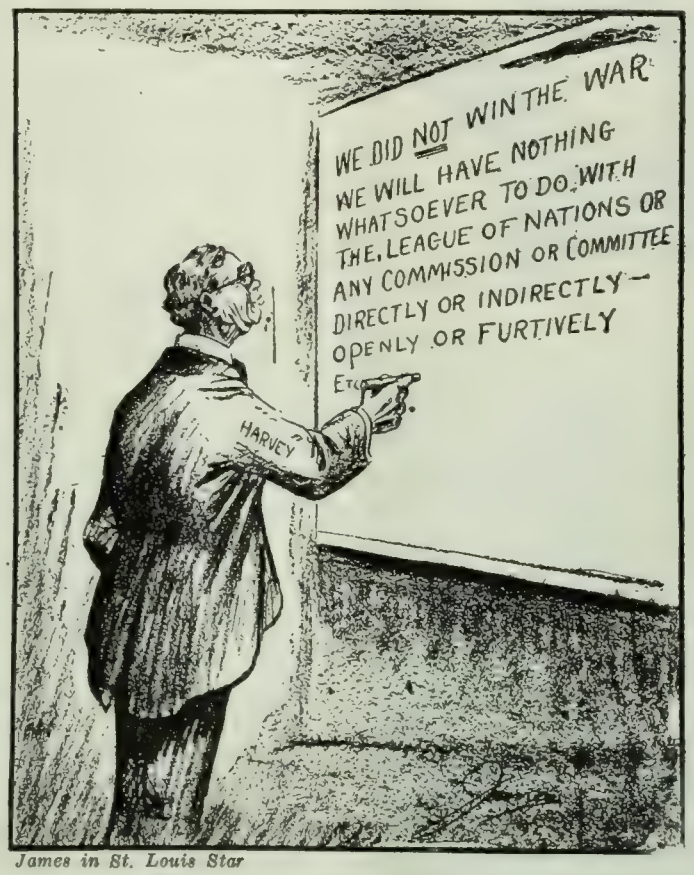
WASHINGTON and London are eagerly discussing the speech of Ambassador George Harvey on his assumption of his official duties at the Court of St. James. Most of his address was devoted to the friendly relations which exist and should exist between the two great English-speaking peoples. While this was very gratifying to the Ambassador's hosts, it did not provoke any particular surprize or comment, save perhaps in extreme Sinn Fein circles. But a diplomatic speech often contains beneath its sugared commonplaces a powerful dose of national policy and it is for this reason that the speech of an Ambassador is studied with care. As Ambassador Harvey was also the American representative on the Supreme Council of the Allies—we may now say of the Allied and Associated Powers — any official statement which he made on current issues was sure to have the utmost importance attached to it.

The expected declaration of policy was not lacking, tho some were surprized at its uncompromizing and almost defiant phrasing.




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**Slipping one over**




*James in St. Louis Star*

**The writing finger still moves**

The policy declared was the total repudiation of the League of Nations:

There still seems to linger in the minds of many here the impression that in some way or other, by hook or by crook, unwittingly, surely unwillingly. America may yet be beguiled into the League of Nations. Let me show you how utterly absurd such a notion is.

I need not recall the long contest waged between the two branches of our Government over this proposal. I need hardly mention that the conflict became so sharp that even the treaty went by the board, to the end that today, paradoxically enough, America continues to be technically at war but actually at peace, while Europe is nominally at peace but, according to all reports, is not wholly free from the clash of arms.

Finally, the question of America's participation in the League came before the people, who decided by a majority of seven millions. Prior to that election there had been much discussion of the real meaning of the word mandate. There has been little since. A single example provided a definition. A majority of seven millions clearly conveyed a mandate that could neither be misunderstood nor disregarded.

It follows, then, that the present Government could not, without betrayal of its creators and masters, and will not, I can assure you, have anything whatsoever to do with the League or any commission or committee appointed by it or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively.

The implications of the last phrase would debar the United States from participation not only in the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations, but even from the International Court, organized with the advice of Mr. Elihu Root; from the Labor Conference, such as that which met at Washington; from such special commissions as that which determined the Aland Islands case, of which former Ambassador Elkus was a member. If Mr. Harvey really speaks the mind of the Administration it would appear also that the idea of an association of nations built out of the timbers of the existing League has also been abandoned and that the irreconcilables of the Senate have therefore won a complete victory over the reservationist majority, the platform of the Republican convention in 1920, and the individual position formerly taken by such Republican leaders as Harding, Hughes, Hoover, Root and Taft.

It may be, however, that the "Harvey doctrine" somewhat overstates the official position of the Administration.

# Some New Diplomats

PRESIDENT Harding, himself a journalist, is showing a partiality for journalistic appointments. George Harvey was given the post of Ambassador to Great Britain. The Italian post now goes to another well-known journalist, Richard Washburn Child, who is the editor of *Collier's Weekly*.

Mr. Child is a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of

Harvard; a writer of several books and of numerous essays. During the Great War he acted as assistant to Frank Vanderlip in war finance work. He succeeds President Wilson's appointee, Robert Underwood Johnson, and carries on the tradition that the United States is represented at Rome by a man of literary attainments.

Jacob Gould Schurman is named Minister to China. He is one of the great figures of the educational world, having been president of Cornell University from 1892 to 1920. He was president of the first American Philippine Commission. In 1912 he was Minister to Greece and to Montenegro. He has also been active in politics as a strong adherent of the Republican party. Several books, mainly on philosophy, stand to his credit. Some politicians opposed his nomination as Minister to China on the ground that he was alleged to be too friendly to Japan, but evidently President Harding disbelieved this or thought it unimportant.

## Harding for Economy

PRESIDENT Harding in a recent visit to New York City made two important speeches on the financial position of the nation. In an address before the Academy of Political Science he emphasized the fact that "Government, to a greater extent now than ever before, is under obligation to give the greatest service for the lowest possible cost." He said that it was more difficult for public than for private business to maintain efficiency because the Government was not subject to the stern tests of competition, but that "Every principle and device which promotes efficiency in private business should be adapted and applied in Government affairs." He expressed the hope that the budget system would be enacted into law before the opening of the new fiscal year and that in its operation the budget would lead to other administrative reforms as "It is hardly conceivable that a proper budget system could be established and carried on for any considerable time without forcing attention to the evils and effecting the reform of many deficiencies in the present system." He promised drastic retrenchment in the civil service and a reduction in the number of Federal employees. "Nothing is easier, in a Government establishment, than to continue in existence offices, positions, employments, once they are created. . . . There must be utter sacrifice of all sympathy for the placeholder whose real reason for keeping his position is that he wants the salary." Rigid economy would not, he admitted, be the easy and popular course, for "the Administration which devotes itself relentlessly to such work must understand that it will lose a good deal of immediate loyalty on the part of a certain class of politicians, which will not be compensated to it at once in the appreciation of the public; for the public will not have the deep, immediate interest or the active concern, which will animate the person who finds himself being pried loose from the purse strings."

In another address, made at a dinner in honor of the one hundred and twenty-fifth birthday of *The New York Commercial,* President Harding spoke of international finance. He expressed the opinion that it was unfortunate that the United States had become a creditor nation of Europe thru the economic dislocations of wartime, as even if there had been no war the United States would gradually have become a creditor nation thru natural economic development. Gold was now flowing too rapidly to this country and "would be more useful to us in the vaults of great banks abroad, where it would be the guarantee of the gold standard and of those fair exchanges which are vital in international trade. I feel strongly that the protection of the gold standard is one of the great obligations which peculiarly appeals to us." He hinted, somewhat vaguely, at a new plan for funding the indebtedness of the Allies to the United States. "The exigencies of war compelled the Government to take, by taxation, much wealth from our people to be loaned to our Allies. This is the basis of their obligation to us, and it is not a good form in which to hold the obligations of one people to another people. It is altogether to be hoped that in a reasonable period we may change the form of these obligations."

## Of Interest to the Postman

PRESIDENT Harding has issued an executive order modifying the system of appointing postmasters for first, second and third class offices. Under an order from President Wilson the candidate standing highest in his civil service examination obtained the post. Under the new system the President may select any one of the three candidates who stand highest in the examination and who otherwise meet the qualifications required of postmasters.

There are more than 400,000 employees of the Federal Government who work subject to the provisions of the civil service law. Among them are 39,443 postmasters of the fourth class. The general rule of the civil service is appointment from among the three eligibles who stand highest in the required examinations; and the avowed intention of the new executive order is to bring the system of appointments for first, second and third class postmasters into harmony with the general civil service system. Seven hundred first class postal officials, 2617 of the second class, and 9582 of the third class are affected by President Harding's order.

Some criticism has been heard of President Harding's modification of President Wilson's order on the ground that it makes possible a certain amount of party favoritism. By giving the executive discretion in selecting postmasters from among three candidates it would obviously be possible to favor Republicans against Democrats, whereas it was impossible under President Wilson's order to favor Democrats as against Republicans. But, on the other hand, President Harding has taken a forward step in urging that Congress enact a law extending the civil service system to cover first, second and third class post offices instead of only the fourth class as at present. At present the regulations governing the first three classes of the postal service are based on an executive order only, and might be revoked at any time or by any President. It would, for example, have been within President Harding's power to have revoked the Wilson ruling altogether, instead of slightly relaxing it, and thus have opened these grades of the postal service to unlimited spoilsmanship. An Act of Congress, on the contrary, affords absolute protection.



*International*

**"Chinatown" is not all chop-suey for up-town Anglo-Saxons (and others). At just about the time when the rest of New York was getting ready to appreciate its parading policemen, a big crowd of New York Chinese was holding a quite self-sufficient parade, thru Chinatown to City Hall, in honor of China's new President, Dr. Sun Yat-sen**

# North, South, East, West, Choose the Place That You Like Best



*Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Railway Co.*

**The extremes of civilization's luxury and nature's scenic splendor meet at Lake Louise, where the great Chateau with its perfect appointments nestles between the turquoise lake and the snow-capped mountains**



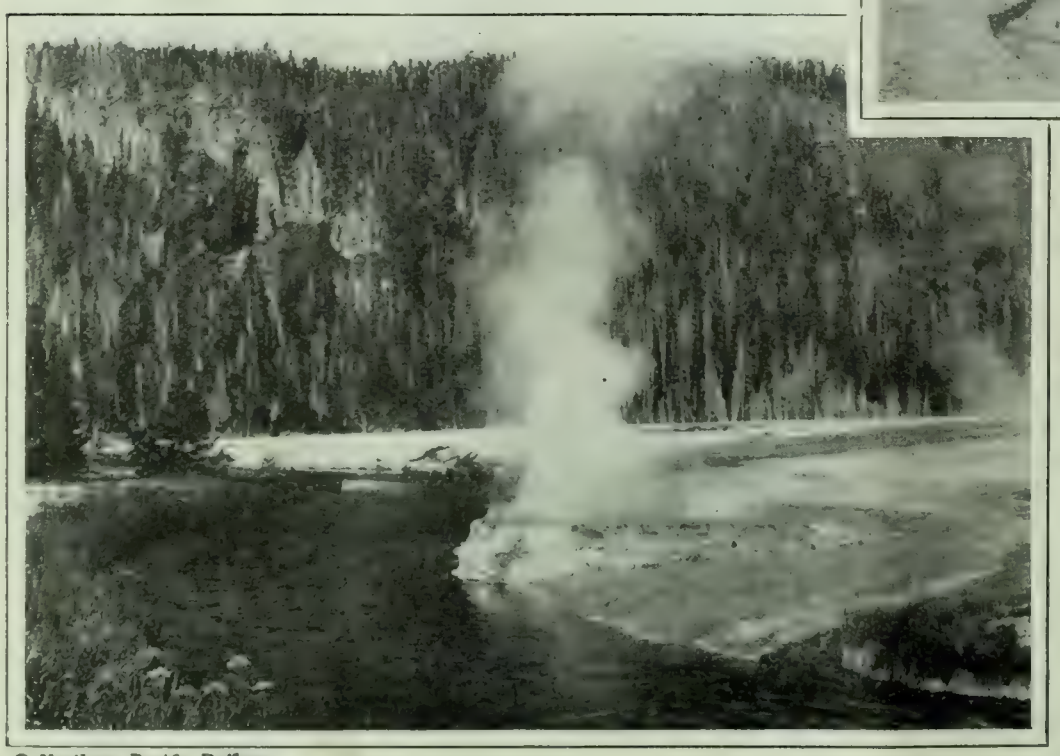
*Courtesy of Bermuda and West Indies Steamship Lines*

**Bermuda spells sunny leisure and colorful charm, with an all-the-year-round appeal for the "tired business man." It has sight-seeing, too, if you like, among old ruins as picturesque as some of Europe's show places. And it never, never lets its atmosphere be tainted by the ultra modern poison of speed**



*© Fred M. Kiser, Portland, Ore.*

**If you want to use your snowshoes in July or August, go West, young man, to Glacier National Park. "Up along the hostile mountains, where the hair-poised snow slide shivers" there is plenty of primitive adventure to be had for the seeking. And more samples of "the matchless beauty of the great out-of-doors" than can be found, perhaps, in any other one place**

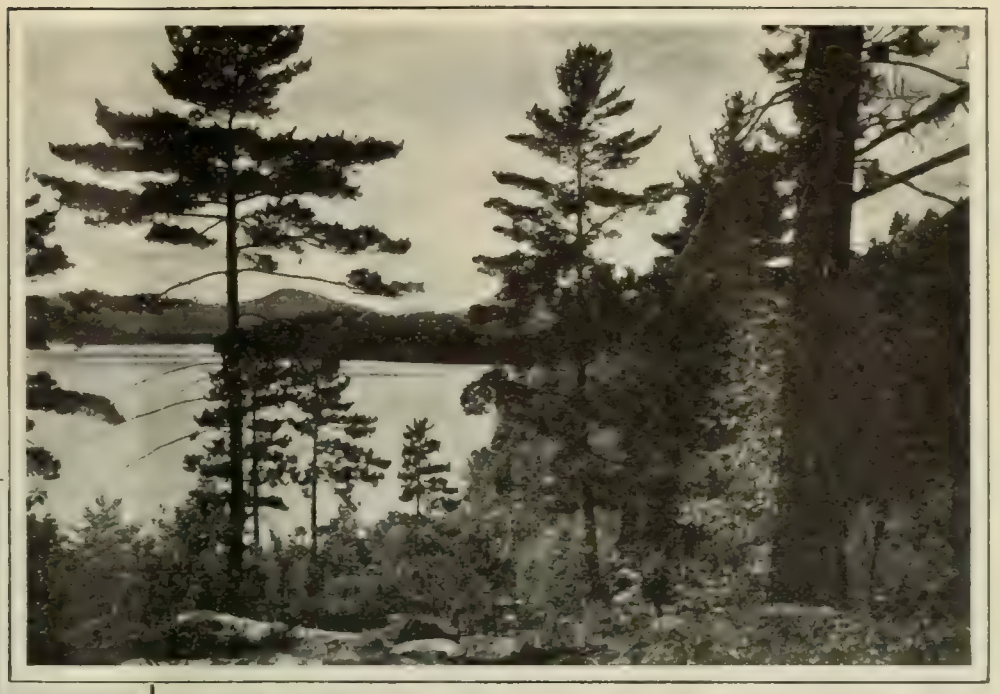


*© Northern Pacific Railway*

**The geyser at the left spouts a welcome to visitors to Yellowstone, the dean of our national parks. The 3350 square miles of territory in the park itself were made a Federal reservation in 1872, and about 2000 square miles of forest reserve were added to it by Presidential proclamation in 1891. Yellowstone is in the very heart of the Rockies; the Continental Divide crosses it, so that waters of the park flow to both the Atlantic and the Pacific**

*"Who hath smelt wood-smoke at twilight?*
*Who hath heard the birch log burning?*
*Who is quick to read the voices of the night?*
*Let him follow with the others, for the Young Men's feet are turning*
*To the camps of proved desire and known delight!"*

—From "The Feet of the Young Men," by Rudyard Kipling. Copyright Doubleday, Page & Co.



*Brown Brothers*

**Lake Placid lives up to its name in this pleasant sunset picture of the pines at the edge of the water. There is just a glimpse of the encircling Adirondacks in the distance**



*Photograph by Antoinette Perrett*

**You can almost smell the salt tang of the Massachusetts coast in this picturesque view of a corner of Gloucester harbor, with a couple of fishing dories tied up at the weather-beaten wharf. Tho the sea gives Gloucester its predominant charm there are other attractions, too—cool woods and long stretches of excellent motor roads, to say nothing of golf and tennis and such**



*Courtesy of the Hudson River Day Lines*

**One of the most beautiful pieces of scenery in the United States is less than forty-five minutes from Broadway—up along the Hudson River. This glimpse of the river's winding was photographed from one of the boats that make daily trips**



*Photograph by Frank Hallenbeck, for the Burlington Route, Chicago*

**The man standing in the lower right-hand corner of the picture doesn't look like much in comparison with the majestic rock at the left!—part of the promontory that guards the entrance of the Big Thompson Canyon motor road to Rocky Mountain National Park, one of the many natural "show places" by which Colorado draws visitors from the world over**



*© Underwood & Underwood. Courtesy of the Cunard Steamship Co.*

**This summer—for the first time since 1914—your vacation plans may turn to Europe, and count on finding all the pre-war pleasures of transatlantic travel. Steamer lists are crowded at every sailing; the photograph above shows part of the crowd on the New York pier seeing the "Aquitania" off**

# A Little of Everything



## From the Forbidden Country

Often before, missionaries returning from far-off countries have brought back costumes, weapons and implements which have thrown light on the customs and culture of the people who had made them. And now again a missionary—the Rev. H. B. Marx, for sixteen years attached to a Moravian mission on the Indian side of the Tibetan border—brings such a collection—large and rich in variety and interest. Thru funds provided by Mr. J. P. Morgan, the collection has been secured for the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, and has already been placed on exhibition and examined by many visitors.

There are over 230 pieces in the new Tibetan collection, and they cover probably every phase of the life of Tibet. There are native costumes—the men's consisted of a small hat trimmed with artificial flowers, long woolen gown, shawl and belt, coarse woolen trousers and shoes with heavily felted soles. The women's civil dress is much the same, but includes great brass pins and silver filigree ornaments set with turquoises and coral.

Colors are recognized as symbolical In some parts of Tibet there are three, in other parts five colors recognized as symbols; yellow for the earth, blue for the water, red for light and warmth, green for the wind, and white for the clouds, or heaven.

The five colors are used in the elaborate costumes of the "Devil Dancers," and in the masks used in the ceremonies for driving away demons. Of these, "Todgam," the five-skull mask, is especially celebrated and sacred. The five skulls surmounting the mask are supposed to be the skulls of slain enemies, trophies of the Devil Dancer, who represents a warrior of the old Tibetan mythology. Regalia made of human bones, carved elaborately; "potted lamas," made of clay and crushed lama bones; lamaistic rosaries of shell; amulets and charms against bad dreams and fears in the dark, sickness, and the snow-leopard and wolf; prayer-wheels and sheaves of prayer-leaves; Buddhist idols; dice for use in divination; sacred temple banners; these are among the religious objects collected by Mr. Marx. Supplemented by what we know of Tibetan religious practices they invoke a striking picture of the sacred temples, the pilgrimages and sacrifices, the self-inflicted mortifications, and the great religious communities in which the lamas, living thousands strong as in a vast, barbaric monastery, carry on their weird traditions and ceremonies.

Of weapons there are in the collection daggers and sabres, ancient bows and arrows, and poisoned implements of war and the hunt. And there is a heavy Tibetan gun, with its attached rest on which the Tibetan always supports it when firing. The spark for shooting off the gun is struck from the tinder-box. Here also belongs the imitation skull, trimmed with artificial teeth and long hair, in which the warrior catches the blood of his slain enemy, which he drinks to gain new vigor for the fight.

In his calmer moments the Tibetan's savage breast is charmed by the strains of his primitive guitar and three-stringed banjo, the double flute of reed or bamboo, and the oboe which is particularly the instrument of the beggar.

And for his enjoyment he has fashioned pipes for smoking tobacco (both dry and cooled thru water) and opium.



*American Museum of Natural History*

**The last word in fashions in Tibet is this demon-chasing costume with five symbolic colors: Yellow for the earth, blue for the water, red for light and warmth, green for the wind, and white for the clouds**

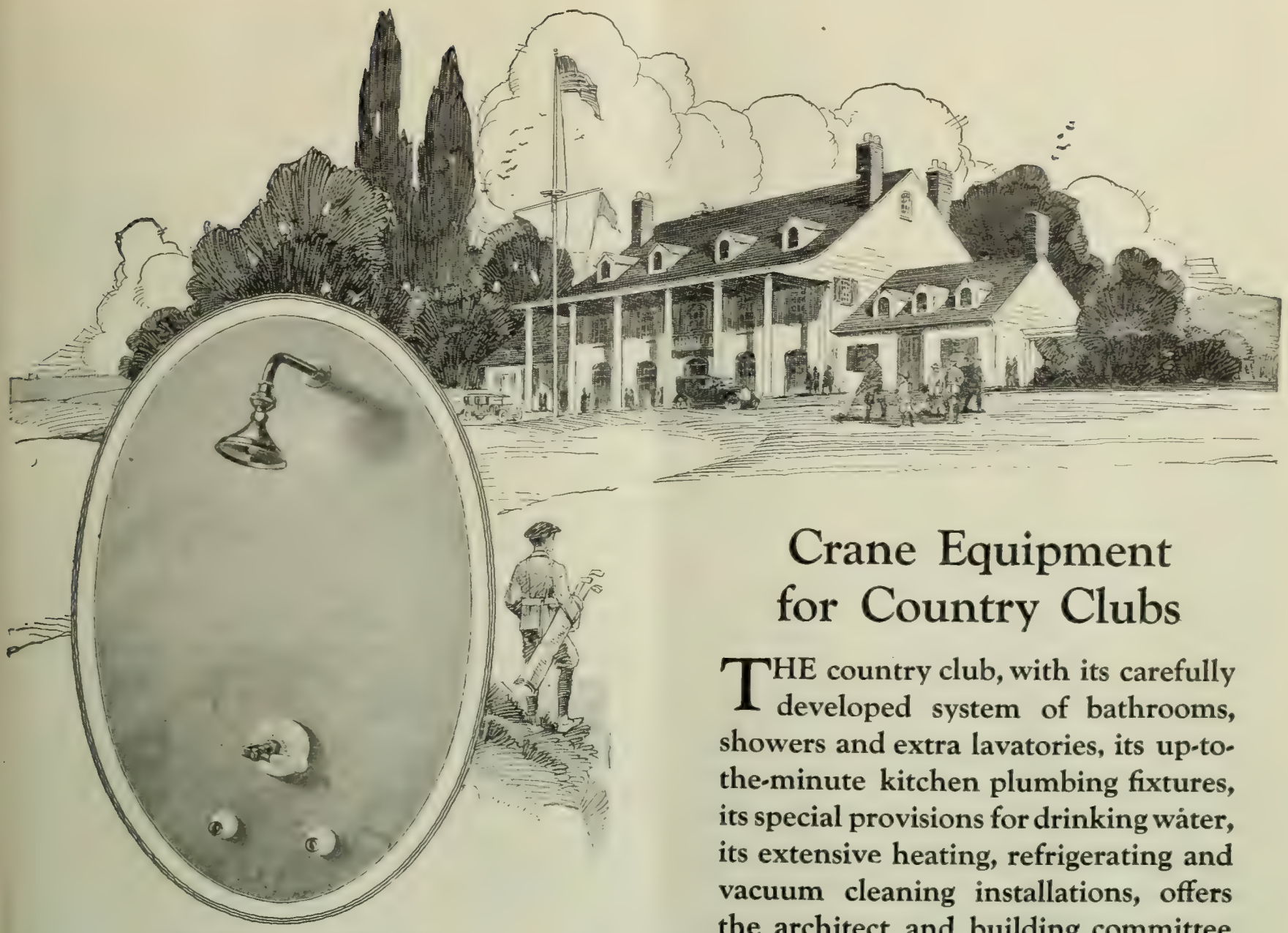
## Cocoons and the Weather-Man

The well-known Swiss scientist, M. A. Pictet, has made an extended series of experiments showing the effect of the weather upon the opening of the cocoons of moths and butterflies. The data discovered and published by him are most interesting and obviously of great significance in agriculture, since hundreds of thousands of the farmer's worst enemies spend a portion of their lives in the cocoon phase. It was found that in most varieties of insects the emergence of the pupa from the cocoon coincides with the fall of the barometer, and that a relative increase of the internal pressure within the cocoon is a necessary factor in the escape of the insect from its prison. When there is an increase of the atmospheric pressure during the entire time of this dormant stage of the pupa, or

**A dagger representing a thunderbolt and a colorful tea service are only a few of the collection of barbarous and beautiful articles from Tibet on exhibition at the American Museum of Natural History**

*American Museum of Natural History*





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even during the latter half of this period alone, the duration of the dormant stage may be extended from 10 to 20 per cent. Furthermore, when the emergence of the insect is too long retarded, the pupa perishes in the cocoon.

A fall of a single millimeter of the mercury in the barometer tube was found to be enough to cause the opening of the sufficiently mature cocoons, while, on the other hand, an increase in the atmospheric pressure postponed the coming forth of such insects for as much as two, three, or even four days until the barometer fell once more.

## Robin Hood's Forest

If you don't expect California redwoods, or an African jungle, or even just ordinary New England "woods," Sherwood Forest, where—if you can remember back to your childhood—Robin Hood and his friends held forth, is one of the most delightful forests on earth. It covers, vaguely, about thirty square miles of the county of Nottinghamshire. Actually, as a part of that larger region known as "the Dukeries," the forest has mostly been smoothed and combed, gardened and parked and landscaped into a succession of beautiful estates. Fine things have been done with trees, such as only the English can do. Most obviously a feat is a drive several miles long with a double row of perfectly matched lime trees on either side; so that before you and behind you the drive curves away between smooth, full interminable banks of unbroken green. On another estate there is a most beautiful triple avenue, like the nave and aisles of a church, of giant aged beeches. For once, you find reality in that traditional likening of a wood to a cathedral, as you look thru glooming arched distances where the sun filters as richly thru the loose flung levels of the beech foliage as thru old glowing windows. But all this is not Robin Hood's forest.

You come on it at last, the few acres that are left of the original oak wood—a quiet, open, sun-and-shadow glade,



The Major Oak, whose hollow trunk, according to tradition, can shelter "six-and-twenty soldiery"

with sun-dappled paths winding between grassy reaches where stand the oaks, hoary, gnarled, fantastic shapes of trees, like oaks in story books.

It is certainly the place where Robin Hood—in green doublet, with a feather in his cap—wandered with his bow and silver horn. It is no surprize—only part of the picture—if you are lucky enough to see a hunt thru the wood—red coats, crying hounds, eager horses and all.

In the middle of the grove, in a wide clearing, stands the Major Oak, the oldest, wisest, most revered of all. You feel that you have made a pilgrimage when you come upon it, propped and mended and tied together in its proud decay, with an ancient, feeble, one-eyed man keeping sleepy watch in the curve of one of the huge spreading roots, waking to take his sixpence and invite you to step inside the hollow of the tree where "once stood six-and-twenty soldiery at a time."

You will like, afterward, to think of those two old things taking care of each other in that quiet old place.



*International*

**A rather frightful, tho apparently usual moment, in the Grand National steeplechase at Aintree, England. Five horses have gone down at the first jump. One horse is literally standing on his head while his jockey picks himself up in another part of the landscape. There were only eight horses in the finish out of thirty-five who started**

## Demi-quavers

The first lunacy laws in England were made in the reign of Edward III.

***

School children of Bulgaria are required to work ten days a year on public improvements.

***

If all the savings bank deposits of the world were equally divided, each person would have $13.58.

***

The outside layer of our skin contains no blood-vessels, altho there are fine nerves where it is thicker.

***

With the going good, an Eskimo dog will draw an average of 300 pounds weight for thirty-five miles in one day.

***

A bill has been introduced into the Turkish Nationalist Parliament requiring all men of twenty-five or over to marry.

***

The Hungarian Government has put poisonous coloring matter in the paper money to prevent rats from chewing the bills.

***

Of 303 American Rhodes scholars graduating from 1904 to 1914, 114 took up teaching as their profession; 72 law; 38 business; 23 religious or social service work; 15 Government work.

***

In Zion City, Illinois, two censors armed with woolen shawls have been appointed to throw them over the shoulders of any woman who enters the Zion Tabernacle wearing a low-necked dress.

***

A colored waiter was arrested in Chicago for stealing two mince pies and was sentenced by the court to eat both at one sitting.

***

Several mountains on the California coast have been discovered slowly moving northward, like glaciers, at the rate of several feet a year. The enormous earth strains thus set up are one cause of the earthquakes.

***

When Ellis Lewis Garrison, Imperial Potentate of the ancient Arabic order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, escorted by the Divan of Affi Temple of Tacoma, Washington, arrived in Shanghai, two hundred novices will be initiated into the Mystic Shrine.

***

The prison population in all the penal institutions in New York State, according to a recent statement by the Prison Commission, for the year ending June 30, 1920, the first year of prohibition, was 59,033, a decrease of 26,142 as compared with the preceding year.

## The Army of Disabled

The International Labor Bureau at Geneva has prepared statistics showing the number of men disabled during the Great War. France leads the list with 1,500,000 soldiers crippled or otherwise permanently injured; Germany runs a close second with 1,400,000. Allowing for the smaller population of France, this means that French industry must support a heavier burden of the incapacitated than German. Great Britain contributes 1,170,000 to the army of the disabled; Italy, 570,000; the United States, 200,000; Czechoslovakia, 175,000; Yugoslavia, 164,000; Poland, 150,000; Canada, 88,000; Rumania, 84,000; Belgium, 40,000. Except for Germany and parts of old Austria-Hungary which are now Allied States, the statistics of former enemy countries are lacking. Russian disability statistics are also wanting. But even without these the army of the disabled reaches the impressive and terrible total of more than 5,500,000.

## Nothing to Lose but Chains

(*Continued from page 581*)

of a new law which sets the time for retirement at sixty-eight years. Then —he will go to Hawaii.

He loved the Fatherland, but that love has been killed, and he will die in exile. As he escorted me to the street, past the golden Buddha and the Bulls of Bashan, I tried to console him by saying that tho everything perishes, the spirit survives. That seemed to be no comfort; but I brought a smile to his face when I promised him a sack of American flour, and I trust that his Easter morning was a little more glorious to him because he could have white rolls with his coffee.

In Berlin North-east, in the workers' quarter, one sees the grey faces of men and women, the opaque pallor of little children, shirtless backs and shoeless feet. There the terror of the past years tells its full story; there, hope, if it lifts itself at all, above the hope of a full stomach, rests upon the proletarian revolution.

I heard one man speak in a crowded hall. He hobbled to the platform on one leg, and as his passion kindled in speaking, the stub of his right arm moved like the bobbed tail of an angry dog; his soldier's coat was patched and repatched and looked like a map of the war zone.

"This they have made of me!" he cried. "The war lords, the profiteers! They have saved their limbs and grown fat and rich, and ride in automobiles, and we are beggars! Our children have to be fed by the Quakers!

"Don't be caught in the net made by their old flags! They are no better than the French and the English; they are of the same class and we are their victims!

"Down with capitalism! If we workers have our way there will be no war lord in the *Schloss*. Some other master of our own electing will rule!"

"Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!"

In spite of misery, crime and rebellion, I found some pleasing and hopeful pictures in the drear grey of Berlin. Germans, coöperating with American and English Quakers in saving the children, are being mellowed by the contact with these gentle folk, and are learning that there is another force than that of brute force. They feel the power of conquering love, and they are wondering whether this is the long denied revelation of the coming Christ.

"Tell us," writes Wilhelm Schaefer, one of Germany's great poets, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "whether this is He, or whether we must wait for another;" and longingly he stretches out his hand to these Christians, who want nothing in return for their labors, not even converts to their sect; only an increase in *good will*.

Here and there one sees young men, students, who go about in simple garb, a soft Schiller collar exposing their throats, hatless, and many sandal-footed, living on simple fare and


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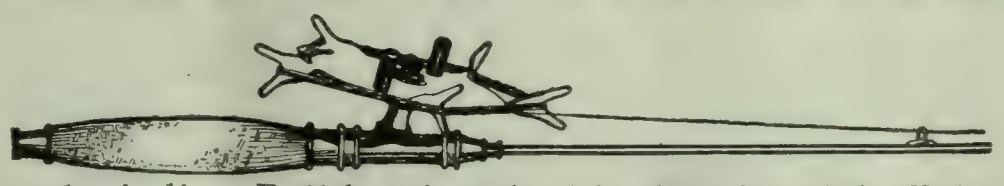
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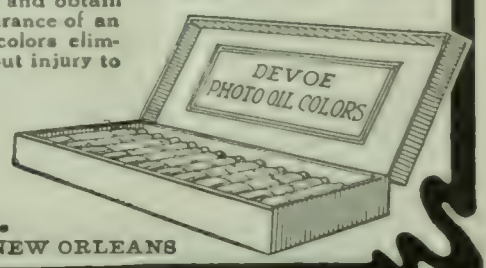
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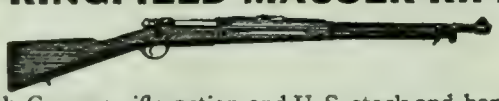
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*EN route* to Berlin I stopped in Essen, which is the birthplace of the "Big Bertha" and all "her sisters and her cousins and her aunts." Father Iron and Mother Coal, the parents, were born, "brought up" and married here, *Meister* Krupp being the priest who performed the ceremony. Of course other things were born here too—pans and kettles, ingots and steel girders, and a very fine system of housing and caring for working people.

Hospitals, recreation halls, and homes for convalescents interested me when I came to see them some ten years ago; not the guns and the pots and kettles.

Then, Essen was black and heavy from sulphur fumes, and lighted up by the flare of open hearths and the flow of molten metal. Endless walls shut in the huge works, and thru the great gates, well guarded, tens of thousands of men passed to and from their work.

I was welcomed then to see the good works—but not the evil. A guide was given me to show what the Krupps were doing for their employee. I saw happy, care-free old men and women, in picturesque cottages, awaiting their release. I saw men recovering from bruises or burns, reclining in easy chairs or playing games.

There were workingmen's homes, inspected and controlled, bronze monuments to labor, and one to the "dear departed" younger Krupp, whose end was veiled in mystery. I walked and talked, wearying my guide, who would have preferred sitting in some inn, drinking a glass of Krupp beer (the beer was also benevolently controlled).

All this I wrote about, and it was printed, and I was well paid for it. "The Kaiser in Berlin," "The Ship Canal in Kiel," "Krupp's Works in Essen." *"Lieb Vaterland Magst Ruhig Sein."*

Now, Essen is raw and cold, the hotel is unheated, the streets are dimly lighted, the flames flare but feebly; guns and cannon are being broken into junk, and locomotives are being turned out by the Krupps at the rate of one and a half a day. That is, when there is no strike, or when the Spartacists are not threatening to blow up the landscape, as they did this very day.

The walls of the Krupp works and the walls everywhere are plastered over by placards, red, white and pink; one over the other. Now a Com-

munistic, then a Socialistic, a German Nationalistic, or over all of them, a proclamation by the burgomaster, counselling against more than two people being together on the streets, and prohibiting all public demonstrations.

Ten years ago hundreds of soldiers or thousands of them, marching down the street, would have created no sensation. A dozen of them now, walking as slowly as a funeral procession, command everyone's attention; for their guns mean real business, and their belts are full of hand grenades. Today they killed thirty people, wounded twice as many, and are ready to shoot again.

Having an appointment with the burgomaster, Dr. Luther, I had to pass the armed guards, who wanted to know my business. I did look suspicious; for my hip pocket was bulging, not from a revolver or a hand grenade, but from my pocketbook, full of paper marks, now worth less than two cents each. I passed sections of barbed wire, more armed guards, and after some minutes waiting and more inspection I was admitted. Dr. Luther was glad to see me. With trembling voice he told me what the coming of the Quakers had meant to him and to Essen. "We know now that there are still human hearts that *are* human.

"Others have come," he said, "French, English and American, to gloat over Germany's misery; but the Quakers said: 'We came to feed your children.'

"They didn't laugh or weep or wring their hands; and three days after their coming they were cooking rice and beans, and cocoa, ladling them out to the little ones."

He knew that the Quakers were merely the tools, *"Werkzeuge"*; that the food was given by American and German-American people. "But it is the way they came and the way they are working which deserves our admiration and thanks.

"Yes, it is no pleasure to be the burgomaster of Essen or of any German city, with bombs and dynamite in the hands of the workingmen, and the dark shadow of the occupation coming nearer and nearer. The French are only a few miles away—tomorrow they may be here—their eyes are upon the Ruhr." We talked over the political situation and he said that he sees no light ahead.

The Kaiserhof Hotel was new to me. It is a gorgeous hostelry with an almost American lobby. A group of American relief workers sat at the dinner-table with two German guests —a poet and the city physician, the latter speaking no English. Edward Moon, the head of the Quaker Mission, speaks a fantastic German. He is indignant (humorously so) over the way he learned his college German.

"Mein teacher taught me Wilhelm Tell und die Lorelei, und ich habe now to know about Umsteigen and Rochen Beans, and I learned about comben mein golden hair," he said, dramatically sweeping his hand over the top of his head, which is as free from hair as his heart is from guile. His wife is a jewel, a Quaker jewel, and we all got on famously with the poet and the city physician. Everyone knows that the Germans are thoro and much given to statistics; but the physician admits that these Americans have made statistics intelligible, and above all else have centered Germany's attention upon the children.

The offices of the Quaker Mission in the *Keramik* House are typically American, with their typewriters, tabulating machines, manifolders, and a something more cheery, homelike and marvelously human. They have atmosphere, a new atmosphere, unknown in the *Bureau* of German Bureaucracy.

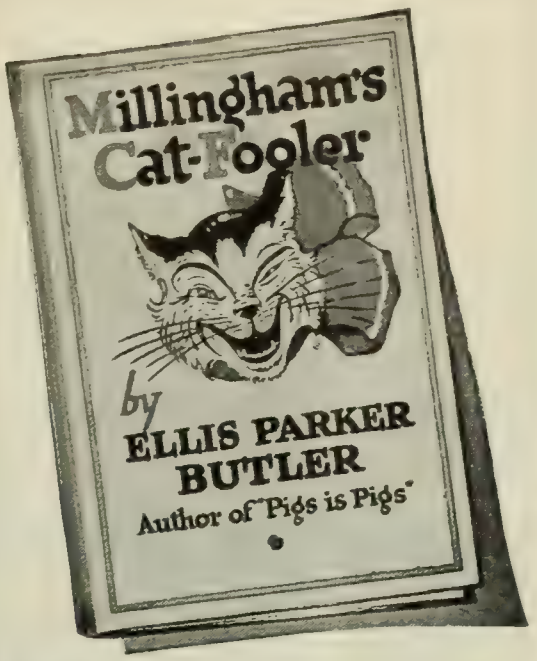
I visited the home of the Moons on the Bismarck Strasse. The widow of a steel master owns it and lives in it in harmonious relationship with these Americans, who were quartered there by the law, which allows just so many rooms to a householder, and commandeers all surplus. In this home thirteen people live where one old couple once lived in pompous splendor. The house is over-furnished, and smothered in bric-à-brac, in the poorest of poor taste. I have never seen such poor taste in America, and we have sinned grievously in that direction. There are grotesque vases, impossible furniture, cabinets stuffed full of nicknacks, and portraits of the imperial family! For the old lady will not be weaned from her loyalty to the Hohenzollerns.

I also visited the home of a radical miner whom I met ten years before. Then he was a moderate Socialist, and he is now the reddest of the red. His home is one room and a kitchen, for five people. His noon meal was a slice of bread with a very thin coating of lard over it, a plate full of potatoes and cabbage mixed, and a weak brew of coffee without sugar or milk. Upon that he has to subsist, working eight hours a day in the bowels of the earth. For what? For whom?

If the home had been dirty and the children had been in rags; if they had begged for money or bread, it would not have been half so pathetic as it was, with the rooms sweet smelling, the children's threadbare clothes clean and neatly patched, the wife's face a marble pallor, like that of a suffering Madonna. The man is a burning torch, ready to consume or be consumed. I could not stay long, hardly fifteen minutes, the room was so tragically chilly. Like a tomb in which living beings had been immured.

"I may die tomorrow," the husband said. "I shall be glad to die; it is better to die than to live."

It does not matter what one's views are upon the question of the reparations. When they are paid, it will not be the Krupps who will feel the burden, or the steel master's widow in that bourgeois home, who will suffer. They will be provided for. It is the miners and the melters of metal, who are now living at the edge of despair, who will be crushed.


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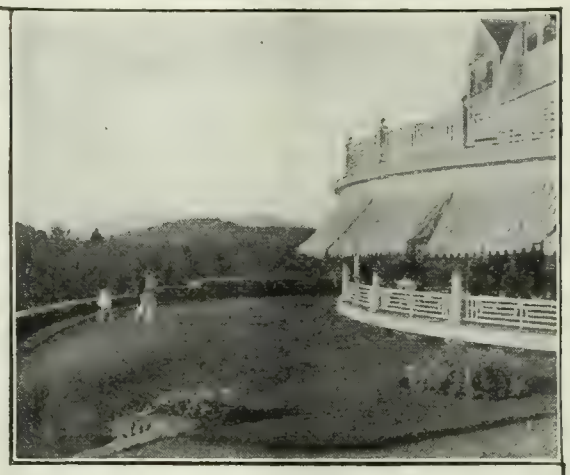

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## "Straight Down to China"

(*Continued from page 580*)

there is ample room for anyone to turn around and walk back. But I didn't know that at the time. In the frame of mind that I was not enjoying at that moment, it was perfectly natural for me to estimate the width of that path at two and one-half inches. In fact, I distinctly remember that some of that hard rock leaned out once or twice and deliberately attempted to shove me off the path. As I said, my idea of the side of a canyon is something to be let strictly alone. In this helpless condition, with nine persons behind and eight in front, and the side of that Canyon jabbing at me, I couldn't think of a thing to do but place myself in the hands of God and that mule and sit tight.

There are people who like to go up on the Woolworth Building and stick their fool heads out the window and look right straight down. It is a sport I never cared for. My stomach is not built for that sort of thing. It has a way of turning over and over and over, and it is not exactly round, I judge, because one end of it commences slapping against my heart and the blood rushes to my head and perspiration comes out on my forehead—well, to make a long story short, I just don't care for it.

But there I was on that mule, all dressed up in my overalls, and no place to go but forward. The descent is at an angle of about forty-five degrees and at intervals of some twenty to fifty yards one turns, or rather, the mule turns and descends again on a new tack. Those turns are a joy. They are so sharp that the mule's head sticks right out over eternity and the mule carefully takes about ten steps in order to get around that turn without falling off. It wouldn't be so bad if the mule appeared to be entirely conscious of the perilous situation and would confide in you about his sentiments. But the mule goes thru all of its maneuvers so absent-mindedly that you wonder if he may not be in love or possibly involved in some business trouble. In fact, his mind does not seem to be on the immediate present at all.

I suspect that I was the most frightened person who ever went down into the Grand Canyon, but it gives me some pleasure to recall that a young man in our party named R. L. Thomas, who is assistant public prosecutor at Youngstown, Ohio, and who took a considerable part in the recent World War, tried to smile at me at one of those turns. His face had a greenish, ashen hue. At first I didn't realize that he was smiling. I thought perhaps he had been poisoned. His mule was of a particularly contemplative nature and had stopped right on that turn and lowered its head to its feet. There it stood and looked down over the precipice. Thomas said, "Mr. Guide, I hope no fool has been telling this mule that he's a diving mule."

We went only a short distance and

found the path covered with snow. The mules had been over it many times so that it was packed hard, but the descent was so steep that our mules' hind feet slipped at every step, usually from three to eight inches. None of them fell down. However, that is a mere incident. It felt like the mule was falling down each time he took a step. Now, I happen to know quite a bit about mules. I knew, for instance, that a mule is the most sure-footed animal that has ever been domesticated. I knew that I was far safer on that mule than I would have been walking, or crawling, because I would never have stood up on that path. I would have sat down immediately. I know that a mule very seldom falls down and I observed that those mules had special shoes which catch in that beaten snow and hold after a short slide. But most of the members of that party did not know that. I don't see how they ever sustained the strain on their nerves. They laughed and joked thru the whole trip. My admiration for them is unbounded.

After we passed the snow, we came to a point where the path was wet with melted snow, and muddy and slippery. That was equally frightening. And then we came to a place where there is not even the slightest outward slope below the path. There is nothing but a sheer drop right straight down to China. At this point, we dismounted and led our mules. Fortunately, the path there is quite wide. Even so, I assumed a crouching position, staying as far as possible from that outer edge.

As one views the Canyon from the rim, the layers of white and red rock appear to be about ten feet high each, but going down the side of the Canyon you pass, of course, each layer. And while I don't know how thick each is, it seems miles.

There are some strange psychological reactions in an experience such as the descent into that Canyon. When I could look out over the edge of the path and see little stunted trees four to ten feet high, growing from the masses of boulders, just below, I was not afraid; and yet reason told me that if by any chance I should fall off that path, those little stunted growths would never save me. And the mule seemed to be in a conspiracy to give all the thrill to be had. The mules like the outer edge of the path. They remain away from the inside whenever they can. One of the mules chose a particularly trying point to stop for lunch. In that absent-minded way that I complained of in a preceding paragraph, this mule had noticed a patch of grass above his head and well out of reach. He turned sideways on that narrow path and reached up for it. One of his hind feet was within an inch of the edge of the precipice. The other hind foot was actually out over the precipice and he was feeling for a place to put it down. There wasn't any place to put it down short of a mile below. And I sat there helpless for five seconds that seemed like a


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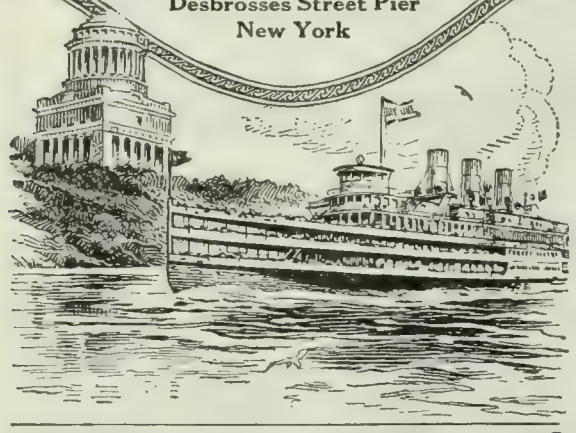
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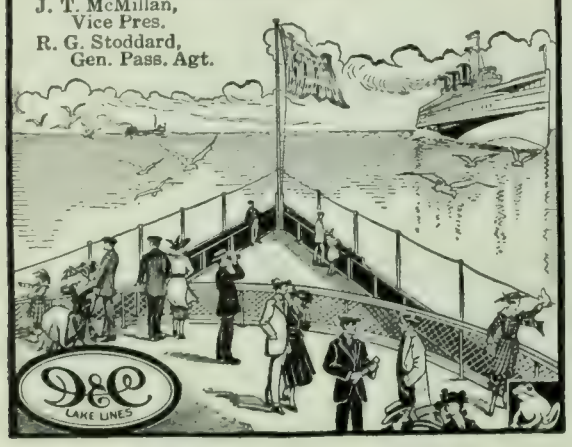
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month, waiting for the beast to put that foot down and fall over. But he didn't. Mules never do. They stand on three legs without difficulty for quite a long period of time. Then there was another mule, equally unmindful of the sentiments of his rider, who was in a playful mood. This mule trotted up behind another and bit him on the hind leg, whereupon the injured mule kicked him in the face. His rider remarked: "Don't do that, Miss Mule. It isn't polite, especially not here." I heartily agreed with him.

I suppose by this time hundreds of thousands of people must have seen the Grand Canyon and yet I can promise you that when you see it, even tho you have purchased a prosaic ticket for your mule and your lunch, you will feel that you are the first person who has ever seen it. It is eternally new. There is not a scratch on it. When you look down you cannot see the trail below and when you look up you cannot see the trail above. All the way up and down there is only one indication that anyone has ever been over that Canyon before. It is the ten or twenty paces of trail that you can see ahead or behind. I can remember only one pleasant thought I had going down that Canyon. I pictured the predicament of the first man who ever saw that Canyon, coming back and trying to tell someone about it. He must have been set down as the champion liar of that decade. I'd like to know what he said. I'll bet he said "Damn."

It requires more than two hours to make the descent into the Canyon and there is not a dull moment. The path is steep all the way. The thrill is unceasing. I remember how amused I was on the way down at the sight of the big leather bags containing the lunch boxes flopping against the sides of the guides' animals. In the first place, I didn't have much confidence in getting down alive. In the next place I knew that if I ever did get down, I was going to remain there the rest of my life, so one lunch would only prolong the agony. And another fact bearing on those lunches was that I knew I would not be able to eat. Even if I had been able to chew a little bit I couldn't swallow.

But when we finally got down, I fell on that lunch with a wild yell and clawed thru to the last olive. Then we went over to the edge of Turtle Back plateau and looked down again, a distance just as far as we had come. We were down about 3600 feet and it is another 3600 feet to the river. You can see the river from the edge of Turtle Back plateau. It is a sight just as thrilling as the view from the top down to Turtle Back, but not so beautiful.

I enjoyed the trip up much more than the trip down; in fact, I may have impressed the reader by this time with the idea that I did not enjoy the trip down at all. But an experience of this sort is of great value. When you have gone down into the Grand Canyon you will never be frightened again. Very few persons are frightened stiff for two solid hours. I am vaccinated now against ever being frightened. I could hang from the top of the Woolworth Building and whistle a tune. I could dangle my feet out the fortieth story window. I know that, because when I finally did get to the top of the Canyon I sat down on the cement wall around the edge and tore an envelope to pieces and watched the paper flutter down.

Strangely enough, several of the members of our party became hysterical on the way up. There was one woman who squealed all the way and another who laughed hysterically for an hour.

One of the mules got a stone wedged in his shoe on the return and the guide knelt beside him and lifted that foot while he hammered at the stone. Just at this point there is a sheer drop of about thirty feet to the trail below—the trail we had just come over. At the edge of our trail where the guide was kneeling, there was some loose gravel and dirt. It gave way and the guide began to slip over the edge. My poor, overworked stomach did one more revolution and I managed to swallow my heart before it jumped clear out of my mouth. The man on the mule in question hastily dismounted. The guide smiled broadly, caught hold of the mule's slender legs with both hands and pulled himself up. It was all in the day's work for him. He is welcome to his job. As for the mule, he never even waked up.

When we finally arrived at the top several members of the party informed me that my bravery had been quite an inspiration to them, that the fact that I never winced or showed any fear helped them a great deal.

I'm no modest violet and I know it. Just between me and myself I am very fond of me and I think right well of me. I like praise. I can sop up just about as much of it as the next man. But I said, "Stop, hold, wait a minute. This is going too far. I'll never see you again, probably, but I have got to live with myself the rest of my life, and I can't do so in peace feeling that I have perpetrated any such hoax as that. I was not brave. Terror had locked my jaws and I did not cry because I was speechless. If the expression on my face didn't change, it was because I was petrified. The reason I didn't fall off that mule was that I had placed my feet in the stirrups in the corral and I was never subsequently able to move my legs."

I rode that mule all night. I rode him up the face of cliffs and I rode him over slender girders on Brooklyn bridge, and I fell down elevator shafts with him and he and I went over the edge of precipices and we hung on by one finger—yes, as I dreamed it, he had a finger, too. And we slipped inch by inch all the way down that Canyon and finally drowned in the river below, and we followed trails out to strange places where the trail ended and we could neither go forward nor turn around and we stayed there until we starved to death.

I know well enough now how timid men manage to march forward into battle. They are so scared they haven't will power enough left to do anything but obey the word of command. I know now how panics start. If just one person of our party had insisted on going back, about 99 9/10 per cent of us would have followed.

But the thrill is worth it all. Don't miss it! Just think of being able to be scared green for two hours and yet not actually be in any danger. Think of vaccinating yourself for the rest of your life against being afraid. Think of overcoming, once for all, that inability to look straight down from a high point. But out of the wealth of my experience I want to furnish you a magic phrase, and urge you to say it over and over to yourself all the way down and all the way up: "This mule thinks just as much of his hide as I do of mine." Just keep that in mind.

Now you may be one of those persons who can get a tremendous thrill out of a starlight night. If you are, you don't need any advice from me. You can have a good time in New Jersey. But if you are hard-boiled like I am and if you have been disappointed many times, then I recommend the Grand Canyon. It is sure fire. In fact, it is such sure fire that it reminds me of a story told of two Texas negroes. One of them had been bragging about all the places he had seen and the other said:

"Have you ever had delirium tremens?"

"No."

"Then you ain't never seen nothing and you ain't never been nowhere."

*New York*

## Did Mr. Edison Flunk You?
### Try This One

The annual Information Test given by the Friends' School in Germantown, Pennsylvania, to its students, which we herewith pass on to Independent readers as in former years, this year coincides in timely fashion with Mr. Edison's much talked-of information tests. They are in general the same sort of test, tho the Quaker one is designed to bring out a less special and limited type of mind and training. The average student results from this year's test, compared with results from past years since 1911, show that this test is rather more difficult than those of the past two years. This fact is for your encouragement; for a standard to measure by is the fact that the highest record in the Friends' School was made by a girl of the Senior class in High School, with a score of 86.

The answers follow on another page; don't have an unseasonable curiosity about them, if you really want to have any fun with the questions.

I

*Name:*

1. The founder of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
2. The Governor of Pennsylvania.


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Sherman Dennis, Manager

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ON THE BEACH AND THE BOARDWALK • AMERICAN PLAN • ALWAYS OPEN


3. The Chairman of the American Relief Administration for feeding European children.
4. The city in which the League of Nations meets.
5. The Bengali poet who visited Germantown last autumn.
6. The holder of the world's championship for tennis.
7. The President of France.
8. The President of the German Republic.
9. The President of Mexico.
10. Three Presidents of the United States who died in office.
11. The Republicans elected to the Presidency since Roosevelt.
12. The Democratic Presidents since the Civil War.
13. The President of Harvard University.
14. The English novelist whose history of the world has just been published.

## II

*What personality is suggested by:*

15. Tuskegee.
16. Hull House.
17. Old Chester.
18. Tarsus.
19. Marion, Ohio.
20. St. Helena.

## III

*In what cities are these parks?*

21. Golden Gate Park.
22. Central Park.
23. Bois de Boulogne.
24. Fairmount Park.
25. Hyde Park.
26. Rock Creek Park.

## IV

*Give both name of author and title of book:*

27. In this story a fence is painted, two are lost in a cave, and the villain dies in the cave.
28. In this book we read of Topsy, who "just growed."
29. A romance of bandits, heather, wrestling, and Exmoor.
30. A contemporary play in which the butler takes the lead when the "characters" are wrecked on an island.
31. A play in which the heroine enters court in disguise and acts as judge.
32. A tale by a former Rhodes Scholar, telling of distributing books from a traveling van.
33. A study in dual personality, by R. L. S.
34. The step-father believes in "firmness," and "Barkis is willin'."
35. A novel of the Revolution by a surgeon; the hero, a young Quaker, rides to join Washington.
36. A contemporary play by an English poet; the hero is shot in a theater.
37. The hero was a Spaniard who tilted at windmills.
38. A long poem in which the wily hero escapes a one-eyed giant and continues his voyage.

## V

*In what way distinguished?*

39. John Woolman.
40. Cyrus H. K. Curtis.
41. Calvin Coolidge.
42. Opal Whiteley.
43. Anne Douglas Sedgwick.
44. Joyce Kilmer.
45. Theodore N. Vail.
46. Grace George.
47. Paul Hymans.
48. Alice Robertson.

## VI

*Copy on your paper each expression from Group A and pair with it that expression from Group B which most nearly explains it, or is most closely associated in meaning:*

### A

49. Pandora's box.
50. Crossing the Rubicon.
51. Cornelia's jewels.
52. Davy Jones' locker.
53. Pelee's hair.
54. Panning out.
55. Walking the plank.
56. Running the gauntlet.
57. Around Robin Hood's barn.

### B

The bottom of the sea.
Pounded by Indians.
The home stretch.
Full of troubles.
An indirect route.
Golden success.
A bandit's garage.

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ROSCOE A. MARVEL

What the public wants
Blown out of a volcano.
Piratical atrocity.
They are my sons.
The die is cast.

## VII

*What commercial product or commodity are these phrases used to advertize?*

58. There's a reason.
59. Eventually, why not now?
60. A cube makes a cup.
61. The instrument of the immortals.
62. Have you a little fairy in your home?

## VIII

63. In what countries are the following monetary units used: lire, rupee, ruble, yen?
64. Write the number forty, first in Arabic, and then in Roman numerals.
65. How many inches, approximately, make a metre?
66. What is the Volstead act?
67. What city has just risen to fourth in population in this country?
68. What is a "naval holiday"? What advantages would be expected from it?
69. What event is commemorated on the new fifty-cent piece?
70. What is the motto on the coat of arms of the United States?
71. Name and locate the highest mountain in the United States.
72. Give the approximate longitudes of New York, Paris, London, Vienna.
73. Whose statue stands on Chestnut Street near the Post Office?
74. Locate the nearest copies of the Elgin marbles?
75. What do we celebrate on the first Sunday after the first full moon after March 21st?
76. What national event occurs on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, but not every year?
77. What is done by our Government throughout the country every year that ends in ten or a multiple of ten?
78. What was the subject of the Bible reading in school assembly this morning?

## IX

*Explain each: who or what?*

79. Ben Hur
80. Ben Lomond
81. Ben Jonson
82. Ben Bolt
83. Big Ben
84. Ben Adhem

## X

*Read the following list and from it select one word to answer each question below:*

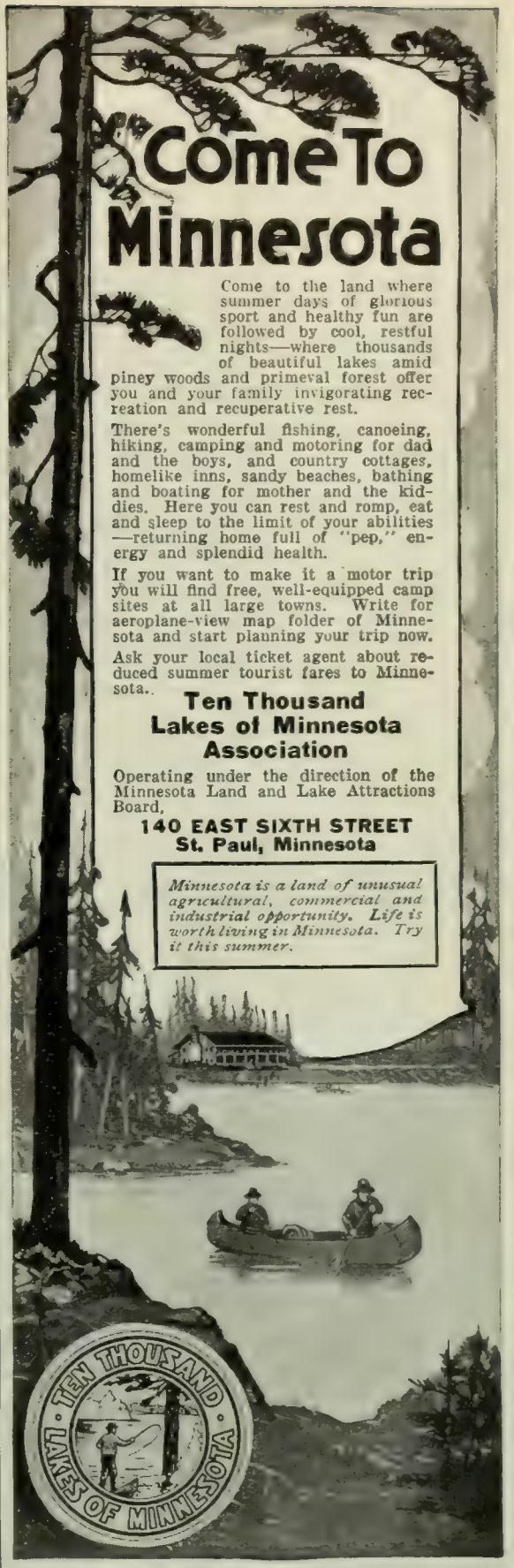
*gargoyle, tonsure, scalpel, psaltery, sabot, retort, samovar, scarab, emu, sedan, satyr, trireme, shamrock, hydraulic ram, semaphore.*

85. Which is a beetle?
86. Which is a closed chair?
87. Which is a ship?
88. Which is a shoe?
89. Which is a pump?
90. Which is a plant?
91. Which is a surgeon's knife?
92. Which is a chemical instrument?
93. Which is a shaved part of the head?
94. Which is an apparatus to boil water?
95. Which is an Australian bird?

## XI

96. Which are prophets, which kings, and which "judges": Ahab, Amos, Deborah, Gideon, Jeremiah, Josiah?
97. Which are used to measure distance, which electricity, and which depth (height): knot, ohm, quart, watt, ton, furlong, hand, fathom, volt, league, gill?
98. No side of either is a side of the other, but each corner of the smaller touches one side of the larger.
    Draw two squares which together illustrate this.
99. Pair each word of group A with that in group B most natural to associate with it:
    A: Thackeray, Plato, Hellespont, Dives, Hannibal, Moses.
    B: Carthage, Lazarus, Pendennis, Aaron, Socrates, Leander.
100. Our sovereign lord the king lies here on whose word relies no man; who a foolish thing never said nor ever did a wise one.

*Rearrange the order of the above words to form the quotation, which is a stanza of four lines with alternating rhyme, the last rhyme slightly defective.*




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## Answers

1. William Penn
2. William C. Sproul
3. Herbert C. Hoover
4. Geneva
5. Sir Rabindranath Tagore
6. Tilden
7. Millerand
8. Ebert
9. Obregon
10. W. H. Harrison, Taylor, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley; (any three count a point; two count one-half)
11. Taft; Harding.
12. Cleveland; Wilson
13. A. L. Lowell
14. H. G. Wells
15. Booker T. Washington
16. Jane Addams
17. Margaret Deland; Dr. Lavender
18. St. Paul (Saul of Tarsus)
19. Warren G. Harding
20. Napoleon
21. San Francisco
22. New York
23. Paris
24. Philadelphia
25. London
26. Washington, D. C.
27. Clemens (Twain); Tom Sawyer
28. Stowe; Uncle Tom's Cabin
29. Blackmore; Lorna Doone
30. Barrie; Admirable Crichton
31. Shakespere; Merchant of Venice
32. Morley; Parnassus on Wheels
33. Stevenson; Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde
34. Dickens; David Copperfield
35. Mitchell; Hugh Wynne
36. Drinkwater; Abraham Lincoln
37. Cervantes; Don Quixote
38. Homer; Odyssey
39. Author of "Journal," well known friend; agitator anti-slavery, etc. ("author" will not suffice, but "notable Friend" should do)
40. Publisher; connected with Saturday Evening Post, etc.
41. Vice-President-elect of U. S.
42. Writer
43. Writer
44. Poet; soldier
45. Late head of Bell Telephone Co.
46. Actress
47. President of League of Nations
48. Woman Congressman from Oklahoma
49. Full of Trouble
50. The die is cast
51. They are my sons
52. The bottom of the sea
53. Blown out of a volcano
54. Golden success
55. Piratical atrocity
56. Pounded by Indians
57. An indirect route
58. Grape Nuts or Postum
59. Flour (Washburn and Crosby)
60. Soup (Steero)
61. Piano
62. Soap
63. Lire, Italy; Ruble, Russia; Rupee, India; Yen, Japan
64. 40; XL
65. 39
66. Act prohibiting manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor
67. Detroit
68. An agreement between nations to cease or limit expenditure on Navy. Decrease in taxation; war less likely
69. Pilgrims landed 1620
70. E Pluribus Unum (In God We Trust does not count)
71. Mt. Whitney (Mt. McKinley is in Alaska)
72. New York 70-75, London 0, Paris 2 to 3, Vienna 16-17 (if near, give credit)
73. Benjamin Franklin
74. G. F. S., third floor hall
75. Easter Sunday; resurrection of Jesus Christ (either answer correct)
76. Election day
77. Census is taken
78.
79. Novel (Wallace) or play based on novel
80. Mountain (Scotland)
81. Poet or Dramatist
82. Mentioned in old popular song
83. Alarm clock; or bell in House of Parliament
84. Character in poem by Leigh Hunt
85. Scarab
86. Sedan
87. Trireme
88. Sabot
89. Hydraulic ram
90. Shamrock
91. Scalpel
92. Retort
93. Tonsure
94. Samovar
95. Emu
96. Amos and Jeremiah, prophets; Deborah and Gideon, judges; Ahab and Josiah, kings (three to five count half)
97. *Distance;* knot, furlong, league (fathom); *Electricity,* volt, ohm, watt; *Height* (depth); hand, fathom
98.

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99. Thackeray and Pendennis; Plato and Socrates; Leander and Hellespont; Dives and Lazarus; Hannibal and Carthage; Moses and Aaron

100. Here lies our sovereign lord the king
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one.
(If nearly right, give one-half)

## Pebbles

One swallow may not make a summer, but a grasshopper makes several springs. —*Widow.*

"I'm tired of always being the goat!"
"Then, why don't you stop butting in?" —*Orange Peel.*

"What do you think of a man who constantly deceives his wife?"
"Think of him? I think he's a wonder." —*London Opinion.*

Hay—He was surely a far-sighted man.
Dees—How so?
Hay—He had a fire extinguisher put in his coffin.—*Stanford Chaparral.*

He—There's one thing I'll miss very much this winter.
She (tenderly)—What's that, dear?
He—Breakfast. I've six eight o'clocks.—*Widow.*

"You know, darling, you need never be frightened in the dark. There are always angels around your bed guarding you with their wings."
"Oh, mummy! I hope one won't settle on me."—*London Opinion.*

A Warship went hard on a strand
And experts all over the land,
Said: "She's there now to stay,"
But she floated away
On a wave of the admiral's hand.
—*Princeton Tiger.*

"I must say those biscuits are fine," exclaimed the young husband.
"How could you say those were fine biscuits?" inquired his mother, when they were alone.
"I didn't say they were fine, mother. I merely said I must say so."—*Boston Transcript.*

He went into a shop to buy a comb. He was a man careful of other people's grammar, and believed himself to be careful of his own.
"Do you want a narrow man's comb?" asked the assistant.
"No," answered the careful grammarian, "I want a comb for a stout man with tortoiseshell teeth."—*Exchange.*

Three little girls received each a silver spoon as a gift, and they were bragging about them.
"Mine," said one of them, "says 'From Papa' on it."
"That's nothing," said the second. "Mine says 'From Your Loving Papa.'"
"Mine," said the third, with a superior air, "says 'Hotel Washington.'"—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

"Come upstairs, and let me wash your hands," said mother, when she arrived with her little daughter for tea at granny's.
"I don't want to go up," wailed Winnie, aged four.
"Let her wash them down in the kitchen," called grandmamma. "She can do it just as well."
"No," her mother said firmly. "I want her to come up with me!"
Winnie went upstairs as slowly as possible.
"Oh," said she, turning a wrathful tearful face to her mother, "Why don't you obey your mother?"—*New York Globe.*


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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. A Driftwood Fire.**

1. Name three different characteristics of the sea that the poem emphasizes.
2. Where was the speaker on the night when the driftwood fire was built? Read the lines of the poem that explain the situation.
3. Prove that the poem develops toward climax.
4. In what form is the poem written? What are the characteristics of that form? Tell something concerning the history of the form.
5. Tell what values the following expressions add to the poem: "The hidden magic," "The tyranny of storm," "The far calm of placid blue," "Vast sea-monsters."

**II. The Vacation Mind.**

1. Find the sentence that conveys the writer's principal thought. What preparation did the writer make before he presented his principal thought?
2. Explain how the writer uses specific examples as a means of gaining emphasis. What qualities would have been lost if the writer had omitted the specific examples?
3. What characteristics of this essay are remarkably worthy of imitation?

**III. Madame Curie and Her Gram of Radium.**

1. Divide the article into its five or six principal parts. Write a sub-title for every part.
2. Explain the last sentence of the article.
3. Give a character sketch of Madame Curie.
4. Summarize what the article says about the peculiar characteristics of radium.

**IV. The Landing of the Pilgrims—1920.**

1. Write a composition in which you emphasize the various contrasts presented on the printed page.
2. Prepare a similar set of pictures, or write a composition of contrast, on any historical scene that you have visited.

**V. Straight Down to China**

1. How many paragraphs form the introduction to the article? What is the writer's purpose in the introduction?
2. By what means does the writer emphasize the depth of the Grand Canyon?
3. Summarize what is said concerning the Grand Canyon.
4. What are the two principal characteristics of the writer's style?

**VI. Nothing to Lose but Chains.**

1. Point out contrasts between Berlin as it was, and Berlin as it is.
2. Summarize the different types of public opinion now prevalent in Germany.
3. What does the writer indicate concerning the future of Germany?
4. What advantage does the article gain by its frequent use of quotation?
5. In what respects is the article like a letter from Germany? In what respects is it unlike a letter?

**VII. The Passing of Two Great Americans.**

1. The article has two distinct subjects. Explain how unity has been preserved.
2. What do the lives of Secretary Lane and Chief Justice White show concerning the character of men in the Federal service?
3. Consult an encyclopedia, and prepare a special report on one of the following subjects: Chief Justices of the United States; Important Decisions of the Supreme Court; The President's Cabinet; Famous Cabinet Officers.
4. What is an apothegm? Explain the apothegm ascribed to Socrates. Tell the story of the life of Socrates.

**VIII. The Story of the Week.**

1. Define the following words that appear in news articles: retrenchment, drastic, compensated, implications, irreconcilables, orthodoxy, coalition, conservation.
2. Give a talk in which you summarize the most important recent events of world-wide interest.
3. Write an editorial article in which you point out recent events that suggest promise of a happy future, either for the United States or for the world in general.
4. Explain in what respects Ambassador Harvey's London address differs from President Harding's recent address in New York. Which speech more fully represents the spirit of the United States?
5. What celebrated American authors have held positions in the foreign service of the United States?
6. Write a series of propositions suitable for debate, drawn from the news of the week.

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. Germany—Nothing to Lose but Chains. British to Police Silesia.**

1. Berlin is the political center of Prussia. How does Prussia seem to have taken defeat according to Dr. Steiner's article? Would you expect the spirit of Prussia to be different from that of southern Germany? What was the part played by the Kingdom of Prussia in German history?
2. Essen is the center of the German iron and steel industry. How has it been affected by the war according to Dr. Steiner? Can you find it on the map? How near is it to the part of Germany occupied by the Allied armies? Why have the French insisted on occupying Essen and the neighboring towns in case Germany should fail to make good on reparations? Why has Essen not yet been occupied?
3. What evidences of revolutionary sentiment do you find in Germany? Comment on and explain the statement: "The red flag makes a lurid background to the insistent black and white of the Prussian."
4. What is the present situation in Upper Silesia? Write four brief summaries from the following points of view: (a) An English diplomat; (b) A French journalist; (c) A German Silesian; (d) A Polish Silesian.

**II. American Foreign Policy — Hughes, Harding or Harvey? The Harvey Doctrine. Some New Diplomats.**

1. What two important positions are now held by Mr. Harvey?
2. Name four appointments in the diplomatic service made during the present Administration.
3. What is Mr. Harvey's view on the League of Nations?
4. State the argument of Mr. Holt's editorial. Why may Secretary Hughes be presumed to have a different point of view from that of Mr. Harvey?
5. What does Mr. Harvey mean by saying that we will not have anything to do with "any commission or committee" appointed by the League? What subordinate agencies of the League have you heard of and what have they been doing? (Hint—look up Articles 8, 9, 14, 22, 23, 24 and 25 of the League of Nations Covenant).

**III. Egypt—Riots in Egypt.**

1. Egyptian history has been important to the world for some eight thousand years. Everyone should be able to answer such questions as: (a) What were the pyramids? (b) What is papyrus? (c) What is the origin of our alphabet? (d) Why is Alexandria so named? (e) Who was Cleopatra? (f) What part did Napoleon play in Egyptian history? (g) How did the British get control of Egypt? (h) Who dug the Suez Canal? (i) What part did Generals Gordon and Kitchener play in Egyptian history? (j) Of what religion are the majority of modern Egyptians?
2. Compare the nationalist movement in Egypt and India. What is the present legal position of both countries in the British Empire? In which are the people more advanced? What is the religious issue in each case? What races or national groups are involved? What are the strategic and economic interests of the British Empire in each case? How long has Great Britain held possession in each case? Do you think that either case resembles that of the Philippines? Do you think that either case resembles that of Ireland; or is nationalism in Europe different from nationalism in tropical and Oriental countries?

**IV. The American Civil Service—Harding for Economy. Of Interest to the Postman. The Passing of Two Great Americans.**

1. What is the budget system? On what grounds does President Harding favor it?
2. Why, in President Harding's opinion, is it more difficult to secure efficiency in public than in private business? How far is this an argument against Socialism?
3. What is the "spoils system"? What is meant by "civil service reform"?
4. What change has been made in the method of appointing postmen?
5. What was the late Secretary Lane's criticism of the Federal administration? How far do you think it justified?
6. How is a chief justice chosen and for what term of office? Are the judges in your state selected in the same way or not? Do you think judges should be appointed or elected?

# The Independent

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## A Million Dollars' Worth

The scarcity of clothing thruout Europe, and the misery due to the lack of it in cold weather, will be greater next winter than in any period since 1915. Stores of linen gathered in the prosperous years preceding the war are now exhausted. Salable articles that could be exchanged for clothing have largely disappeared in the pawnshops and been exported to foreign lands. Almost no clothing has been bought in Central and Eastern Europe by the great masses of the population since 1915.

People can live thru the summer without much clothing, altho not without discomfort and mental suffering. In winter, however, clothing is necessary to life. The clothing for distribution next winter must be collected during these summer months and shipped to Europe by September, or it will arrive late. The American Friends Service Committee of 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa., appeals to the American public to send them without delay at least a million dollars' worth of clothing. It will be used in Poland, Vienna, Germany, or Russia, according to the wishes of the donors, which will be scrupulously followed. Clothing arriving unallocated will be distributed according to the relative needs of the countries mentioned.

What is needed? Knitted garments such as filled the leisure hours of the women of America during the war; second-hand clothing that is strong and clean and serviceable, and worth paying freight on to Europe; and shoes in good condition, for all ages, and particularly shoes with low heels and wide toes; baby clothing in unlimited quantities; yarn, in order that the women of Europe may also knit for themselves; leather which the cobblers of Europe may make into shoes; uncut cloth in enormous quantities, such as dress materials, suitings, flannelette, etc.

The spasm of generosity that possessed America during the war has undoubtedly given way to a reaction. Christians are taking a vacation. They do not realize that the emergency in Europe, as far as clothing is concerned, has increased rather than diminished. Will our women rest on their porches this summer in self-satisfied contemplation of past labors, or will they rise to this need? Will the men who read these words dig deep into their pockets once more, so that adequate supplies of raw materials and ready-made garments may be purchased? Love must go into this service. Every stitch should be taken with imagination that perceives why it is taken.

Hamilton Holt
Editor

Hannah H. White
Managing Editor

Franklin H. Gidding — Preston Slosson
Shailer Mathews — John Spargo
Edwin E. Slosson — Talcott Williams

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## Remarkable Remarks

HUGH S. FULLERTON—Making a religion of sport is quite as bad as making sport of religion.

PRESIDENT HARDING—General Grant's advice, "Let us have peace," is a peculiarly happy theme.

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON—The eye I lost is a thousand times paid for by the good friends I gained thru the accident.

ROY K. MOULTON—No man in the history of the world has ever been able to wear a plug hat and milk a cow at the same time.

SAMUEL GOMPERS—The open shop movement is a crusade to break down the organized labor movement and to restore industrial oligarchy.

SAM A. LEWISOHN—The industrial relations department is a prime requisite in any modern plant in which more than a few hundred men are employed.

PROF. A. G. WEBSTER—To steer around a corner motorists need only bear in mind that the centrifugal force is proportionate to the curvature of the street corner.

CAPT. GEORGE B. HYDE, Near East Relief Worker—You can go into the city of Constantinople any day of the week and buy a slave girl for $10, $15, or $20.

GOVERNOR ALLEN—There are 15,000 professional leaders of labor in the United States who are drawing $60,000,000 a year out of the slender pockets of union men.

EX-PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT—You have all known young women to be seized upon during a dance by intoxicated men under the fool custom called "cutting in."

WILL IRWIN—If we were conducting war scientifically for the best interests of the race, the slogan of conscription would be not "single men first" but "grandfathers first."

ODIE MINATRA, Superintendent Texas Orphan Home—Too many preachers get their theology from the denomination just as their wives get corn from the grocery, canned and ready to serve.

WILLIAM Y. WARD, M.D.—President Wilson asked for a great and solemn referendum on the League of Nations. The American people gave him a gigantic and seismic pandemonium on the agglomeration of nothingness.

## Opening Nights

*Shuffle Along.* A highly original and nonsensical musical melange of negro life, composed, produced and acted by negroes. Much more entertaining than most white productions of its class. (Sixty-third Street Theater.)

*John Ferguson,* one of the first fine things the Theater Guild did, is in its revival still fine, in spite of recurring after such successes as "Liliom" and "Mr. Pim Passes By." The cast is very good, and one regrets only for old time's sake that there are few of the original members in it. (Garrick Theater.)



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## Niagara Falls at Night

*". . . The sick sight*
*And giddy prospect of the raving stream,*
*The unfettered clouds and region of the Heavens,*
*Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light—*
*Were all like workings of one mind, the features*
*Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree;*
*Characters of the great Apocalypse,*
*The types and symbols of Eternity,*
*Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."*

—From "The Prelude," by William Wordsworth

The Independent
June 11, 1921

# John and Mary American

## A True Story

## By Susan Brown Bristol

IN the extreme southeastern corner of Owen County, Indiana, near the tiny town of Whitehall, is the new center of population of the United States. Twenty miles away is the city of Centerton, known as the residence of John Smith, Mary, his wife, and their three children, John Junior, James and Margaret.

John and Mary were reared in the country. Their ancestors, for several generations, had been sturdy American farmers. Had John and Mary followed the line of least resistance perhaps they would have remained on the farm. But they became restless. For both, the farm meant long hours—sunrise to sunset. At best farm life was a humdrum existence. Moreover, John and Mary were lonely on the farm. Now and then they saw the Joneses and a few other neighbors, but the sociably inclined Smiths wanted to live among and be a part of crowds, to have more "life." Also, more and more realizing the uncertainty of the "elements of nature," John argued that, like any other human being, he needed a certain income upon which to depend. From friends in Centerton he had heard of the expansion of the city's various industrial activities, and of the growing need for more workers. On the farm he had been "Jack-of-all-trades." He was curious to see how labor could be "divided," in practice. He felt assured of fairly satisfactory wages in the city—at least, such as they were, they were definite. Various friends had prospered in Centerton. Why not he? Mary, also, worn to a frazzle from farm drudgery, was more than willing to chance a change, and especially that the children might have the "advantages" of a progressive city like Centerton.

**Facts, figures, and the general state of things as given in Miss Bristol's story, are not the generalizations of a nimble imagination. From a sound and scholarly study of statistical facts and human facts in the lives of many Smiths and Joneses, Miss Bristol knows exactly and concretely what she is talking about in presenting this composite picture**

Steadily growing, Centerton came to be a city of more than twenty-five thousand Americans and English, Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Russians, Irish, Italians and Scandinavians. More and more it was coming to be known as a business center, a city of high prices, high prices for food, for rent, and for clothing. It boasted of its commodious city hall, its flourishing banks, its schools, its public library, and its churches; likewise of its water works, its electric lights and gas plants, and its street railways. The mayor and city council, the board of education, the police force, the fire department, and the department of public health all received a generous share of criticism from "The Indignant Taxpayer," who, from time to time, thru Centerton's press, enlightened the public on his views regarding municipal economy. While luxurious houses were in evidence for the well-to-do and "comfortable" homes for the "upper" middle class, on the more undesirable streets, in flats or in other cramped quarters, lived Centerton's less fortunate, among whom were the Smiths.

On the farm John had produced a large share of the food consumed by the family, and also he was not bothered by the question of rent. No wonder, then, that upon becoming a resident of Centerton, difficulties awaited him, and that, particularly these last hard years, with his introduction to gouging landlords, grasping food profiteers and merciless merchants, his wits and nerves were taxed to the breaking point. By November, 1920—and prices were even higher in midsummer—it was costing the Smith family nearly twice as much to live as in 1914. For a bare roof they were obliged to pay 66 per cent more than the pre-war figure, for food 93 per cent more. Fuel and light were doubled. Clothing was increased to 128 per cent, sundries to 92. Fortunately by April, 1921, the cost of living had decreased about 25 per cent from what it was the preceding November. To be sure, the Smiths were forced to pay their landlord about 5 per cent more than in the fall, but food, clothing, fuel and light had noticeably dropped. Even with the decreased cost of living, on their income, which for the last few years had been from $1,300 to $1,400, the Smiths could not live comfortably, healthfully, or decently. Of course John's employer argued that he was paying John about twice as much as before the war, and that, therefore, John was considerably better off than in pre-war days. But the next thing was to convince John. As a matter of fact, on their income, the Smiths could not pay for enough housing space in which to be comfortable. They could not procure adequate clothing to meet the needs of warmth and cleanliness, to say nothing of the need, most important, of such clothing as would permit them to appear in public with that feeling of self-respect produced by the wearing of "good clothes." John was unable to replace the overcoat which he had worn for four years and which originally cost only fifteen dollars. Mary, using all of her mathematical genius, could not squeeze out money enough from the weekly income to buy a new hat, altho her one straw hat (purchased at about the same time as John's overcoat) had scarcely sufficient body left to hold another dose of "colorite." The Smith income did not permit of proper food. It is true, Mary did not follow a budget, [*Continued on page 628*

# This Changing World

## By Edwin E. Slosson

## VI—Vanishing Coal and Growing Wood

*"Soon shall thy arm, unconquered Steam, afar*
*Drag the slow barge or drive the rapid car."*
*—Erasmus Darwin (1789)*

WHEN the first trolley car ran down the street of Atlanta, Georgia, an old negro watching the mysterious vehicle from the sidewalk was heard to remark: "Dese Yankees is quah people. Fust dey come down heah and free de slave; den dey come down and free de mule."

That is a good summary of the progress of civilization. The first animal that man enslaved was man. Next he shifted the burden in part to the back of the ox and the horse. Now human slavery is at an end and we are gradually getting to the point of releasing the lower animals from their enslavement. Eventually all the hard work of the world will be done by engines run by inorganic power.

Modern civilization is based upon such utilization of natural energy. The number of people who can live on the earth and the comfort in which they live depend upon how much energy can be obtained and how economically it may be employed. Of all conceivable sources of energy only the sun's rays are actually available and these not directly. Until some practicable solar engine is invented we must rely upon indirect means of making the sunshine work.

The energy radiated by the sun reaches the earth thru 92,000,000 miles of empty space as cold as can be. When the rays come into our atmosphere they heat up the air and so set up currents in it. That gives us power for windmills. When the rays strike the sea they heat up the water and evaporate some of it which, carried away by the wind, falls on the mountains as rain. That gives us power for our water-wheels. When the rays fall on a green leaf they are set to making cellulose. That gives us fuel for our engines.

There are then three ways in which to engage solar energy, two physical and the third chemical.

I suppose the first employment of external energy in the history of the world was when some prehistoric savage discovered that he could save himself walking by floating downstream astride of a log. Doubtless the second was when some other genius discovered that he could make the wind propel his log canoe across still water by hoisting a skin as a sail. The third method, the chemical process of using solar energy, came with the invention of the steam engine a hundred and fifty years ago.

The chemical means of utilizing sun power, that is, combustion, is at present our chief dependence, but the little green leaves work too slow for us. They cannot keep up the pace that modern life demands. So we have drawn upon fossil fuel, upon the carbonaceous accumulations of the Paleozoic period. The iron horse feeds on subterranean pastures. We stoke our engines with the giant ferns and mosses that grew in Wales or Pennsylvania long before human life began.

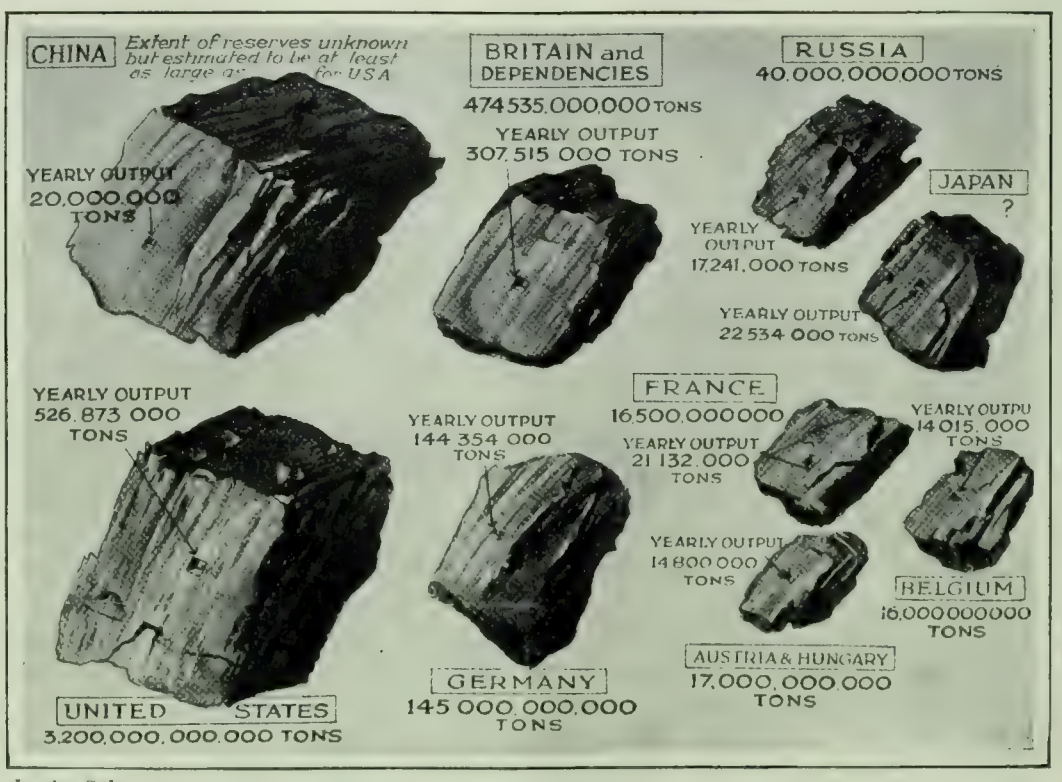
In the green laboratories of the curious vegetation of that remote era the light waves from the sun acted as they do today, dissolving the bonds that connected the carbon and oxygen in carbonic acid gas, storing the carbon in the plant and restoring the oxygen to the air. We now reverse the process and reunite the carbon of the coal beds with the oxygen of the air and so revive the sunshine that fell upon the earth hundreds of thousands of years ago.

But we have for a century been living upon our carbonaceous capital. We have skimmed the cream of our coal beds and wasted about 99 per cent of its power. The concentrated fluid extract of fossil fuel, petroleum, is even more limited and has been still more recklessly wasted. Coal is scarce in many parts of the world and oil will soon be scarce everywhere. The southern hemisphere is conspicuously deficient in coal. Africa, South America and Australia have not enough for their own needs and will have to borrow from their northern neighbors.

What shall we do when the coal runs low? Can we raise our own fuel as fast as we use it? I put that question to the Information Service of the National Research Council and received an answer from Rafael Zon, economist of the United States Forest Service, which covers the ground so competently that I am quoting it entire:

"The German physicist, Helmholtz, at one time compared the number of thermal units received by an acre of land in Germany during a year with the number of thermal units produced by burning the vegetable matter elaborated during the year. His calculation was that 1/1477 part, or roughly 1/1500 part of the sun's heat was thus rendered available.

"The largest mean yield per acre of northern and mid-European forest is 153 cubic feet. This




*London Sphere*

**The lump of coal stands for the estimate of the total amount of coal existing in the country indicated in each case. The hole cut in the side of each lump represents the yearly output of coal in that country. The proportion of the hole to the lump in each case seems to indicate that there will be no cause for very pressing worry about the coal situation for some time to come**




This is a map of the coal world, showing where coal areas are located, and how much — this shown by the relative size of the black spot— is annually produced in different parts of the globe

*London Sphere*

includes all combustible material, even twigs and leaves. Quick-growing eucalypts in South Africa yield 700 cubic feet per acre. The maximum South African yield, therefore, is five times the maximum European yield. Since the average weight of eucalypt wood is *three* times that of spruce, the heating power produced on an acre of eucalyptus must be set at about *fifteen* times that produced on an acre of northern and mid-European forest. Thus on the basis of Helmholtz's calculations, a eucalyptus plantation can, with the most favorable circumstances in South Africa or on tropical mountains, store up 15/1500, or 1 per cent of the solar energy received on the unit of area.

"As far back as 1882 Sir Dietrich Brandis and D. E. Hutchins made the discovery that eucalyptus planted on tropical mountains will produce wood fuel at the rate of twenty tons (dry weight at sixty pounds per cubic foot) per acre per year *in perpetuity*. The eucalyptus plantation reproduces itself when cut without further expense and its dry timber, heavier than coal (which, as met with commercially, weighs fifty to fifty-two tons per cubic foot), has an equal or higher thermal power, bulk for bulk, than coal. They have obtained this result as the maximum yield of *Eucalyptus globulus* on the Nilgiris in southern India. No doubt there are other instances where higher yields are produced now.

"There is also no doubt that should the coal supply give out selection and experiment will produce a forest vegetation that will yield more than twenty tons per acre per year. This has been clearly demonstrated in the case of vegetables and fruits. If a chance tree on a chance mountain in a chance soil can produce the equivalent of twenty tons of coal per acre per year, does it seem unreasonable to suppose that by selection we can produce, say, double this, or forty tons? To produce this in perpetuity we should probably have to find a tree with the moderate soil requirements of the conifers. A powerful sun, a heavy rainfall, and a very rapid growing tree would be the essentials of such a production of wood fuel.

"Analyzing the rainfall map of the world one can readily notice that these conditions are fulfilled over about 8000 million acres of its surface. This is about one-fourth or one-fifth of the total land surface of 35,200 million acres. Let us consider only latitudes below forty degrees and rainfall above forty inches. *One-half* of this area under forest might yield the equivalent of 160,000 million tons of coal yearly. This is more than one hundred times the present world's consumption of coal, assuming that coal and eucalypt timber are of approximately equal heating power. On the basis of the actual forest yields *of today* we have *half* of this, or 80,000 million tons.

"It has now become axiomatic that one-fourth of the land area of each country must be in forest if we are to avoid the evil effects of forest denudation. In some cases where large areas are pestilential, or not suited for human habitation (as is often the case in the tropics), the forest should probably occupy a higher proportion of the land. Taking, however, the standard "*one-fourth forest*," then, on the basis of *to-day's* maximum yields, we should have a yearly output of 40,250 million tons, and if we divide this by two in order to convert *maximum* forest yield to an *average* forest yield, we still obtain 20,175 million tons, or nearly fifteen times the world's present consumption.

"The yield of firewood from the world's tropical and extra-tropical forests, whenever they are fully stocked and scientifically worked, will thus yield the equivalent of from fifteen to sixty times the present consumption of coal and even larger quantities if we succeed by cultivation in doubling the present timber yield figures.

"The Nilgiris figures quoted above were formally recorded in two official reports printed and published by the Madras Government in 1882. They have been confirmed by measurements of other forest officers. Similar figures have been obtained in South Africa: they have been exceeded in several plantations in Natal, while at Johannesburg they have not been confined to eucalyptus only, but have been obtained from the black wattle (*Acacia decurrens*) as well as from some other trees."

It is reassuring to learn that the growth of cellulose may be made to meet the demands of the growth of civilization, but we must realize that this rolling world would get a hard jolt if it had to shift gears from fossil to forest fuel. The region that will raise most vegetation is the hot and humid tropics where a high civilization is difficult to maintain. Man is not at his best in a hot-house atmosphere. His optimum climate is in the north temperate zone where the average temperature is 64 degrees Fahrenheit and the humidity is 80 per cent, where the weather is changeable and the wind blows. Under such conditions he can slough off his surplus energy and maintain a high efficiency.

NOW when man woke up to the idea of using engines to do his work he found his fuel close at hand in the form of coal. Petroleum, which was still better, could be obtained for the tapping and could be easily transported if not conveniently situated.

But if we have to return to the Wooden Age and draw upon the waste lands of the world for the fuel necessary to run our industries some means will have to be discovered by which the vegetation may be transformed into some easily portable form such as alcohol or oil. Or else the wood may be burned where it is grown and power transmitted in electrical form by wire, [*Continued on page 631*

# The Sky-Way to the North

## The Airman Holds the Key to the Ice-Locked Wealth of Arctic Regions


## By Agnes C. Laut

*Author of "Pathfinders of the West"*


THE world now knows what the fur traders and Indians and missionaries of the Far North have known for a century—ever since MacKenzie found the great northern river named after him—that a vast oil area comparable to Mexico's, or Oklahoma's, exists between the Arctic Circle and the Athabasca, and certainly as far west as the Peace. The area is about 1500 miles long and 500 miles broad.

Oil was found in twenty-three different wells in the summers of 1919 and 1920, in gusher quantities in one well in the Arctic Circle at a depth of 800 feet, in August of last year.

While it will probably take some four years' exploration and trial to prove the exact potential production of the new oil area and to get pipe lines and storage tanks and living communities erected in the northern wilderness, the spectacular fact to the outsider is that for the first time the wealth of the North can be unlocked by the use of the flying boat and the aeroplane.

The hidden wealth of the North has been known for a hundred years; but because of the enormous distances to be traversed, the puzzle was to unlock that wealth. MacKenzie River oil area is 1500 miles from settlement. The Liard gold areas are 2000 miles by canoe, 800 as the crow flies from the outmost fringe of settlement. Owing to the lateness of the ice going out of northern rivers, fur trade steamers and canoes could hardly set out before June 1, and the return against stream and head winds, with delays for fur freights, usually required at least three months for the trip north and back. Now, with an oil supply in the North, with landing stations pre-arranged at the fur posts, and abundant areas of sloughs and lakes for a sea-plane to spank down thru fogs and rain, the trip can be made in and out of the North in six days. The North can now be explored and exploited as it has not been for a hundred years.

A tryout of aeroplaning was made last summer on Peace River. I happened to be on one of the tryout spins. We did not fly as the crow flies. We circled over territory that could not be seen by canoe, motor, pack horse; and our speedometer registered 165 miles in an hour-and-a-half. We were comfortable as a rocking chair in front of a fireplace.

The only danger is landing in a fog on hilly, rocky, mountainous ground; but for every mile the plane is up, if the engine goes dead, the plane can glide down a radius of eight miles, or has landing possibilities of sixty-four miles in an eight mile square. While landing on a steep or rocky hillside would mean instant death from the somersetting of the engine head or tail down, landing on water would be as safe as train, or motor travel. Now in the Far North, with its heavy snowfall and heavy summer rains, there is no area of sixty-four square miles where there is not a river, lake or slough; so the seaplane has been substituted for the aeroplane in the "air express" to the North.

This summer two of the big oil companies are using seaplanes for their exploratory work. Two gigantic seaplanes manufactured in part in Long Island, in part at Buffalo, have already winged their way to the North; and "the air express" will be in service from Peace River to the Arctic Circle by the time these words have reached the stage of print.

"It isn't the fact that you folks made 165 miles in an hour and a half," said a lifelong Northerner to me as I stepped from a very easy, safe flight. "It is the fact that you could do in an hour and a half what would have taken from ten days to two weeks by a canoe following curves, that shows us how we are going to open the North." That —not the time, nor the distance made—was the real significance of the American aviators' flight from the Atlantic Coast across thousands of miles of country to Nome last summer.

Only it is a safe guess that the flight will never again be made by aeroplane.

Mishaps in landing in the mountains, that might have cost the men their lives, demonstrated the greater safety and adaptability of the seaplane as compared with the aeroplane.

And as compared with the old and strenuous ways of dog-train, snowshoes, or canoe when rivers were open, the aeroplane is as free-flying as a bird. Daring, picturesque, adventurous, the old way; but the new is not less so, and it has what the old had not—the romance of magical achievement.

*Wassaic, New York*





**In the old days explorers forced a few blind futile trails into the uncharted North, spending months or years in the effort. Now, to the flying boat, the land is an open book, and for the first time the oil and the mineral wealth of the country has become surveyable and accessible**

# Turning the Corner

## By Herbert Hoover

We have much upon which to congratulate ourselves. Our difficulties are infinitely less than those of Europe; we have weathered the danger point of a great crisis; our financial system has proven its strength and for the first time we have passed safely thru a commodity crisis without monetary panic. Our people have abundant food and abundant clothing. We are at least warmly housed, even tho crowded. We possess in the high intelligence, high courage and high ideals for our people, ample reserves of economic, social and political strength. We possess a great sense of neighborliness that has had fine manifestation in these difficult months in help given each other in weathering the storm. We have had a remarkably small ratio of failures. *I am convinced we have fundamentally turned the corner.*

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With the intelligence, productive power and resourcefulness of the American people, we will emerge thru all this, but the rapidity with which we recover will depend upon the promptness with which we grasp and well understand the nature of our difficulties and upon the unity and energy of our action.

While our recovery may be slower than some may expect, nothing can prevent the prosperity of a country where the people have enlightenment, wish to work, wish to produce and wish to do right by their neighbors.

We need remember at all times that we are not a nation of machines, and houses, factories and railways. We are a nation of men, women and children. Our industrial system and our commerce is simply an implement for their comfort and happiness. When we deal with these great problems of economics let us deal with this one conception—that our object is to defend and increase the standards of living of all our people and upon this soil grow those moral and intellectual forces that make our nation great.—From a speech delivered April 28 before the United States Chamber of Commerce.

# How the "Plain People" Win

## By Talcott Williams

THE man who takes long odds on the American people always wins, if he has time on his side.

If your view of American affairs and your impression of the American people goes back to 1865, you have lived thru many a crisis that never crisised and many a catastrophic period that never brought catastrophe.

We are today three times as big in population, seven fold as rich in national wealth, near half our families living in houses they own, three-quarters of them owning property; a city like New York, once the scoff of sanitary experts, with its death rate halved, infant mortality, with the heavy odds of hot summers against the child, lower than in any European cities; our schools immeasurably better than in any decade before and from a third to a half of the college attendance in the world within our borders.

The greenback and free silver were going to get us sure! Our currency is the soundest in the world. The corporations were going to rule us. They did, in that "happy and heroic" past, as someone has called the Civil War period. Today the corporations, railroad and all, are paying the highest wages of peaceful years and seeing profits cut in all directions. Laws hedge them in. Commissions harry them. The laws passed from the first Interstate Commerce Act, 1887, to the Federal Trade Commission; the Federal Reserve Banking Act and like laws bring capital under a more direct control than ever before.

As for the distribution of wealth, American insurance companies, "regular" and "industrial," have agreed to pay out as policies mature $35,500,000,000, a sum larger than the indemnity Germany pays, in all $33,750,000,000, tho pledged under widely different conditions.

So now. The American people is sanely ridding itself of evils, past and present. Land ownership was feared by many as leading to landlord tyranny. Four-fifths of London is owned by seven persons and one duke owns 18 per cent of the area. The largest landlord in New York holds less than 1 per cent. Thru "rent laws," the Supreme Court deals justly with the most difficult of conflicts between property "rights" and individual "needs" known to society.

England finds trade unions challenging self-government. Not here. Public opinion insists that no organization shall be greater than the law. When English courts held that unions like other voluntary associations must be responsible for their acts, Parliament reversed the courts and created a privileged class. Thirteen American State Legislatures, including Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Ohio, all industrial states, have insisted that trade unions must be responsible to the law and Massachusetts has followed their example, Governor Cox having signed the bill two weeks ago. For civil war, near in England over the dispute on coal miners' wages, we are substituting arbitration.

The great stabilizing powers in the United States are the small land-holder, the small share and bond-holder, the small trader. These are for law. They outnumber certainly two to one, perhaps three to one, the property-less. Their motto for Uncle Sam is:

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW WHO'S BOSS HERE
START SOMETHING!

The evils over which wise men worry more than is meet are disappearing as the abolition of chattel slavery has been followed by the abolition of liquor slavery. There is not a person reading these lines who could not make a list of people who, once unable to resist the temptation of accessible liquor, are now leading sober lives. What a boon to mother, wife and daughter, once cursed by perpetual fears.

New York City is still a leaky vessel. Granted. But this ship-shaped island is dryer than any man ever deemed possible.

The enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment is reorganizing our police force. Federal, state and local authorities are working together. They are coming in touch. State constabularies are certain to develop.

After the good old American plan, scorned of Pundits, Professors and our "Leading Authorities," by "trial and error," by experiment and failure, here a punch and there a hunch, we are gradually pulling together all the protectors of the peace. Constables, deputy sheriffs, deputy marshals, big city police, little city police—are all getting acquainted. Suddenly legislation will give us a federated police force. We shall cease to have pitched battles in weak

states, as now in West Virginia. Criminals will no longer follow the old injunction: if they persecute you in one city, flee to Chicago.

It will take time; but Uncle Sam has all the time there is. The centuries are his own.

The cheapness of human life is our national sin. Once, about one in ten of our male adults died violent deaths. In twenty years violent deaths of male adults have fallen to 5 per cent of the whole. Not merely murders, but accidents. Industrial homicide has had a big dent made in it.

Lynching, our national sin, is already being challenged as never before. Take your hat off to Governor Dorsey of Georgia, the bravest American alive. A country, a state, a county that produces a man like that has given hope to every citizen who wants to reform. Hit the evil nearest you and hit it hard. He has done this for lynching. He is not alone. The South has many sons like him. It is easy to attack lynching, in the North. In the South, it takes supreme civic courage.

Rejoice and be exceeding glad that you are privileged to be Governor Dorsey's fellow-citizen. Be a Dorsey right where you live.

Oklahoma needs a man like Governor Dorsey; but the man must be a Governor who, instead of writing about evils, acts. The Tulsa massacre will be repeated unless more drastic punishment follows than has succeeded past massacres, and this state and city pledge.

## The Whole Meaning of Freedom

"SINCE they have taken away my cocktail," mourned the American, "this is no longer a free country."

"Since they have taken away my opium," mourned the Chinese mandarin, "China is no longer free."

## On Calling Names

### By Allen Campbell

A little group of serious propagandists is trying to launch a movement for married women to retain their own names. Some of the critics of the movement say that nothing is gained by this, since there is just as little feminism in wearing your father's name as in wearing your husband's. In fact the present advantage is with the woman, because she can pick out a man with a more musical name than her own, whereas a man must thruout life bear the name he started with no matter whom he may marry. If you are christened Percival Gump you remain thus until you die or go on the stage, but if you are named Hannah Hobbs you may become a Mrs. Royal Vavasour or a Mrs. Napoleon Castleton. Or both in turn.

Real feminism would insist that a lady bear the name neither of father nor husband, but how shall this be arranged? To have names descend in the female line would only shift the present grievance to masculine shoulders. The English aristocracy has attempted a solution by hyphenation. But this solves the problem for one generation only. Ponsonsby-Smythe and Blacke-Catt are all very well, but what about the poor child of the next century who from the much marrying of his ancestors is forced to be a Wilde-Wilson-Farrington-Withingham-Hogglespiel-Juggins? The practice of hyphenation is an old one, coming from our ancestral family the Orang-Outangs (See Darwin's "Social Register"), but sooner or later the name becomes fixed and thereafter women marrying into the family must lose their own name for the sake of bearing two or more new ones.

A child's individuality may be preserved by letting him grow up nameless or with a provisional name only, and letting him choose for himself at the age of discretion. To let him choose too early would be to run the risk of a generation of Captain Kidds, Buffalo Bills and the like. At least four honored professions—authorship, the stage, the detective service and burglary—find refuge in the alias from the curse of the ancestral name. It is doubtful, however, whether this principle can be indefinitely extended. If the partnership of Smith, Jones and Robinson should overnight become Dragomiroff, Van Vandering and Campostello the firm would lose its good will, for all its customers would assume that the ownership had changed hands.

COMPLETE individuality would have its social as well as its financial drawbacks. Imagine reading a society notice that Archibald Jasper, son of William Howard and Matilda Fiske, was to wed Hermione White, daughter of Henry Grey and Mary Brown. And the later notice that they had twins, bearing the names of Gloriana Gingersnap and Charlemagne Charlotte-Russe. One could no longer open a conversation with the usual social gambit: "Ah. Mr. King, are you perhaps related to the Kings of England?" or "Miss Smith . . . I wonder if you know the Smiths of Gopher Prairie?" For all you know, the O'Leary on your right might have been an Edelstein and the MacPherson on your left an Alexieff.

Another suggested compromize with some merit is the alteration of a basic name, giving an individual twist to a traditional label. Thus you can chop off an unliked first name as did Hiram Grant and Thomas Wilson; or even cut off a first name and half of the next as did James Beauchamp Clark. Many an immigrant has changed Schmidt to Smith or clipped off the last six syllables of a Slavic family name. An American Indian named Bob-Tailed Coyote entered civilized life with a visiting card neatly engraved Mr. Robert T. Wolff.

Or we could revive the old custom of calling men after their trades. The Fishers would have to become fishermen and the Carpenters resume hammer and saw. Instead of such absurdities as Mr. James Seaman, Banker, or Mr. Albert Cook, Attorney, we would have simply Mr. James Banker and Mr. Albert Lawyer. Or again, one could follow the custom of the British aristocracy and adopt a place name. But unfortunately Lord Overhill or Squire Greenacres sounds so much more satisfactory than plain Mr. Seven East Third Street or even Mrs. Riverview Apartments. As for the reprehensible medieval habit of giving nicknames—Longshanks, Fat, Rash, Unready and the like—even to kings, we hope no one will revive that. Imagine the *Congressional Record* recording the debates of Senator Skinny or Representative Muttonhead!

## Capitalistic Religion

### By Shailer Mathews

IS wealth to hold the Christian Church in mortmain? It will, unless the churches awake to the danger which now faces them. Its latest instance is that of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which has, without any publicity, accepted a trust said to be approximately $1,500,000. This trust was established by a gentleman of undoubted generosity and loyalty to his own convictions, who attached to it conditions as follows: No part of the income of the trust can be used in paying the salaries or expenses of missionaries or colporteurs who do not believe in (1) the inspiration and supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures; (2) the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, His incarnation, His atoning death, His bodily resurrection and His return; (3) the Church on earth composed of the redeemed, who are commissioned to make their chief business the evangelization of the world. The trust further provides that, if at any time it shall be proved that the officers and board of managers are not in sympathy with these statements, the trust funds are to be transferred to an indicated recipient subject to the same general conditions.

The gentlemen who established this trust requested that it should not be made public at the time of gift. This re-

quest, undoubtedly born of the donor's habitual modesty, was complied with by the Home Mission Society and the trust accepted under the stated conditions. The news, however, leaked out, and there is already widespread opposition. This opposition, however, is not based on the views expressed in the statements (which, properly interpreted, all Baptists would accept), but because Baptists have always consistently refused to subject their workers to creedal tests.

While it is a fair question whether all Baptist churches would agree to the third statement as a definition of the Church, the criticism of the action of the Home Mission Board will lie in that it has erected a creedal test and that, too, one attached to a gift of money. As far as such action lies within their power the Home Mission Society has committed the Baptist denomination to a new policy and that, too, without giving its action prior publicity. How far can this sort of precedent go and leave religious liberty in the Baptist churches? If the Home Mission Society can accept from one man a trust of more than $1,000,000, subject to the inspection and approval of the theological beliefs of its donor, can it decline gifts from other men and churches on similar conditions? Hitherto the Baptist denomination has believed in individual liberty and has grown strong thru mutual trust. This action of the Home Mission Society has now exposed many of its employees and its own board to continued investigation on the part of an interest which has more than $1,000,000 to gain by proving the Home Mission Society Board to be out of sympathy with the undefined propositions determining the trust. This is a direct bid for some sort of ecclesiastical authority.

Who is to decide just what these statements mean and when persons are not in sympathy with them—the donor, the courts, or the Home Mission Society? Further, what shall be said of a series of tests of man's Christian faith in which there is no mention of morality and in which there is involved a veiled but determinable opposition to the social application of the gospel?

This trust, like other recent actions of wealthy men, is a phase of a policy to determine and preserve a non-social, non-progressive conception of Christianity. A few years ago a man of wealth established a trust fund, of which Rev. W. E. Blackstone was appointed manager. Professedly this fund was primarily intended for the furtherance of evangelistic effort on the foreign field. In reality it was appropriated with the understanding that it should be "expended in connection with missionaries of firm evangelical conviction, who are not actively hostile to the hope of the premillennial coming of Christ, who are devoted to evangelistic work." Subsequently the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions wisely took the position that "it had no power to approve other tests or requirements or any discrimination against missionaries on extra-confessional grounds."

Mr. Blackstone was notified of this action, but his fund has continued to make appropriations, altho somewhat reduced, to missions, both Presbyterian and others, in China and India. Only within the last few months there has been established in China a Bible Union composed of missionaries who are uniting to oppose all views not in accordance with the literalistic doctrine of the Bible held by the givers of these funds. At the same time large sums are being expended for sending forth literature assailing evolution, "new theology," and all other types of alleged infidelity, chief among which appears to be the application of the gospel to industrial affairs.

IF all this were simply an expression of divergent theologies it might be the cause for anxiety, tho hardly for apprehension. What we really face, however, is an organized and heavily financed propaganda against the teachings of modern science, the application of Christianity to social reconstruction, together with an attempt to control by the power of money the convictions and the message of the Christian evangelists and preachers. No amount of misrepresentation of opponents as disloyal to the fundamental growth of Christianity can obscure this fact. Evidence of this new movement has been gathering for several years. Its leaders make no concealment of their purposes. College and Seminary faculties are being attacked and wherever possible removed under the guise of a loyalty to the Bible and hostility to radicalism.

Millions of dollars are being offered to carry on the activities of religious boards in such a way as to divert the Church from any application of the gospel to social affairs. Men are being influenced not to contribute to Christian Associations or to support ministries or missionaries or to endow schools or to countenance church action looking to the christianization of industrial affairs.

The situation is one which presents clear-cut issues. Are our mission boards to be under the general direction of rich men who are more interested in their own theories of inspiration than in Christ's Sermon on the Mount? Are our church workers to be subsidized into theological subserviance and made silent as to industrial justice and the gospel of Jesus Christ?

## Frontier Wars in College

AN energetic nation is apt to be pushful and even aggressive. The very patriotism which is so excellent a thing in developing a distinctive national culture makes a people too apt to impose that culture on the neighbors. In the same way the zealous teacher is apt to try to usurp for his department as much of the student's time and attention as a supposedly impartial President and the rivalries of other departments will permit. Usually a sort of balance of power is preserved among the studies and it rarely happens that one department can gain much ground for itself in the curriculum by a direct assault.

Therefore the shrewd professor goes at his task by indirection, by raising a boundary dispute with his neighbors. Since the dividing lines between subjects of study, like those between nations, are usually quite arbitrary and accidental this is not hard to do. But the other departments are doing the same thing, so that a given field of study may be claimed by as many as half a dozen different departments. Suppose that there is some such topic as the effect of the industrial revolution on living conditions in nineteenth century England. The Professor of Economics sees it first; "finder's keepers," he says, and launches a new course:

Economics 21-22, Professor Eisenbahn. Industrialization as Related to Urbanization.

Professor Hume of the History Department catches him posting up the announcement and makes a wild dash for his own office. In a few moments he is at the bulletin board posting up a new announcement:

History 115-116, Prof. Hume. Effects of the Industrial Revolution on English History.

Sociology is not to be outdone. Isn't the topic a sociological one after all? Result:

Sociology C, Prof. Scattergood. Living Conditions of Factory Workers as Influenced by Technological Developments.

But that offers too broad a hint to the engineering department and we get:

Engineering 47-48, Prof. Hammertongs. Personnel Work in Factories: Typical Living Conditions in Modern Industrial Communities.

Here we apparently run out of departments, unless there is a Political Science shark around to grab it up. But eventually far distant departments will try to obtain a mandate over this valuable bit of intellectual territory. We will have a seminar in the School of Education on Problems of Group Citizenship arising from Industrialization. And

the English department under Professor Tennyson O'Really will proudly announce:

English XY. The Voice from the Abyss. Anti-industrialist literature of the Nineteenth Century, with readings from Kingsley, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, Charles Reade, Disraeli and the pioneers of Socialism.

This is but one example where many might be given. There are, for example, the disputed frontiers of the higher mathematics. The Mathematical Department will hold forth on:

Einstein's Theory of Spacial Relationships.

Astronomy will cover about the same ground with:

The Einstein Theory of Cosmic Structure and its Relation to Newton's Law of Gravitation.

Physics will be in at the death with:

Matter, Motion and Space from the Standpoint of Relativity.

Philosophy, of course:

The theory of Relativity in the Light of Modern Metaphysics.

The Germanic Languages Department will find a good excuse for:

Readings in Modern German Science.

Then there are the boundary disputes between physics and chemistry; between geology and geography; between classical philology and archeology; between anthropology and ethnology; between biology and physiology; between brain physiology and psychology; between psychology and philosophy, and so on endlessly. In the confusion of modern "small nationality" subjects one almost longs for the good old days when all the sciences were lumped together in one professor's cranium as Natural Philosophy. To multiply subjects is to multiply rivalries. But a shrewd Bismarck of a professor who has a nice, expansive subject such as sociology, history or philosophy can soon be trespassing on every field in the whole curriculum before his colleags—or his students—suspect what he is doing.

# Faith and Belief

## By Preston Slosson

"DO you believe in infant baptism?"

"Believe in it? Why, I've *seen* it!"

This familiar chestnut deserves a place in every textbook of philosophy, not for its wit, but because like so many popular jests it strikes to the heart of a subtle problem of psychology. The problem in this case is the double meaning of the word "faith." The word is sometimes taken as belief, as a purely intellectual assent. Again it is often used in the very different sense of trust in the validity of something. It is the business of theology to make this important distinction very clear.

The old controversy about "salvation by faith" or "salvation by works" is largely caused by this confusion of meaning of the word "faith." There is one sense in which salvation by faith is a far truer and profounder fact than salvation by works. Deeds are only the fruit of the tree of character. If some untoward frost or storm kills the fruit on the tree there will be another crop next year if the roots and trunk remain sound. In the same way, if a man is good at heart, if in the fine old phrase he "has the root of the matter in him," it matters comparatively little that under the oppressions of a harsh environment or a sudden yielding to impulse and unexpected temptation he has done something wrong. That is the whole moral of Goethe's "Faust." Mephistopheles could get him to commit sin after sin, but he never could get him to cease from striving after the right and so he was forced to admit defeat at the end. "While still man strives, still must he stray." But the striving is what matters; the straying, in the perspective of eternity, is nothing worse than a loss of time.

Moreover, the divine fire that is always aspiring toward perfection does not come of itself. It is always kindled by faith in something. A really good man, not just a man who is respectable in a quiet environment because of habit or social pressure, always derives his goodness from a profound trust in the ultimate value of something. It may be, it most commonly is, a belief in God and the moral order of the universe. Sometimes it is a belief in the human race and Utopian dreams of its improvement. Sometimes it is patriotism, a belief that no sacrifice is too great to lay on the altar of the Fatherland. Sometimes it is simply a stoical belief in the desirability of keeping one's own soul clean and strong. But where there is no fundamental faith there is no trustworthy character.

In this sense it may be said that a man deserves Heaven because of the faith that is in him and not because the good deeds he has chanced to do overbalance by a little the sins he has committed. But the truth of the doctrine of salvation by faith is so very complex and subtle that it is easily perverted into the doctrine of salvation by knowledge. In this form the doctrine is radically offensive to the common man's sense of justice. To be told by some old-fashioned theologian who has fallen into this misunderstanding that if you are unable to accept as true certain intellectual propositions you will burn in everlasting fire, whereas if you do accept those propositions you cannot escape Heaven no matter how much you revel in wickedness on earth, is to lose faith either in the goodness of God or in the wisdom of the preacher.

Of course, it would not do to underrate the importance of clear and correct thinking in religious matters any more than in science. Obviously a man who is brought up in the sane and rational Christian creed has an advantage over the benighted heathen with his crude and erroneous beliefs. The intellect plays a great part in making life orderly and efficient; it has made man out of the brute and civilized man out of the savage. But it does not suffice for salvation. The intellect is a compass and a map, but it is not an engine; it shows us what should be done, but it does not make us do it. Many a man sees the better, but follows the worse. "The devils also believe and tremble."

If a man accepts the truths of religion as facts, but *merely* as facts, they do him very little good. Mere assent to the dogma that God exists, or is almighty, or is good, or is triune is about as efficacious for salvation as assent to the statements that Petrograd is a city in Russia, Mount Everest is the highest known peak, and acids neutralize alkalines. Belief about what one does not care about is merely the idle satisfaction of idle curiosity. Much theological speculation is as unimportant an occupation as reading the miscellaneous assortment of facts in the back of a farmers' almanac. It is only when a belief takes fire and becomes of vital importance in life that it really deserves the name of faith.

What is true in theology is true in other departments of human belief and conduct. Who is the good patriot? Not the man who believes that the United States is a good country to live in and that all its institutions are sound, but the man who *wants* the United States to be perfect and labors to make it so. Who is the good reformer? Not the man who assents to the merits of the cause but doesn't much care, but the man to whom it is of vital importance. It matters really very little what you believe. It matters very much how much you believe it. There are plenty of anarchists and Bolshevists whom I would trust with unlimited bombs. They are sincere enough, in a way; they believe what they say in the sense that they think it is true—but they do not care enough to make the step from words to act. But one man who really *means* anarchy; look out for him!

When science shall have made an exhaustive catalog of every fact in the universe religion will still have all her task before her. Science tells you what things are true. Religion tells you whether it matters or not that they are true. You are not saved by what you do. You are not saved by what you think. You are saved by what you value.

# The Story of the Week

## Arms and the Senate

BY a unanimous vote—74 to 0—the Senate adopted the Borah amendment to the naval appropriation bill. The amendment covers the Borah disarmament program and is thus worded:

The President is authorized and requested to invite the governments of Great Britain and Japan to send representatives to a conference, which shall be charged with the duty of promptly entering into an understanding or agreement by which the naval expenditures and building programs of each of said governments, to wit, the United States, Great Britain and Japan, shall be substantially reduced annually during the next five years to such an extent and upon such terms as may be agreed upon, which understanding or agreement is to be reported to the respective governments for approval.

The Borah amendment had long been opposed by a faction of Republican Senators, who were favorable enough to the principle underlying it, but objected to any attempt to commit the President to any program that did not have his prior authorization. Some word or hint must have come from the White House that the Borah program was not objectionable, for all opposition disappeared when the amendment came to a vote.

Another attempt to bring about disarmament by coöperation with the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations was less successful. Senator Walsh of Montana offered an amendment for the appointment of an American representative on the Commission, but it was opposed by every Republican present and by three anti-League Democrats, Shields of Tennessee, Walsh of Massachusetts and Watson of Georgia. Senator Lodge, speaking for the Republican majority, said that he "would not go into the League by the back door." Another disarmament amendment was offered by Senator Pomerene of Ohio, declaring a holiday in naval construction for six months pending the conclusion of a disarmament agreement with Great Britain and Japan. This was ruled out of order, and the Senate sustained the point of order 37 votes to 29.

The approval of the Borah amendment and the rejection of the Pomerene amendment when taken together mean that the Senate is committed to the principle of naval disarmament by agreement, but is unwilling to stop building in the meantime pending the conclusion of such agreement. The taxpayer must, therefore, postpone his hopes of a decreased naval budget for some future day.

The attitude of the Senate regarding the amount of naval preparedness now required seems to be a little uncertain. On the chief test vote the big navy men won. This was on an amendment to maintain the naval personnel at 120,000 instead of 100,000, as provided by the House of Representatives. Party lines were broken, Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin leading the opposition to the increase, while his Republican colleag, Senator Poindexter of Washington championed the big naval establishment. On the other hand the small navy men secured the elimination from the Naval Appropriation bill of the project for establishing a naval base at Alameda, California.

The Naval Appropriation bill as it finally passed the Senate on June 1 calls for an expenditure of $494,000,000. It secured the support of thirty-eight Republicans and sixteen Democrats, and was opposed by twelve Democrats and five Republicans. The bill now goes to conference, and the House of Representatives may insist on some reductions.




*Donahey in Cleveland Plain Dealer*

**"Throw away those weapons!"**

## We Get the Budget

THE House and Senate have succeeded in ironing out in conference their differences on the Budget bill and the measure is now complete. The offices of Comptroller and Assistant Comptroller of the Treasury are abolished as from July 1 and their subordinates are transferred to the General Accounting Office. The General Accounting Office is to be independent of the executive departments and under the direction of a Comptroller General, who, with his assist-



*International*

**The Senate has adopted the Borah Amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill, and is committed to the policy of naval disarmament by agreement. But until the conclusion of such agreement, things go on as usual, and in the meantime monsters like these are being built. This is one of the 12-inch mortars, mounted on steel railway cars, which are to be used to guard the coast of New York. Such a gun practises on a target five miles away, and fires a 1646 pound projectile. The detached dark spot at the left of the picture is a heavy iron disc thrown clear of the car by the shock of the firing**

ant, is named by the President for a term of fifteen years. He is ineligible for reappointment and is removable from office by a joint congressional resolution, which requires the President's signature. There is also a Bureau of the Budget under a Director appointed by the President. This Bureau is placed within the Treasury Department.

The Director of the Budget will draw up annual estimates for the entire expenses of the Government and they will then be submitted to Congress by the President. The Comptroller General will investigate "all matters relating to the receipt, disbursement and application of public funds," and will report to each session of Congress the work of the General Accounting Office and recommend legislation "to facilitate the prompt and accurate rendition and settlement of accounts."

A budget bill along similar lines was passed during President Wilson's administration, but vetoed because it gave Congress the right to remove the Comptroller General, which President Wilson considered an invasion of the constitutional prerogative of the President. The budget has been long delayed by such questions of detail, but the present plan has almost universal approval. An evidence of this was the vote in the House of Representatives on the acceptance of the conference report, which carried by a majority of 327 to 3. The fundamental idea of the budget is that probable receipts and expenses should be estimated together and laid before the legislative body as a coherent whole, instead of permitting the introduction of individual appropriation bills and revenue bills that bear no relation to each other, or to the estimates of the executive departments. Many American states and most foreign countries have long enjoyed the budget system in one form or another.

## Harding Signs Tariff

ON May 23 the House of Representatives adopted the conference report on the emergency tariff bill by a vote of 245 to 97, thus clearing the way for consideration of the general tariff. On May 27, President Harding signed the bill.

The emergency tariff is a product of the big slump in agriculture which occurred last year. Altho the United States imports relatively little in the way of agricultural products, it was believed by protectionists that some relief could be brought to the farmers by shutting off the competition of foreign foodstuffs and farm products until the crisis had passed. A measure prepared in the last Congress with this intention was vetoed by President Wilson and had to be reintroduced in the new session.

The measure signed by President Harding provides for high protective duties on farm products and also for a general bar against the "dumping" of foreign goods. This consists of a special duty equal to the excess of the foreign market value of imported goods over exporters' sales price whenever the Secretary of the Treasury, "after such investigation as he deems necessary, finds that an industry in the United States is being or is likely to be injured, or is prevented from being established, by reason of the importation of a class or kind of foreign merchandise" which is being sold "at less than its fair value" in the American market.

Another clause in the emergency tariff not directly related to agriculture extends the period of war control over the dyestuffs industry for three months.




*Stinson in Dayton Daily News*

**"Protect me from him, protect me!"**

## The American Factory

THE statistical statement on American manufactures just issued by the Census Bureau for the year 1919 shows many interesting changes when compared with the last previous census of manufactures in 1914. The number of industrial establishments in the United States has grown from 275,791 to 288,376, a rate of increase not beyond the normal and expected, but the *value* of manufactured products in the same five years increased from $24,246,435,000 to $62,588,905,000. Even allowing for the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, this represents a momentous enlargement of output. The annual output of American factories is nearly twice as great as the entire principal of the German war indemnity and nearly three times as great as the entire public debt of the United States.

The war is naturally reflected in some of the changes from 1914 to 1919. Thus the American airplane and airship output increased from $790,000 to $14,373,000; steel shipbuilding from $66,217,000 to $1,454,116,000. Other rapidly growing industries owe their increased output rather to the development of the newer industries which bring the achievements of science to the people. Automobile output increased from $503,230,000 to $2,387,833,000, and there was a similar increase in automobile parts and repairs. Phonographs rose in value from $27,116,000 to $158,668,000.

Running down the alphabet here and there one realizes how vast is the structure of American industry, the only thing in the world that can make even a post-war revenue bill look small. The world is wearing $1,149,560,000 worth of American shoes and blacking them with over $25,000,000 of American blacking. The world is eating more than $1,400,000,000 worth of American bakery bread and cake, and spreading its bread with over $583,000,000 worth of American butter. The jaws of the world are busy with some $51,000,000 worth of American chewing gum, or $637,215,000 value of American ice cream and candy. Or cooling its drinks with nearly $137,000,000 of American artificial ice. Or smoking more than $868,000,000 in American cigars and cigarets. Or wearing nearly $59,000,000 of American suspenders and elastics. Or writing with over $24,000,000 in lead pencils. In nearly all industries there is an increase; in some few a marked decline. Perhaps you will not be surprized to learn that the production of distilled liquors had sunk even in 1919 to less than a sixth of the 1914 output.

## No More Postal Censorship

POSTMASTER-GENERAL Hays has readmitted to the use of the mails *The Liberator*, a radical periodical published in New York by Max Eastman, debarred from the second class mailing privilege by Postmaster-General Burleson. The second class mail includes ordinary periodical publications "published for the dissemination of information of a public character, or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts or some special industry." On the theory that the radical propaganda which comprized most of the pages of *The Liberator* was not "information of a public

character," Mr. Burleson refused to enter that periodical at the usual rates and it had to be sent at a much higher rate as third class matter (the rate for circulars and miscellaneous printed matter). Mr. Hays rules that the postal service has no right to discriminate against a general periodical on the ground that it disapproved of the contents, saying with some shrewdness, "Much of the news in any daily might be barred if public benefit were essential." He adds that "The arbitrary power to decide what is and what is not a public benefit was never intended to be lodged in the Postmaster-General. It shall not be assumed."




*James in St. Louis Star*

**The liberator**

On the question of whether *The Liberator* was loyal or seditious the Postmaster-General refused to pass, declaring that it was the duty of the Department of Justice to suppress and punish publications advocating the forcible overthrow of the Government. "Either these publications should be entirely suppressed and their publishers prosecuted or they should be given equal mailing rights with the other periodicals of the country." The ruling in the case of *The Liberator* has two important consequences. It served as a precedent for other radical periodicals, such as *The Call* of New York and *The Leader* of Milwaukee, which have since been re-admitted to mailing privileges. It also means that the Government must repay to *The Liberator* a sum of more than $11,000, representing the excess postage paid by that periodical while it was debarred from circulation as second class mail matter.

# Lower Pay on the Railroads

ON June 1 the Railroad Labor Board handed down a decision reducing wages on interstate railroad lines. The average cut was 12 per cent and the aggregate decrease in the annual wage budget of the transportation companies is estimated at $400,000,000. Only 104 railroads are directly affected by the ruling of the Board, but the same principles will be applied to companies whose cases have not yet been reviewed. The present decrease does not totally wipe out the increase gained by the wage award of July, 1920, which added $600,000,000 to the pay envelopes of railway employees.

Railroad wages have been a vexed topic ever since the coming of the Great War accelerated the rise in the cost of living. Not until 1916 was there any marked and general increase in wages on the railroads and not until the latter part of 1918 did increasing wages succeed in overtaking rising costs. In the months of reconstruction which followed the armistice both wages and prices rose rapidly and it was not until the Labor Board, acting under the provisions of the new Transportation Act, granted increases amounting on the average to about 21 per cent above existing wage schedules that the railwayman enjoyed a real betterment of his standard of living. It was largely in order to permit the railroad companies to pay the new high wages that increases of freight rates were authorized. Both were based on the supposition that high prices would continue for some time longer.

But then came the great industrial depression and all calculations were upset. The drop in the cost of living brought some benefit to the employees, tho this was partly offset by the increase in unemployment. To the railroad companies the changed conditions brought only loss. They could not greatly reduce expenses, since the largest item in their budget was for wages and this was fixed by the decision of the Labor Board at a time when prices were at their very crest. Their higher freight rates did not bring the expected return, since the shippers curtailed the amount of goods transported. No doubt the higher freight rates were in part responsible for decreased traffic, but the general industrial depression, which had many causes, would in any case have accounted for a great decrease in the business done by the railroads.

A number of railroads started cutting wages as the only way to bring down costs to leave any margin of profit. The workers promptly appealed to the Railroad Labor Board. With about a hundred cases pending, the Board decided to study the situation as a whole and to render a general decision.

The astute spokesmen of the railroad trades unions instead of contesting the need for decreased costs, shifted the ground of argument and contended that the railroad executives could reduce expenses in other ways than by simply cutting wages. They estimated that inefficient management caused wastes amounting to fully a billion a year. To this contention the railway executives replied that it was impractical to count as avoidable waste all the losses due to differences between the best possible equipment and the average equipment, since the railroad companies did not have sufficient income to make the necessary improvements. Thus President Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio estimated that to equip all the railroads in the United States with the most improved and economical types of locomotives might mean a saving of $250,000,000 a year, but it would involve a capital expenditure of $4,000,000,000—and where was the money to be had?




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**Ups and downs of railroading**

On May 17 the Railroad Labor Board announced that in its opinion "prevailing conditions justify to some extent, yet to be determined, a readjustment downward of the wages of the employees of the carriers which are parties to the disputes already heard by the Labor Board." It promised a decision as to the amount of the wage cuts on June 1, to go into force on July 1, 1921. The Board also announced a reclassification of employees so that each group of workers would have a standardized designation.

# England Will Take Russian Gold

THE British Court of Appeals has rendered a verdict validating the Russian gold which the Soviet Government is offering in payment for British goods. Those who opposed a trade agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia said that even if the Russians paid for the goods they bought the purchase would not be valid since the money possessed by the Soviet Government was stolen from its lawful owners by arbitrary measures of confiscation. So serious was this objection that a special clause in the commercial treaty authorized the Soviet Government to terminate the agreement "if as the result of any action in the courts of the United Kingdom dealing with the attachment or arrest of any gold funds, securities, property or commodities not being identifiable as the exclusive property of a British subject consigned to the United Kingdom by the Russian Soviet Government or its representatives, judgment is delivered by the court under which such gold, funds, securities, property or commodities is held to be validly attached on account of obligations incurred by the Russian Soviet Government or by any previous Russian Government before the date of the signature of this agreement."

The representative of a Russian company whose factory had been confiscated by the Bolsheviki in 1918 brought a suit against an English company which had bought some of its product from the Bolshevist authorities. This was made a test case, and a British judge decided for the plaintiff on the ground that at the time the seizure was made the British Government had not recognized the Soviet Government. The case was then appealed and reversed on appeal, the judges holding (1) that the commercial agreement with Soviet Russia amounted to a recognition of that Government as the de facto ruling power in Russia; (2) that the acts of a recognized Government must be held as valid public acts even if they took place before the time of recognition; (3) that confiscatory measures taken by a foreign Government recognized by Great Britain are not invalidated by being contrary to British policies.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**The straight and narrow path**

# The Other Ireland

THE elections for the Parliament of Northern Ireland on May 24 resulted in an unexpectedly complete victory for the Unionist party. A very heavy vote was called out by all parties and excitement rose to a high pitch tho none of the affrays amounted to a serious battle.

An unofficial first count of the ballots in Ulster gave the Unionist candidates an aggregate of 341,289 votes; the Sinn Fein 103,516; the Nationalists 60,762; the independent Labor candidates 4001. The Unionists will probably have thirty-nine seats in the Parliament of northern Ireland to thirteen held by Nationalists and Sinn Feiners. Sir James Craig, the Unionist leader in Ulster, will be the head of the new Government for Northern Ireland. De Valera and Arthur Griffith were among the Sinn Feiners elected. In Belfast the Unionists had a clean sweep, save for Devlin, the Nationalist leader, who secured one of sixteen seats for the city. The Parliament will meet in Belfast in June.




*Manchester Sunday Chronicle*

**An English point of view**

The result of the election emphasizes the cleavage between the northern and the southern parts of Ireland. In the south Sinn Fein met with no opposition at the polls, and the Southern Parliament, were it to meet, would be made up wholly of Sinn Feiners except for the delegation from Dublin University. Of course not everyone in Ireland outside Ulster is a Sinn Feiner, but the Unionists were everywhere too intimidated and outnumbered to venture to contest the election. In the north, on the contrary, the Unionists have carried three-fourths of the constituencies in spite of the endeavors of the Nationalists and the Sinn Feiners alike to capture the Northern Parliament. What the election proves is that Ireland is two nations, bitterly hostile, but condemned by the encircling ocean to keep house together.

# Dublin Custom House Burned

ON May 25 the Sinn Fein arson campaign culminated in the burning of the Custom House at Dublin. This was the most serious affray which has taken place in the Irish capital since the insurrection of Easter, 1916; most of the disorders of recent months having taken place in the southern and western parts of Ireland. The Custom House was a historic building dating from the eighteenth century and valued at $5,000,000. It was the headquarters of the Irish Local Government Board and of the Inland Revenue Department, and its destruction by fire involved also the destruction of irreplaceable public records and threw into confusion the administrative machinery of the British Government in Ireland. Of course this was the very purpose of the insurgents, who hoped to paralyze British rule in Ireland even at the cost of destroying one of the chief public buildings of their country.

Like many Sinn Fein raids, the attack was wholly unexpected and so well planned that the British authorities were helpless to prevent its accomplishment. A gang estimated at from seventy to a hundred in number entered the building from armed motor cars and poured oil over everything that would burn. Public records were thrown about the floor and soaked in oil. Then the building was set afire in many places. With rifles, revolvers and bombs the insurgents stood off the police until the whole edifice was in a blaze. The firemen were prevented from going to the rescue until the fire had done its work and there was no more hope of saving the Custom House. In the fighting

between the police and the Sinn Feiners around the doomed building it is estimated that seven civilians were killed, eleven wounded and 111 taken prisoner. A few iron safes were taken from the ruins and thus some documents escaped the fire.

## German Affairs

ONE of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles most discussed at the time, tho little mentioned since, concerned the punishment of those Germans who had violated the rules of war. Kaiser Wilhelm was the only person mentioned individually in the Treaty as charged with crime, but the refusal of the Dutch Government to surrender him into the hands of the Allies has postponed—perhaps forever—the enforcement of that particular clause of the Treaty. The Allies prepared a list of war criminals of lesser standing, including individuals of all ranks from commanding generals guilty of giving orders for wholesale devastation of occupied territory down to obscure noncommissioned officers and privates guilty of individual atrocities. It was the intention of the men who made the treaty to hold the trials before some Allied tribunal, but as a special concession to Germany the Allies later agreed to permit Germany to try her own war criminals. This the Germans were very slow to do; months passed by without a conviction. But recently the Leipzig court has passed sentence of imprisonment on Sergeant Heyne and Captain Müller who were found guilty of striking and otherwise mistreating British soldiers at German prison camps during the war. This indicates a willingness on the part of the German Government to do something in satisfaction of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles respecting the punishment of war criminals, tho it remains to be seen whether national opinion in Germany will permit any men of high military rank to be convicted.

The internal situation in Germany has somewhat improved since the Allies agreed to restore order in Upper Silesia. Fighting between Polish and German irregulars has practically ceased and both Germany and Poland are keeping the blaze from spreading beyond the plebiscite zone. The Government, having once bowed to the Allied ultimatum, seems to be sincerely endeavoring to meet the required reparations payments, to refrain from intervention in Silesia, to punish at least the minor war criminals and to curb the irregular military organizations which have sprung up so freely in Germany since the war and which have shown such contemptuous defiance of the Allies and even of the central German Government. Chancellor Wirth has appointed Dr. Rosen, former Minister to Holland, as his Foreign Minister.

Salzburg has followed the example of Tirol in voting for union with Germany; 67,533 votes were cast for union to 677 in opposition. The Austrian Government is trying to restrain other Austrian provinces from following the precedent set by Tirol and Salzburg; not that the authorities in Vienna are opposed to the idea of union with Germany, but that they are convinced that the Allies would never permit the union to take place. The Salzburg plebiscite has no legal standing and no practical effect, but it is certainly an impressive demonstration of popular sentiment.

## Briand Triumphs Again

THOSE who charge the French Government with the intention to ruin Germany at any cost and under any pretext may ponder with profit the words of Premier Briand, the responsible ruler of France, in defending the policy of his Government in the Chamber of Deputies. He pointed out the difference between the English and the French point of view regarding Silesia and said that important as the question was he would not permit it to separate France from England: "If the Entente breaks on such an issue, it will be because there was a desire somewhere to shipwreck it. This Government has no such desire." The German Government had promised not to send troops to Silesia or permit irregular aid to be sent and the French Government rested content with those assurances. "Mere words, mere promises, you may say. But no. Dr. Wirth (the German Chancellor) has shown great frankness and great loyalty. He has undertaken engagements and he has taken steps to carry them out."

Speaking further, Premier Briand said that the alternative policy to that pursued by his Government "would be to find a pretext in every dispatch from troubled regions to rush into military action. That conception of the right way to use our strength is not the conception of this Government. . . . It would have been easy for me to have mobilized classes, to have seized the Ruhr and returned triumphantly to Paris. That would have been the easier way, but that is a kind of praise I have never sought." If a militarist policy was desired it would be easy for the Chamber to overthrow his ministry and find new agents



*Underwood & Underwood*

**Germany seems to have carried out some at least of the Allies' terms of reparation. This is the scrap heap that was once Germany's air fleet, wrecked soon after the armistice by order of the Allies, and now piled up outside of Berlin. The monoplane above is, however, a hint that the war did not quite kill German aeronautics**

to carry out its will, but so long as he held office he would never permit France to act precipitately or to antagonize friendly nations by pursuing a national policy towards Germany not supported by England, Italy and the United States.

Here are my last words: In the present world crisis no people can live alone. As long as I am on the bridge I will not send our ship upon the rocks. I will never act so that France finds herself as in 1815 or in 1871. I can never forget that in the World War England came to our side, and America came, and others came. You should not forget that. We owe them something in spite of dissension and politics. This splendid union must be maintained.

These words were very bold; a direct defiance to all the chauvinists and militarists in France. Never before since 1914 had a responsible French statesman ventured to ask his people to trust in the good faith of a German Government. But on the issue as presented Premier Briand challenged a vote of confidence. The first vote asked an endorsement of the policy of the Allied Premiers respecting reparations. This was carried by 403 votes to 163. Another vote was taken on the proposition that "the Chamber is confident that the Government will assure with regard to Silesia strict and loyal application of the Treaty of Versailles, in spirit as well as in form." This was approved by 390 votes to 162. Then a final vote was taken on the resolution of confidence as a whole, resulting in a verdict for the Government of 419 votes to 171.

# Here Are Books—and Books

## To Take Away for the Summer—and to Keep After That

### John Burroughs, Boy and Man

John Burroughs comes nearer the heart of those who knew him only thru his nature studies in the story told by his secretary and friend of many years, of his childhood days, his struggles as a young man, the calm, quiet communion with the world of nature of his later life.

Dr. Clare Barrus's book, *John Burroughs, Boy and Man*, is almost an autobiography, it is so full of sayings from Mr. Burroughs' own lips. It is an account of the experiences in the life of a man who lived to see his country emerge from the days of oxen teams, apple gathering celebrations, and quilting parties to the times of motor trucks, garden fetes and ladies' literary circles. It is, besides, the story of a life of strong and varied friendships—for people like Roosevelt, Edison, John Muir.

The story is simply told, yet appealing. Charming in every detail is its portrait of the real John Burroughs, the optimist *par excellence* as we find him in his last work, *Accepting the Universe*.

In this book Mr. Burroughs gives the final conclusions from his study of nature.

All the discussion is centered on one theme: the Universe is good, and it is our rare good fortune to form a part of it. It is a gospel of optimism in which the naturalist tells us that good and evil, right and wrong, and all the forces of nature and the tendencies of the human soul contribute to make this the best possible world, and the people in it the best possible people. John Burroughs looks upon the Universe as solvent and worthy of trust, a place in which the smallest being has a place of real utility.

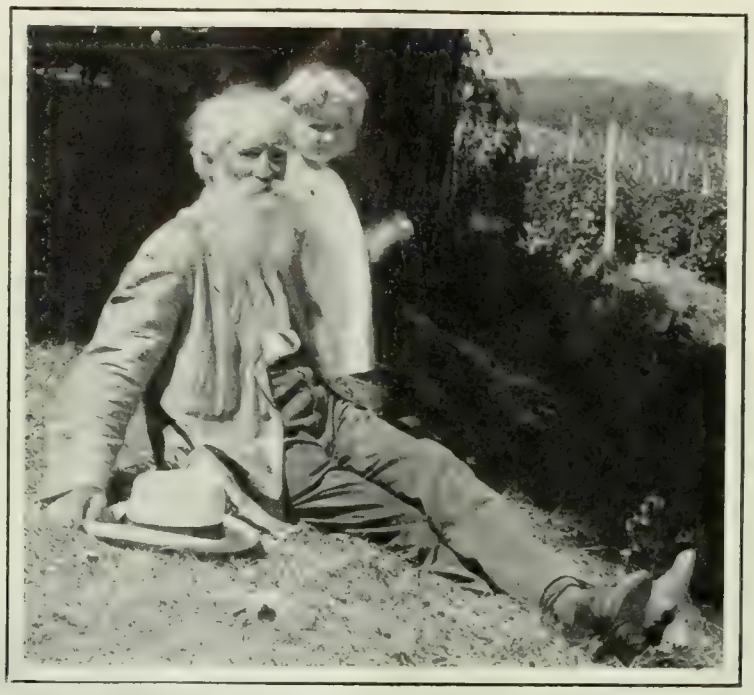
In the words of his friend of many years, Walt Whitman, he leaves to the reader the heart of his philosophy in a ringing message:

> Whoever you are! you are he or she for whom the earth is solid and liquid.
> You are he or she for whom the moon and the sun hang in the sky,
> For none more than you are the present and the past,
> For none more than you is immortality.

Coming from the pen of one whose communion with the things that are unseen as well as with the loveliness of nature kept him young for nearly eighty-four years, the conclusions and temperamental attitude in general found in *Accepting the Universe* are worth considering.

They may be worth accepting.

*John Burroughs, Boy and Man*, by Clare Barrus, M.D. Doubleday, Page & Co. *Accepting the Universe*, by John Burroughs. Houghton Mifflin Co.



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John Burroughs

### "The Romantic Aroma of Elephant"

*The Circus*, according to Joyce Kilmer, is not only the greatest fun in the world, but romance and poetry and religion beside. "We whose lives are prose may well be grateful for the circus, our annual draught of poetry; for the circus, the perennial, irresistible, incomparable, inevitable Renascence of Wonder." We may well be grateful, too, for Joyce Kilmer who, with his fantasy shading bewilderingly into profound philosophy, his bubbling humor poised so often on the brink of tears, is curiously fitted to sing this immemorial strangely neglected theme. Whether you go to the circus every year boldly and with shouts of joy, or with elaborately invented excuses about your little nephew, you must read this essay.

It is not quite so important, but I should advise you to read the other essays too. They deal with agreeably original subjects like the abolition of poets, the adventure of riding on the subway and the beauties of signboards in the country. The "Fugitive Pieces" are chiefly literary criticisms; why they and the essays were not included in the memorial volumes, "Joyce Kilmer; Poems, Essays and Letters," is explained by Robert Cortes Holliday in a not very interesting preface. The really important thing is *The Circus*.

*The Circus and Other Essays and Fugitive Pieces*, by Joyce Kilmer. George H. Doran Company.

### One Before Bedtime

The Port Arlington Literary and Philosophical Society is the English sister of the Gopher Prairie Thanatopsis Club. It has the same tendency to swallow culture in large doses, to take itself very seriously and to gently pity those who are not of the charmed circle. The methods of its historian, R. E. Vernede, however, are gentler than those of Sinclair Lewis. Mr. Vernede's *Port Arlington Stories*, woven chiefly about the "Lit. and Phil." are very good reading. They belong to that pleasant class of short story where the plot is much less important than the people and the most important thing of all is the amusing and original way in which the author tells his tale.

But collections of short stories, like collections of essays, are more or less a mistake because they tempt the reader to consume in rapid succession ideas which are meant to be taken in small doses. So try to be strong-minded enough not to read the *Port Arlington Stories* all at once just because they happen to be found together, and afford the same consideration to the stories in Alice Brown's *Homespun and Gold*. They are worth it. It is rather superfluous to criticize them, for the general title sums up so well both their manner and their matter; suffice it to say that it is excellent homespun and perfectly good gold.

*Fort Arlington Stories and Others*, by R. E. Vernede. George H. Doran Co. *Homespun and Gold*, by Alice Brown. The Macmillan Co.

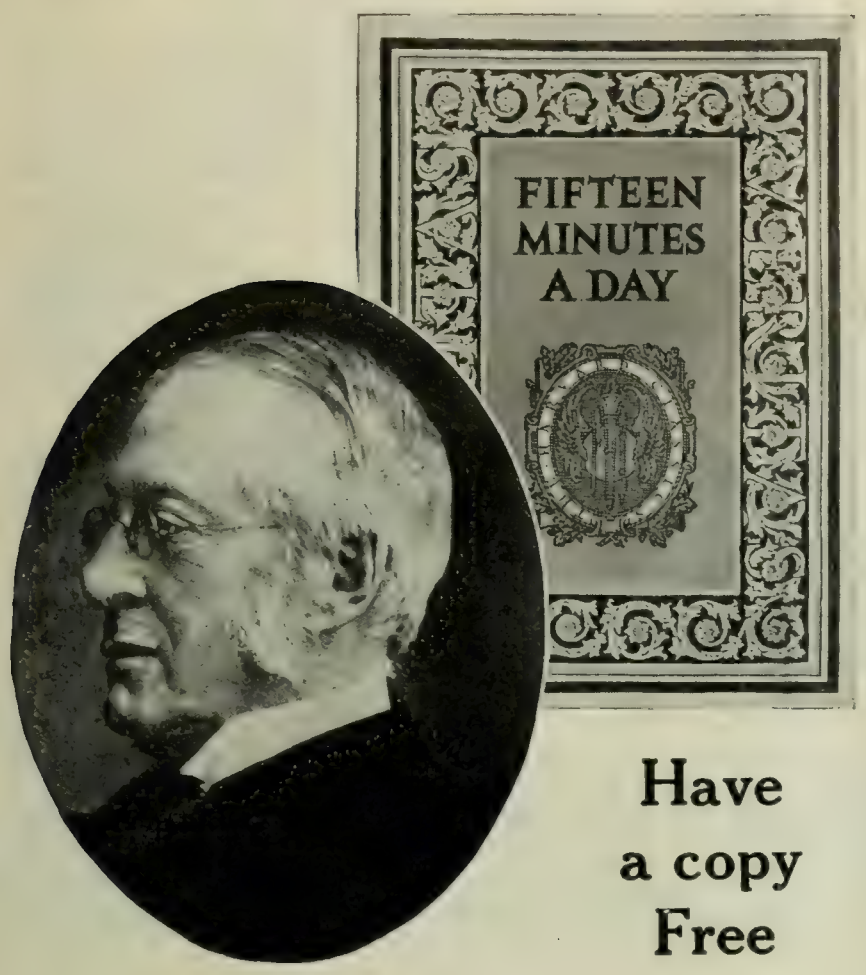
### When Is Dullness Not Dullness?

Archibald Marshall *is* dull but it's a pleasant sort of dullness. The mature mind, like the very youthful one, is often curiously fascinated by simple narrative told in elaborate detail—"And so the little boys got up and dressed and went down to breakfast and each of them had an orange and a glass of milk and a big bowl of oatmeal." Perhaps Mr. Marshall is particularly soothing to an American reader because the English country house life of which he writes is so pleasantly peaceful, compared to Main Street, for instance. Probably, tho, it is Mr. Marshall himself; Galsworthy can get you frightfully wrought up in the quietest of country houses.

*The Hall and the Grange*, Archibald Marshall's latest novel, is the story of two brothers, the younger of whom became much more rich and successful than his elder with consequent complications between them and their respective families. They are nice people, all of them, very real without being very definite, like a good many people of flesh and blood. There are some charming passages between the boy and girl cousins and some gentle humor.

Hugh Walpole is certainly not dull yet a good deal of *The Captives* is rather heavy going. There is an infinity of detail which, tho beautifully

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done, exhausts you by its mere accumulated weight. Mr. Walpole has left Russia and returned again to the English countryside and to the mysterious, fear-inspiring quality of his earlier novels. Maggie Cardinal is held intangibly captive first by her Aunt Anne and the Kingscote Brethren, then by the town of Skeaton and its inhabitants. There are all sorts of extraordinary people in the book, Maggie herself is an extraordinary person, but it never occurs to you to ask yourself if they are "real" or "convincing." Under Mr. Walpole's spell you accept them all, tho you do occasionally become exasperated at the way in which they permit themselves to be obsessed by their environment, to be restrained and repressed not only by people but by their houses, cats and coal scuttles.

*The Hall and the Grange*, by Archibald Marshall. Dodd, Mead & Co. *The Captives*, by Hugh Walpole. George H. Doran Co.

## Undiscovered America

Whether you are a sociologist, a philologist, or a plain T. B. M., you will find interesting material in "The Southern Highlander and His Homeland." The author, Mr. Campbell, spent twenty-five years—most of it under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation, of which he was secretary, living with the mountaineers of our Southern Appalachians—studying them, sharing their poverty, and mingling with them informally. He points out that bad roads, feuds, isolation and illicit "stilling" are the chief causes of the slow advancement of these people, who, he emphasizes, are of different blood and origin from the "poor whites."

The chapter which refers to mountain dialect will delight the student of words; "nary" and "ary," the sport of dialect writers, may not show their kinship at once with "ne'er a" and "e'er a," thru "never a" and "ever a" of obsolete English; but "I aim to" and "afeard" are used today in the selfsame sense that Shakespeare used them.

*The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, by John C. Campbell. Russell Sage Foundation.

## Main Streets or Byways?

Why people get so excited about *Moon-Calf* I must confess I cannot see, nor why they insist on classing it with "Main Street." "Main Street," whatever you think of it, you cannot disregard and *Moon-Calf* you can, quite easily. Which does not mean that it is uninteresting. It is the story of a boy, with an imagination, who grows up in one of those typical little Middle Western towns which will undoubtedly be the background of the Great American Novel as all American novels, great and small, are now written about them. He discovers books and poetry and journalism and something about people and a little about love. He is different from most of his fellows, but he is a very average young-man-with-literary-leanings. Floyd Dell writes with a minuteness of detail most of which is interesting and draws a large gallery of characters, few of whom you would care to meet. Felix himself is not a particularly prepossessing person. He ends by casting off the old ties and murmuring, "Chicago, Chicago," which it is a little difficult to regard as a climax.

*Jake* is another novel of the Middle West, the Mississippi Valley this time, tho the background isn't very important. Jake is a lovable character, but a rather weak one, and the way his determined wife and mother quarrel over him might make an interesting study. Mrs. Tietjens makes it sordid and depressing. She has a morbid element in her mental outlook which is something of an asset when she writes poetry about China, but has a bad effect on realistic fiction.

But here is "Main Street," with a difference. Victor Murdock's *Folks* are the citizens of Ouishita, Kansas, "a Rome built in a day," and they are as picturesque and interesting and American as their city. Mr. Murdock has drawn them in brief sketches, "The Doctor," "The School Teacher," "The Legislator," "The Milliner" and so on, sketches which are complete in themselves and together make a comprehensive picture of the town. Their chief literary characteristics are a very effective simplicity and a blessed absence of scorn and satire. Mr. Murdock seems to be writing about these people because he is really interested in them as they are, not because he wants to reform them or to abolish them from the earth.

*Moon-Calf*, by Floyd Dell. Alfred A. Knopf. *Jake*, by Eunice Tietjens. Boni & Liveright. *Folks*, by Victor Murdock. The Macmillan Co.

## What Bok Did to America

Whether you consider the *Ladies' Home Journal* as a joke or as a second Bible you will be interested in its editor's autobiography, which he has written under the title, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*. What America did to Bok, however, is much less interesting than what Bok did to America. It is astonishing to find how many "movements" had their roots in the *Ladies' Home Journal;* the campaign against the public drinking cup, for instance, the saving of Niagara Falls, the laws preventing the selling or wearing of aigrettes. It was the first magazine to banish patent medicine advertising from its columns, the first magazine to continue reading matter from the front into the advertising pages, and the account of the houses it has built, the rooms it has furnished and the babies it has fed by mail is rather staggering.

The editor had an even more varied career than his magazine. He came to America from Holland at the age of six. His parents were poor and he had to help out the family exchequer. His first job was washing windows. But he had an appalling faculty for inventing methods of making money. He had also an unlimited supply of that quality which, whatever its nationality may be, is known in the United States as "nerve." As a boy he collected autographs and he never hesitated to approach any important man or woman, authors and statesmen preferred, with the result that the autobiography has personal accounts of an astonishing number of interesting people. Bok rose in the world in exactly the manner of the boys in the "Gutter to Governor" stories. Whether anyone could write an autobiography of a life of this kind with becoming modesty is an open question. Most certainly Mr. Bok has not, tho he manages to produce a shadow of it by speaking of himself always in the third person. The book is carelessly written but it is enormously interesting and entertaining.

*The Americanization of Edward Bok*. Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Steep Trails

STEEP TRAILS, by John Muir; edited by William Frederic Badé (Houghton Mifflin). Papers describing the author's western rambles, with his characteristic vividness, accuracy, and love of Nature at her wildest.

BYWAYS IN SOUTHERN TUSCANY, by Katherine Hooker (Scribners). An attractive travel-book of that rambling, romantic type which concerns itself chiefly with picturesque features and with historic and legendary lore.

FLORIDA, THE LAND OF ENCHANTMENT, by Nevin O. Winter ("See America First" Series, The Page Co., Boston). The story of Florida from its discovery to the present work of draining the Everglades, with sidelights on historical incidents and places.

THE CATSKILLS, by T. Morris Longstreth (Century Co.). For the genuine lover of tramping, with an understanding heart and mind for the joys of the road and the open country. To him who knows the Catskills as only a walker may know them, the book is a continuous thrill and satisfaction.

## Literary Criticism

ARIOSTO, SHAKESPEARE, AND CORNEILLE, by Benedetto Croce (Henry Holt). Three illuminating studies by the great Italian philosopher. Literary criticism of the glorified sort that reveals a complete philosophic and esthetic system.

THE ART OF LETTERS, by Robert Lynd (Scribner's). About twenty-five essays, long and short, presenting the author's keen and delightful mind on a variety of subjects, both men and letters, Samuel Pepys, Shelley, Meredith, Oscar Wilde, etc.

LITERATURE IN A CHANGING AGE, by Professor Ashley H. Thorndike (Macmillan). An interesting and important study of the reaction of English literature to the great forces of the nineteenth century: industrialism, radical democracy, imperialism, feminism, religious skepticism and universal education. Professor Thorndike presents the picture of a veritable "literary revolution" which has made the thought and expression of England in 1920 almost as different from what it was in the eighteenth century as a modern factory is from an old-time workshop or the British constitution under George V from that of the times of George III.

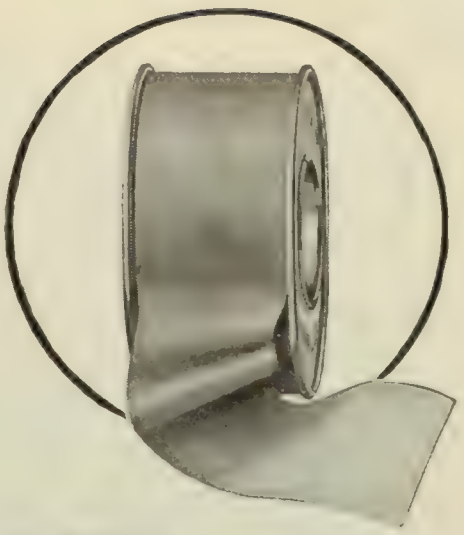
## The League of Nations

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, by George Grafton Wilson (Little, Brown & Co.). A good summary and source book, compact and informing, by a Harvard professor.

THE ADVANCING HOUR, by Norman Hapgood (Boni & Liveright). A book of essays in liberalism, defending the ideal of free speech, pleading for more sympathy with Russia, urging the importance of the League of Nations, and defending President Wilson's policy of a sympathetic entente between government and organized labor.

WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HAS ACCOMPLISHED IN ONE YEAR, by Charles H. Levermore (Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*). This work of the Secretary of the New York Peace Society is easily the most complete and best done résumé of the truly remarkable record already made by the League. An invaluable source of information for libraries, editors, students and the general public.





# Tirro

## The Ideal Mending Tape

Sticks to anything, and clings
Rubber-coated—waterproofed
Mends, wraps, seals and binds

## *Sample Free*

**Tirro is sold by druggists in spools of two sizes. Prices in the United States: Medium size, ¾ inch wide, 30 cents; Large size—1⅛ inch wide, 50 cents. Be sure you get Tirro, the only real mending tape.**

# The New Mending Tape

## Extra-strong, ever-sticky, water-proofed

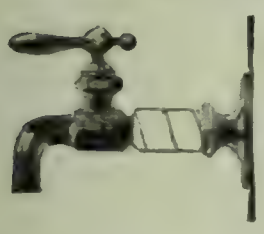


Bauer & Black have now perfected the ideal mending tape, Old-style tapes were make-shifts, made for something else.

The new tape is called Tirro. The fabric is extra-strong. It is water-proofed, to form an impervious wrap. Then it is rubber-coated.

One side is ever-sticky. It clings to any surface that is clean and dry. And it stays stuck—to rubber, metal, glass, wood, fabric—anything.

## Leak-Proof



Being waterproofed, then rubber-coated, Tirro is leak-proof. Neither air nor water penetrates it.

Thus you can use it for stopping leaks in rubber hose, in metal pipes, in footwear, in inner tubes, etc.

The rubber coat makes it an insulator, so you can use it on electric wires. The fabric makes an ideal grip. Thus you need it on your golf club handles, on tennis rackets and on other things.



## Extra-Strong

The strength of Tirro makes it an ideal binder. One wrap will mend most ordinary breaks. But use as many plies as you need.

Use outdoors or indoors, for weather little affects it.

Being light in color, Tirro can be used to label anything. Write on the fabric side.

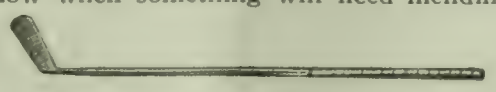
## Carry With You



Keep a spool of Tirro at home. Carry one in your car, one in your golf bag, one in your fishing kit, etc. Wherever you go you may need it in some way, and nothing can take its place. Troubles of a thousand sorts can be ended by it, and at once.

A single use—like mending rips and tears—will save you many times its cost.

Don't go a day without it, for you never know when something will need mending.



## Send the Coupon

Send the coupon for a strip to try. Also for book which pictures some of the countless uses. Send it now.

## A Thousand Uses Like These

**Lawn Hose** instantly repaired with a strong, enduring, rubber-coated wrap.
**Plumbing Leaks** stopped in like way.
**Torn Clothing** mended by attaching Tirro on the under side.
**Water Bag** with leaky neck sealed with this rubber patch.
**Broken Handles**—wrap with Tirro.
**Golf Clubs**—tennis rackets. Tirro forms an ideal grip.
**Broken Toys** mended in a minute.
**Auto Top Leaks** sealed for good.
**Footwear Leaks** in like way.
**Umbrellas** mended on the spot.
**Electric Wires** and extensions insulated perfectly.
**Climbing Vines** fastened to anything.
**Auto Tires** and tubes—emergency patches and wraps.
**Engine Wires** insulated and held in place—water leakages stopped.
**China Mended**—also window panes.
**Torn Music** bound to stay.
**Fruit Jars** labeled and sealed.
**Bottle Corks** held in.
**Pictures** sealed in frames.
**Bandages** fastened in place.
**Chafing** on hands or feet prevented.

Outdoors and indoors, wherever you go, Tirro ends countless troubles. One use suggests another.

It sticks to any material when the surface is clean and dry.

It clings with a bulldog grip.

It firmly binds and seals the surface with a rubber coat.

## Trial Strip Free

**BAUER & BLACK,**
**2500 Dearborn Street, Chicago**

Mail me a strip of Tirro—also book

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IND-611

## BAUER & BLACK Chicago New York Toronto

**Makers of Sterile Surgical Dressings and Allied Products**

Innovation Calendar, Introduced by The Independent

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The day of the week is found by locating the year heading and observing the | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| | | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| | | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| | | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 |
| | | 29 | 30 | 31 | INDEPENDENT | | | |
| 1920 | 1921 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| May..... | Jan.. | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu | We | Th | Fr |
| June..... | Feb.. | Tu | We | Th | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo |
| | Mar.. | Tu | We | Th | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo |
| October..... | Apr.. | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu | We | Th |
| Feb August.. | May.. | Su | Mo | Tu | We | Th | Fr | Sa |
| Sep Dec..... | June | We | Th | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu |
| | July | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu | We | Th |
| March Nov.... | Aug.. | Mo | Tu | We | Th | Fr | Sa | Su |
| Jan Apr Jly | Sep.. | Th | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu | We |
| | Oct.. | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu | We | Th | Fr |
| Devised, described and | Nov.. | Tu | We | Th | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo |
| | Dec.. | Th | Fr | Sa | Su | Mo | Tu | We |

| | |
|---|---|
| exact point at which the figure column and month line corner-join. | |
| 1922 | |
| ...April July | |
| .....August | |
| .....Sep Dec | |
| .January Oct | |
| .Feb Mar Nov | |
| .....May | |
| .....June | |
| callityped by Jacob Backes | |

# A Calendar in a Nutshell

The Independent Calendar, a three-year arrangement for 1920, 1921, and 1922, is proposed as a novel pattern of condensation. It can be typewritten for single copy, carbon, or stencil work in literally a few minutes by any operator on any machine, because it contains only about one-eighth as many letters, figures, and spaces as the ordinary tabulated forms of year calendars with which this format may be compared.

Callityped as above, it occupies the space of fifty typewriter characters width and twenty-three lines depth. By extension the same labor- and time-saving idea may be applied in making Independent Calendars for two, four, five, etc., years.

To print a three-year calendar in the ordinary way and with the same size of type as here shown would fill up nearly two pages of The Independent. Perhaps the introduction of The Independent Calendar portends "the finish" of too bulky large calendars and of pocket calendars in microprint.

Here are specimen utilizations:

To find out on what day of the week July 4, 1920, fell: Note the 1920 division. On the July line, Su(nday) comes in the vertical column containing the figure 4.

To find out on what day of the week August 20, 1922, will fall: Note the 1922 division. In the August line we find that Su(nday) is in the vertical column containing 20.

Try a few birthdays and see how easy it is.

The model here shown is rather tightly closed up, showing the possibilities of extreme economization of space. But the form may be opened up at will; and, with a neatly arranged slogan, motto, or advertisement, and done with a two-color ribbon, or personalized with names, The Independent Calendar will be available for presentation purposes, or will make a useful and attractive showpiece. It may be mounted on a card, or done on gummed paper which may be obtained in a variety of thicknesses and tints and is workable with typewriter-stencil machines.

The Independent Calendar is here shown in callitypic form, but it may also be typographed, calligraphed, or multigraphed, and, by photography, may be reduced or enlarged.

The directions, at the two upper corners, have been edited so as to occupy the space of five 16-space and five 12-space lines.

# John and Mary American

(*Continued from page 611*)

nor did she understand food values, and the necessity for a balanced ration. Mary did her own marketing (the Smiths did not have in their home one of the thirteen million telephones in the country), thus obtaining both better food and better values than if she had done her ordering by phone. But even so, the Smith family was fed upon a superabundance of cereals and inferior canned goods. Mary had not the money with which to buy the adequate quantity of meat, eggs, butter, fresh fruits, vegetables, or, many times, sugar. Cream was a delicacy only for holidays.

But no matter how high prices for necessities soared, John did not relish the idea of giving up his "smokes." For his "Camels," his "Sweet Caporals," his "Lucky Strikes," or other cigarettes which he used, as well as for his "Bull Durham" (out of which at times he doubtless "rolled his own"), he had to pay 75 per cent more than in 1914.

One of the most serious results of the Smiths' meager income was that it prohibited the recreation and amusements which the Smith family, along with the rest of the world, needed to be normal, healthy human beings. With the right sort and amount of diversion, John could have done infinitely better work, Mary could have more ably managed the home, and both they and the children would have had fewer "moods." For a long time John, who was devoted to his family, had wanted to buy a phonograph for Mary and the children, but naturally he had been forced to conclude that "luxuries" were not for the Smiths. It is true that the family averaged one night a week at the "movies" in spite of the doubled price of admission. It is also true that on Sundays the Smiths walked around in the park (of course they did not possess "a Ford"); but now and then—again just like the rest of the world, they longed to get miles and miles away from the jar of the city.

The Smiths' income made no allowance for illness, which in John's case alone averaged from six to nine days a year; nor did their income provide for unemployment, for savings for old age, for insurance, or for an adequate sum for the education of the children. The Smith home necessarily lacked certain material things—a piano, say, and beautiful pictures—which, argue as one may, do make for culture and refinement, for spirituality—for better living.

Many of Centerton's families subscribed for a daily paper and a magazine or two. This was not true of the Smiths. To be sure, now and then John bought the Centerton *Journal*, or, on Sundays, the Centerton *American*—both Hearst sheets. Occasionally he brought home *The Saturday Evening Post*. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, however, Mary seemed to find more to her liking.

The education of John and Mary had been limited. On account of this fact, they were the more anxious that their children should have as thoro an education as possible. Consequently, John Junior (aged twelve), James (aged nine), and little six-year-old Margaret were among the twenty million children in the United States attending school.

As to matters of health, John and Mary were particularly uninformed, indeed careless. Even so, at forty-two, John's so-called "expectation of life" was about twenty-seven years, while Mary's, at thirty-eight, was about thirty-two years. (The fact that John and Mary were residents of Centerton rather than of the country of course slightly reduced their otherwise reasonably expected years.) John and Mary had supposed the children ordinarily healthy. Yet when they were examined at school, John Junior, James and Margaret were found to be among the fifteen million children needing atten-

tion for physical defects partially or completely remediable. (Students of public health were even more concerned over the fact that the children of the Smiths' former neighbors, William and Helen Jones, in the country, were physically more defective than were John Junior, James and Margaret, in the city.)

One might suppose that a middle-aged wage-earner who had found it necessary to work all his life would be a staunch "union" man. Not so John, altho, of course, he believed that labor had certain indisputable rights, and these he proposed to defend—if necessary, by severe means.

As to politics, particularly of late, John was more or less of an anomaly. After voting in 1916 to keep President Wilson in the White House, on the third of last November John joined his employer and together they did their full duty as reactionaries.

A friend of John's who had a liking for figures one day discovered that about nine gallons of intoxicants per capita were withdrawn from bond before the Volstead Act went into effect as against something over a fourth of a gallon since. While, obviously, it cannot properly be said that this entire quantity of intoxicating beverages was consumed by John and every other resident of the United States, it is true that since John's children and their young friends were not actual drinkers, nor, fortunately, was Mary one (altho there is no arguing the fact that many of her feminine neighbors must be thus classified), the gallons consumed by John considerably exceeded the estimates made. There is no disputing the fact that "dryness" came hard to John. Was he not an American citizen? Was his right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to be summarily taken away by a few bigoted and bumptious custodians of the public morals? What would these busybodies do next? Ten to one, attack his "smokes!"

Fortunately, divorce had not entered the immediate family circle of the Smiths. Naturally, however, they were deeply shocked at the increasing number of homes thus wrecked—about one out of every nine.

John and Mary were not church-members. This fact does not necessarily mean that they were not inherently religious, or that they were not good citizens. Nor does it mean that they did not recognize the value of the church as a community institution. They believed in it, and they sent their children to Sunday School. John was perfectly willing to have Mary go to church and to give her money for "the collection." As for himself, he could look after his own morals. Anyway, Sunday mornings he wanted to sleep some extra hours, read the paper, and "tinker around" the house.

In the country, almost the same distance west of Whitehall that Centerton lies east, lived William and Helen Jones and their three children. The Joneses were representative of what is left of the old type of American individualists.




*". . . places far apart are brought together, to the present convenience and advantage of the Public and to the certain destruction, in time, of a host of petty jealousies, blindnesses and prejudices, by which the Public alone have always been the sufferers."*
*From Charles Dickens' Preface to Pickwick Papers.*

# The Advance of Understanding

Even romance of sixty brief years ago could not imagine the great advance heralded by the passing of the stage coach. The railway and telegraph were coming into their own; but the telephone had not been so much as dreamed about.

Yet the wise men of that day saw the imperative need. They saw the value of every step which brought people into closer communication with each other. They knew this to be the one way to increase understanding; and to eliminate the "host of petty jealousies, blindnesses and prejudices, by which the Public alone have always been the sufferers."

Then came the telephone. And with its coming time and distance are swept away and a hundred million people are made neighbors.

Places far apart are brought together by 34,000,000 conversations a day over the Bell System.

"BELL SYSTEM"
AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES
*One Policy, One System, Universal Service, and all directed toward Better Service*

## Stop the Leaks That Keep You Poor

Saving money is hard work until you get the secret. No matter how large or how small your income you will never save as much as you should until you get the knack.

If the average business were operated on the haphazard basis on which our household finances are run, there would be fifty times as many bankrupts. The truth, whether we admit it or not, is that very few families know where their money goes. At the end of each year we find ourselves little better off, if any, than at the beginning. We have earned $800 or $1,500 or $5,000, yet practically all has been spent—and the pitiful part of it is we have nothing to show for it!

**New Method Makes Saving a Pleasure Instead of a Hardship**

If you are interested, write for free booklet called "How We Stopped the Leaks That Kept Us Poor."

THE INDEPENDENT, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York

# TRAVEL AND RESORTS

The Independent invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to Travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea; tours domestic and foreign. This Department is under the supervision of the BERTHA RUFFNER HOTEL BUREAU, widely and favorably known because of the personal knowledge possessed by its management regarding hotels everywhere. Address inquiries by mail to INFORMATION, The Independent, New York.

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ONE of the handsomest hotels in the country; accommodates three hundred guests.

GOOD GOLF COURSE (professional in charge). FINE TENNIS COURTS. BATHING (professional in charge). BOATING. AQUAPLANING. FISHING. SADDLE HORSES (riding master in charge). DANCING EACH EVENING.





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Desirable Cottages with hotel service.
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ALL the old charm of these two famous hotels now combined and added to. Hospitable. Home like. Finest cuisine Every modern comfort and service.

LEEDS AND LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

## CHALFONTE-HADDON HALL

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J

ON THE BEACH AND THE BOARDWALK - AMERICAN PLAN - ALWAYS OPEN


They well deserved their reputation as "stay-at-homes." But with the enormous amount of work to be done both on the farm and in the house they had no alternative. Although for some years William had been acquiring on the farm more and more labor-saving devices, he knew no "eight-hour" day. He had no choice as to when to harvest his crops. That was decided by the crops. Nor was it economy to slight his livestock.

In the home Helen had fewer conveniences than had William on the farm. Altho commonly said to have "no occupation," Helen somehow daily managed to put in something like eleven hours at hard labor. She was cook and seamstress, nurse, laundress and family buyer. There was no running water (and, of course, no bathtub) in the house. Lacking electricity or gas, Helen was obliged to spend considerable time in filling and cleaning lamps. In addition to these numerous duties, she cared for the chickens. Incidentally, she tried to be a "good wife and mother," one of her chief concerns having been to make home life so attractive that the oldest boy would not respond to the lure which Centerton was casting upon him.

The early education of William and Helen Jones, like that of John and Mary Smith, had been extremely meager, but the Joneses strained every nerve to give their children as much schooling as the farm's uncertain income would permit. The children of acquaintances in an adjoining county were fortunate enough to be able to attend a consolidated school recently built. Such advantages, however, were not possible for the Jones children.

William and Helen—again like John and Mary Smith—were not church members. However, with the improvement of the roads in their county, the Joneses found it possible to get out to church more frequently than when the roads for five or six months of the year were mainly hillocks. Also—thanks to the improved roads, their new "Ford" and their phone—these last years the Joneses were able to be more neighborly than had formerly been possible.

The rural mail delivery which the Government had given the Joneses they regarded as one of their greatest boons. Nor did the Government's interest in the Jones family end here. Appreciating the Joneses' sterling qualities (and also, it must be admitted, the worth of the Joneses to the nation), the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College had worked out a program designed to make the Joneses' life easier, more satisfying and more enriched. The plan included lectures and demonstrations relating to agriculture, domestic science and health, given under the Farm Bureau by agricultural and home demonstration agents. As the work progressed, William was to be given such training as would enable him to obtain larger returns from the farm. Helen was to be taught how to manage the home more capably, to serve more nutritious meals, how to better care for the children. The plan

also included the improvement of the Joneses' home surroundings.

Notwithstanding the fact that in various ways the Joneses' lot had for years been steadily improving, the last few years the Joneses found life on the farm unusually trying, suffering as they did from lack of foreign markets, from excessive freight rates on products to such markets as were available, and from a general all-round fleecing at the hands of the profiteering "middleman." However, in spite of these and other hardships, the Joneses were unwilling to leave the farm for Centerton. From what the Smiths had told them of conditions in the city, William and Helen were convinced that they were better off on the farm. Vast open spaces and fresh air had a strong hold upon William and Helen. They preferred farm isolation to Centerton congestion. They seriously questioned whether Centerton's "advantages" outweighed its facilities for dissipation.

Now and then an "outsider"—sometimes a "Red" or other unbalanced radical, sometimes a cheap, vapid politician—made a dust that for the moment beclouded the vision of the Smiths and Joneses and their friends. Frequently a representative of the Army or Navy ran madly around seeking to impart the "proper psychology" concerning "The Next War." Naturally he avoided mentioning the fact that 115,000 of our boys now sleep across the water. Even more careful was he to forget to state that of the total amount appropriated by the last Congress for the expenses of the current year, 88 per cent was for the purpose of obligations incurred for wars—68 per cent for past wars, 20 per cent for the upkeep of a large army and navy to handle future wars. Nor did this representative volunteer the information that this stupendous war appropriation meant a tax of about $200 for a family the size of the Smiths or the Joneses.

But who are the Smiths and their friends, the Joneses?

Whether or not John Smith and William Jones were among the twenty million persons who purchased "Liberty Bonds" or "Victory Notes," they, with their wives and children—as the reader by this time may have surmized—typify (so far as it has been possible to portray their story from available statistics) the "one hundred per cent American" families of whom, in the main, our solid, if conglomerate, America is made up.

*New York*

## This Changing World

(*Continued from page 613*)

by wireless or by storage batteries to the centers of civilization. Besides this it will be necessary soon to resort to more primitive sources of energy and employ the power of the wind and waterfalls to the utmost.

In the next month's article we will consider the possibilities of windmills and waterwheels as an aid to human advancement.




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DIVIDENDS

**AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY**
New York, June 1, 1921.
PREFERRED CAPITAL STOCK
DIVIDEND NO. 89

A dividend of one and three quarters percent (1¾%) on the Preferred Stock of this Company has this day been declared payable Friday, July 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, June 15, 1921.

Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

S. S. DeLANO, Treasurer.
H. C. WICK, Secretary.

**AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY**
New York, June 1, 1921.
COMMON CAPITAL STOCK
DIVIDEND NO. 75

A quarterly dividend of three percent (3%) on the Common Stock of this Company has this day been declared, payable Friday, July 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, June 15, 1921.

Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

S. S. DeLANO, Treasurer.
H. C. WICK, Secretary.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

**127th Dividend**

A quarterly dividend of two dollars and twenty-five cents per share will be paid on Friday, July 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, June 20, 1921. H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

**THE ELECTRIC STORAGE BATTERY CO.**

Allegheny Avenue and 19th Street.
Philadelphia, June 1, 1921.

The Directors have declared a quarterly dividend of three dollars ($3.00) per share from the net earnings of the Company on both Common and Preferred Stocks, payable July 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on June 13, 1921. Checks will be mailed.

WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

MEETING NOTICE

**AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY**

STOCKHOLDERS MEETING

The stockholders of the American Car and Foundry Company are hereby notified that the regular annual meeting of the Stockholders of said Company will be held at its offices, No. 243 Washington Street, Jersey City, New Jersey, June 30, 1921, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of electing a Board of Directors and transacting such other business as may be properly brought before the meeting.

H. C. WICK, Secretary.

# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. John and Mary American.**

1. The story is called "A composite picture." Explain why. In what sense is every short story or novel "a composite picture"? How much of the success of any work of literature depends upon its being "a composite picture"? To what extent are the characters in Shakespeare's plays "composite pictures"?
2. Write a somewhat similar article concerning the pupils or the teachers in your school, or the people in the place where you live.
3. What reasons drew John and Mary to the city? To what extent are those reasons drawing many people to the city today? Does the movement to the city result in good for the United States?
4. What advantages given by country life did John and Mary fail to find in the city? How did the loss of these advantages affect character?
5. Point out the contrasts the writer develops between the story of John and Mary and the story of William and Helen. What is the writer's purpose in making the contrast?
6. What is the writer's purpose in the entire article? By what literary means does the writer develop that purpose.

**II. Vanishing Coal and Growing Wood.**

1. Consult an encyclopedia or other work of reference and prepare a report upon the literary work of Erasmus Darwin. What other writers have united literature and science?
2. Explain in what respects the introduction of the article is effective?
3. Write an original short story in which you emphasize individual human interest in "the first employment of external energy in the history of the world."
4. Write a similar story concerning the second employment of external energy.
5. Write a composition of description in which you develop a contrast between a scene in the Paleozoic period and a scene at a coal mine today.
6. Write a short story concerning life many thousands of years from now when the coal fields have been exhausted. Give your story the elements of human interest and plot.
7. Summarize the principal scientific facts presented in the article. Write a short editorial article based on these facts.

**III. The Sky-Way to the North.**

1. Write a story in which you tell the emotions of a body of old-time Arctic explorers who have pushed far into the north and who have been overtaken by a huge seaplane.
2. Write a narrative and descriptive letter such as an aviator might write after a long flight over previously unexplored Arctic regions. Make your letter reproduce the aviator's interest and enthusiasm.
3. Explain what practical results may come from the exploration of the Far North.

**IV. Book Reviews.**

1. Prepare a report concerning the life and the literary work of John Burroughs. What other authors wrote books somewhat like those written by John Burroughs?
2. Read aloud the quotation from Walt Whitman. Explain how the quotation is related to John Burroughs. What are the characteristics of Walt Whitman's poetry? In what respects is Walt Whitman's poetry different from the poetry of Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Poe?
3. Point out examples of antithesis in the review of "The Americanization of Edward Bok."
4. What does "Undiscovered America" reveal concerning the use of dialect in the southern mountains?
5. What criticisms of the characteristics of certain modern novels are suggested in "Main Street or Byways"?
6. What type of short stories is especially praised in "One Before Bedtime"? In what periodicals can you find similar stories?

**V. On Calling Names.**

1. Read the article aloud. To what characteristics does it owe its interest? Write a somewhat similar article on any subject of present interest.
2. What information does the article contain concerning the origin of personal names?

### History, Civics and Economics

By PRESTON SLOSSON, Ph. D.,
Former Assistant in History at Columbia University

**I. American Economic Conditions — John and Mary American. How the "Plain People" Win. The American Factory. Lower Pay on the Railroads.**

1. Sociology may be defined as the science of human averages. Miss Bristol's article is sociology made human—the "average man" is brought on the stage as a real human being with the very average name of Smith. Write a similar essay on any one of the following: John and Mary Bull (British); Jean and Marie Dupont (French); Johann and Matilda Schmidt (German); Ivan and Anna Petroff (Russian)—showing how in your opinion the average man and his family live in some other country you know about. You need not give statistics, as Miss Bristol does, but draw on your general knowledge of after-war conditions in the country named. Then compare the lot of the average man in the United States with the lot of the average man in the country which you have described.
2. Why did the Smiths move to town? Why did the Joneses remain on the farm? Which is growing in population more rapidly at present—the cities or the rural districts? Why?
3. What is the size of the average American family? What is the average American income? What was the average increase in the cost of living during the war period? (You can find the answers in the article).
4. What do the Smiths buy? How do they amuse themselves? What do they read? What pleasures can the Smiths and Joneses have which town and country dwellers didn't know about or couldn't afford thirty years or so ago? In what respects may the average American standard of living still be improved?
5. What evidences of American prosperity does Dr. Williams point out in his editorial? Why does it make for good government and social stability for the average man to be a property owner?
6. Why have the railroads found it necessary to reduce wages? How far has the Railroad Labor Board allowed this reduction to take place?
7. Why have the railroads been unable to make ends meet even with high freight rates? Do you think that the restoration of private ownership and management of the nation's railway lines has proved a mistake or a wise move?

**II. Fuel — Vanishing Coal and Growing Wood.**

1. What countries lead the world in coal supply? How does the United States stand? What important countries are lacking in coal? (Consult the diagram and the map for comparison of countries).
2. If China has about as much coal in the ground as the United States why does it produce so much less every year? How will China stand among the industrial nations if its coal resources are ever developed as extensively as the coal resources of western Europe and the United States?
3. What prospect is there of using wood for fuel when the coal and oil resources of the world give out?

**III. Congress—Arms and the Senate. We Get the Budget. Harding Signs Tariff.**

1. What was the Borah resolution which recently passed the Senate?
2. What is the budget system? What are its advantages?
3. What is "dumping"? What are the objections to it?

**IV. Ireland—Dublin Customs House Burned. The Other Ireland.**

1. What historical reasons have made northern Ireland so different from southern in national sentiment?
2. What was the result of the Ulster election? Why was no election held in southern Ireland?

**V. France and Germany—Briand Triumphs Again. German Affairs.**

1. If the Chamber of Deputies had refused a vote of confidence to Premier Briand could he have continued to hold office?
2. What does the Treaty of Versailles have to say about the punishment of war criminals? Has the Kaiser been brought to trial? Has any ruler ever been brought to trial? How far has Germany met the demand for the punishment of German officers violating the laws of war?

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

Ladies' dresses are now being made of banana fibre. They should be easy to slip on!—*Passing Show.*

Mabel—Bill's been filing his old love letters.
Lizzie—Were they as rough as that?—*Puppet.*

Lotta—I wonder why they hung that picture?
Stuff—Perhaps they couldn't find the artist.—*Sun Dial.*

"Why are you angry with me!" said the nose to the chin.
"Words have passed between us," was the reply.—*Columbia Jester.*

Ivan—If you won't marry me, I'll blow up this house and everyone in it.
Olga—Oh, Ivan, you are just too killing for anything.—*Stanford Chaparral.*

Jack and Jill went up the hill;
Some food they wished to get.
Jack pawned his safety razor and Jill et.
—*Toronto Goblin.*

If flies are flies because they fly,
And fleas are fleas because they flee,
Then bees are bees because they be.
—*Yale Record.*

He has a lovely baby girl.
The stork left her without a flutter.
He named her Oleomargarine
For he hadn't any but her.—*Orange Peel.*

"Any particular choice of cut?" asked the butcher.
"Yes," replied the customer, "I'd like a cut of about 50 per cent in price."—*Blighty.*

"Mummy, don't call me a lamb when people are here?"
"Why not, darling?"
"It makes me feel so sheepish."—*North China Standard.*

Vicar (to parishioner who has recently lost his wife)—You must feel very lonely now, I'm afraid, Mr. Judkins?
Mr. Judkins—Yes, sir, it be lonesome—but it be quiet!—*London Opinion.*

"I'm quite a near neighbor of yours," said the local bore. "I'm living just across the river."
"Indeed," replied his neighbor, "I hope you'll drop in some day."—*Blighty.*

Mistress (to cook from the Orkneys)—What do you think of our gas fires?
Cook—I think they're verra guid, madam. Those in the kitchen hav'na gang oot since I came a week ago!"—*London Mail.*

"Twins arrived tonight;
More by mail." He read
This telegram his wife had sent,
And then—poor man—dropped dead.
—*Princeton Tiger.*

"Tell me what the dog barks at,"
Said the lad with boy's insistence;
And thereupon his sire replied,
"He's barking at a distance."
—*Froth.*

## Remarkable Remarks

THE POPE—We are filled with anxiety in regard to all nations.

SENATOR PENROSE—I am in entire harmony with the President.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—In team play lies the hope of the future.

REMY DE GOURMONT—Idiots understand animals better than anyone else.

ROY K. MOULTON—Why do married women always weep at weddings?

HENRY FORD—Nearly all wars were caused so that some one would profit.

MRS. ENRICO CARUSO—Sometimes I envy the women who do their own cooking.

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON—Don't think that France does nothing but drink and dance.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS—We do not believe that the public knows what is good for us.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW—I can't see what the highbrows have been making such a fuss about.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN—Laws were not made for those who like them, but for those who don't like them.

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT A. P. KEITH—Teachers who use powder and paint are sent home to wash them off.

EX-ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE CARL VROOMAN—Farmers are going bankrupt by the hundreds of thousands.

PRESIDENT HARDING—If I knew as much now as I thought I knew when I was nineteen, I'd be the greatest President this country ever had.

GRANTLAND RICE—The world's championship bunk record is the advance statement of a boxer that "I was never in better condition in my life."

EX-PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT—In my time it would have been an extreme rudeness for a man to take a girl to drive and smoke a cigar on the way.

DEAN WEST—In the last forty years there has been only one recorded case of a Princeton student who died of overstudy. There is no such case at all among the faculty.

PROF. GILBERT MURRAY—Progressive simultaneous disarmament is a necessity for Europe, while renewed competition in armament means the wreck of civilization thruout the world.

## Opening Nights

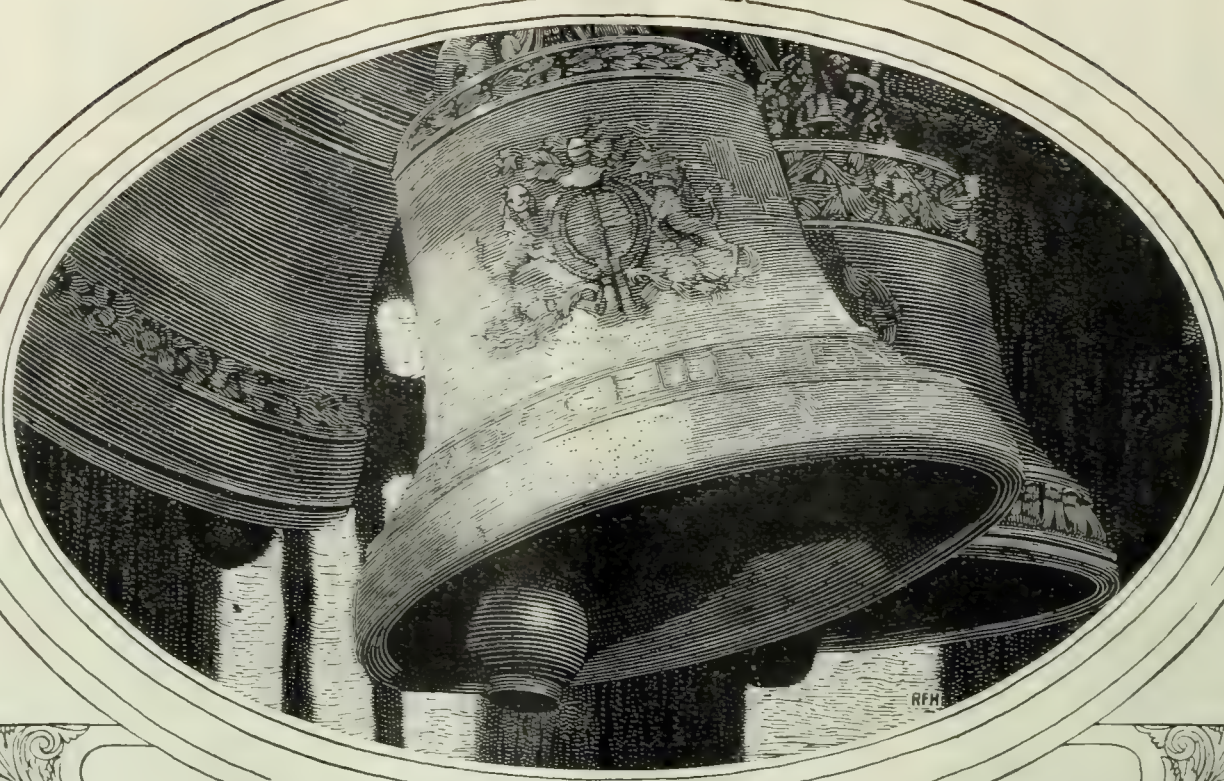
*Snapshots of 1921*—an amusing travesty of the season's most discussed plays featuring Nora Bayes, DeWolf Hopper and Lew Fields. Girls, whirls and laughs a-plenty. (Selwyn Theater.)

*Gold*, a psychological study of the power of greed over an old sea captain; a play of murder, madness and buried treasure. While there are some genuinely dramatic moments, the play lacks swiftness of action and is not up to Eugene O'Neill's best work. (Frazee Theater.)



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The Independent
June 18, 1921

# The Only Solvent Railroad in North America

## And the Youngest Railroad President in the World

## By Agnes C. Laut

WHEN the *Wall Street Journal* on April 2 referred to the Canadian Pacific as "the only solvent railroad on the North American continent," it epitomized in one sentence one of the most significant facts in the railway world.

Please emphasize the word "facts"! It was stating facts, not theories; things as they are, not as we think they ought to be, or might be.

When the Great War broke out and spread from nation to nation, every nation involved, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Turkey, the governments of the different Balkans, the United States and Canada—at once, with one exception, took over under nationalized operation its rail and steamship systems. That one exception was the Canadian Pacific. It remained under private ownership and private operation. Yet it rendered service in the war second to no railroad in the world. Its ships both on the Pacific and the Atlantic were used. Its freight and its passenger and its tourist and its immigrant cars were crowded to capacity limit with war traffic. Yet its cars were never once stalled for one single hour.



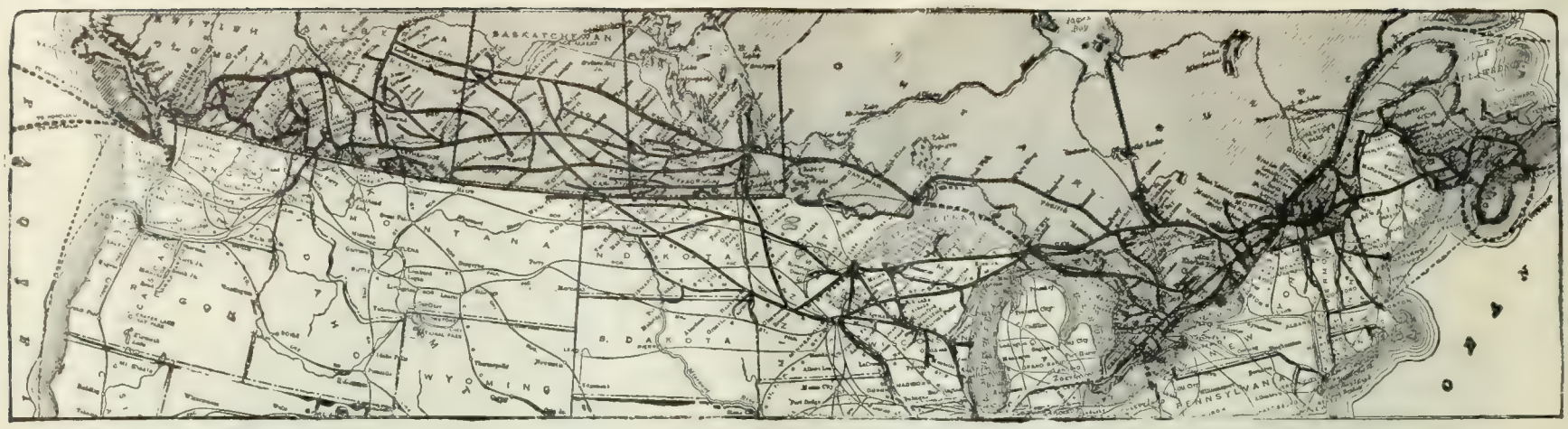
*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*

**This article is the fruit of one of the rarest of things, an interview with President Edward Wentworth Beatty, of the Canadian Pacific, a man who puts no talk in the place of action, and the despair of interviewers and publicity men. Miss Laut received the first interview President Beatty had granted**

Freights never deteriorated in rain and snow at port terminals for lack of quick movement. No ship was delayed at a Canadian port for one hour awaiting dilatory freight or passenger trains. Rail and steamship moved like a coördinating shuttle on oiled, noiseless bearings. And the Canadian Pacific came out of the four years' trial—as the *Wall Street Journal* puts it—"the only solvent railroad on the North American continent." It was subject to the same wage awards as the American lines. It established the same foreshortened hours, with double pay for overtime. It turned its car shops into munition plants. It sent one-fourth of its entire staff of 85,000 men overseas as soldiers on the firing line. It paid those who served wages for six months, and reëmployed all who survived the war at the same salaries they had left. It acted as purchasing agent during the war for the British Government in Canada. Directly and indirectly, it loaned or advanced in credits for the war over a hundred million dollars; and it came out of the war still paying 10 per cent dividends on its common stock with a reserve set aside for future emergencies.

Of its eighty steamships, some were sunk and many damaged in the war. Counting soldiers both going and coming and Asiatic coolies transported to and from the war, it carried over a million troops. Yet it came out solvent with its dividends intact, and its reserves bulwarked, and in the interval floated bonds, or debenture notes, at a lower cost of flotation than any other railroad, and at a better rate of interest to the buyer.

Contrast this with the nationalizing of American roads, which emerged with one hundred and two lines not paying operating expenses, or with the nationalized Canadian roads, which came out with operating deficits of seventy million dollars and equipment deficits of another seventy millions! Or contrast it with the fearful inconvenience to shippers and travelers in the United States during the war, and the appalling waste in freights both public and private, when miles of motor cars, miles of perishable freight, rotted in the rain and snow of New Jersey terminals for lack of quick trans-shipment. There is not a smallest freight terminal in the United States that has not remnants of such wasteful wreckage to stimulate bitter memories to this day.




*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*

**The Canadian Pacific Railway system, stretching from coast to coast, reaching up into Canada and down into the United States**

The C. P. R. came out unscathed, a monument to the efficiency of private ownership and operation. The other systems, whether in Canada or the United States, have come out a monument to the blasted hopes of those who pinned an untested faith to national ownership and operation. Six months before the other lines had realized that advanced rates were "killing the goose that laid the golden egg," Beatty, the new president of the C. P. R., was openly advocating "a reduction of rates for the good of the country." "Rates," he said as early as last May, when I interviewed him, "must come down, for the prosperity of the railroad is in exact proportion to the prosperity of the community it serves"; and the growth of the C. P. R. from a line of 3000 miles to one of almost 18,000 miles has been in exact proportion to the development of Canada. That is why the C. P. R. is regarded in the Dominion as almost a Canadian institution, tho it will be news to most people to know that only 17 per cent of C. P. R. stock is held by Canadian and British investors. The 83 per cent is held by purely American investors.



*Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway*

**Nature is powerful, but so is man. On one side towers Mount Stephen, one of the big peaks of the Canadian Rockies, on the other foams the Kicking Horse River. Between them lies the tiny town of Field, securely bound to civilization by the steel lines of the railroads**

Beatty, himself, is the youngest rail president in the world; and he is the utter despair of interviewers and boomsters. This is not from mock modesty, which is really a sort of pontifical egotism. It is from a desire to let acts and facts speak louder than words—also from an innate conviction that the great success of either an industrial or rail corporation results from the team work of all employees. The head is only the keystone to the arch; but the keystone would come down with a terrific crash without the bricks supporting it from the foundation up; and Beatty doesn't want any more credit than the lowliest track worker or switch guard.

It takes a pretty big man to realize that view of life, especially when he is a young man; and Beatty is not yet forty-four years old.

About a year ago, shortly after Beatty had come to the presidency, I was asked to get an interview with him for a publication of international fame and almost international circulation. It was to be an interview keyed to the prevailing fashion that every boy if he set his aim at that particular star could be a railroad president, if he wanted to; a sort of anodyne to envy and discontent—"Now, you be good, and do as I have done, work as hard, strive as constantly, and at my age you will be as I am."

Beatty almost fainted. So did I, knowing the record of the man. "I put yourself in your hands," he said, "but——" The consequence was the interview was never written. It would have been journalistic twaddle. Every fact set forth might be true; but the impression left would be a lie; for Beatty knows—and so does every other person who thinks—that the factors making for success go farther back than team work. They begin with a man's parents before he is born; and they follow into his home training and his school days, and his luck in finding the job for which his peculiar inheritance and training and ability fit him.

Also, success isn't an aim. It is a result; and the humblest track "wop" may be as successful and happy in his niche as the railroad president carrying the burden of 85,000 employees on his back. To set all the school boys in America striving to be railroad presidents in their forty-second year would be a pretty good recipe for envy and discontent. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," especially a capitalistic crown in these days. Don't forget the young Prince of Wales's first remark, when the armistice was declared: "Now I'll have to go back to that blank palace."

[*Continued on page 65*

# Shifting Clouds

## By Edward A. Steiner

***This is the fourth in the series of articles on the New Europe which Dr. Steiner is writing especially for The Independent as he travels thru Europe visiting the relief stations of the American Friends Service Committee. The first of the articles, "The Story of the Steerage," appeared in the issue of May 14, "Patches of Peace," May 21, and "Nothing to Lose but Chains," June 4***

VIENNA had reënchanted me and I had to tear myself away from her. In fact, I had never before seen her so beautiful, so winning, so gracious, in spite of her consumptive children, underfed apprentices, half-starved students and emaciated professors. Vienna is still the loveliest of cities in spite of the hard pressed *mittelstand*, the *schiebers* (profiteers) and smugglers, rapacious traders, body sellers and snatchers; in spite of the ooze of iniquity in which she wallows; yes, even in spite of death and decay, Vienna is still matchless. She is like a widow after the first shock of grief is over. She has wept; but has dried her tears. She has mourned; but laughter is creeping back into her heart. She was forsaken; now she is being wooed again, and the lovers of life are at her door asking for her songs, her wit, her dances, the smile of her pretty face, the skill of her nimble fingers.



**In a beautiful park in Frankfort, a city on the edge of the occupied region of Germany, stands this survival of another day, a gigantic figure of Bismarck leading Germania to glorious victory. Directly facing this symbol of haughty and defiant Prussianism stands a statue of today, the figure of a woman bowed and crushed with grief. The name of it is "Sacrifice"**

The children who deserted her and left her to die confess that they cannot live without her. Czechs and Jugoslavs, Slovaks and Magyars, Roumanians and Serbs, with false passports and good money crowd her shops, hotels and cabarets, glad to escape the drab, hard life of their new-made states; thrilling to her ancient rapture.

With heavy heart I came to Vienna as to the house of mourning, but her tears were like diamonds smiling back the sunlight a thousand times. Her complaints were only for the day. The yesterday is forgotten and the tomorrow may not come.

To the careless observer there are but few things amiss or missing in Vienna. Street cars are moving with their usual slow dignity, tho the conductors refuse to take tips, unbelievable as that sounds. 'Buses have sent the horses which drew them to the butcher shop, and are double-decked and smell of gasoline. Business seems normal with the hours shorter and sweeter. The coffee houses have diminished in number, grown shabby, and serve vile coffee with saccharine in place of sugar. The white, crisp rolls and the twisted things full of cinnamon and raisins are in the realm of suppressed desires, and black bread, in scant rations, is a bitter reality.

Upon the ruins of the coffee-houses banks are growing. Marble and plate glass, Corinthian columns and shining brass adorn these temples of mammon, and give that sense of opulence and security which, everywhere, children who play with baubles of gold demand.

Theaters and concert halls are more numerous and are nightly filled by a feverish throng. Art has become a narcotic, and is cheaper, infinitely cheaper than clothing. Luckily "the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb," for clothes are fashionably scant. Vienna has not lost its good taste or its marvelous skill, and shears and needle have done wonders with inferior materials.

The soldiers are gone. The trim, tightly trousered, red and blue-coated soldiers have disappeared. Here and there one sees a few, pathetically shabby, like degenerate children of heroic parents. The *Hofburg* seems a strange place without them. Once, alert guards stood at every gate watchful for superior officers and royalty. A dozen, a hundred times a day came the sharp word of command, the rattle of drums, a company presenting arms.

In the olden days noontime at the *Hofburg* was the golden hour for children and students, apprentices and loafers. From some distant barracks came the new guard, beating the hard pavement to the tune of the Radeczky march. Windows on the route were thrown open, maids and *fräuleins*, lured by gold braid, brass buttons and fierce moustachios, waved and smiled, while work waited as long as the magic music or the roll of the drum was heard.

Behind the guard came the real guard of honor, the proletariat of Vienna, children and grown-ups, hand in hand, blocking traffic, stopping business, moving in perfect step to the *Hofburg*. There, facing the balcony where the state chambers were, the band circled and began to play. The eager crowd looked upward, to be rewarded, perhaps, by the sheen of an ancient spear, the glow of a red coat, or the glitter of the brass helmet of an inner or outer guard, standing immovably at his post.

All that is now but a memory. The *Hofburg* is empty of royalty, of pomp, of power, and sheen of splendor. Charity is now the empress, and instead of guards and bands, hungry crowds gather for their rations, American tin cans are stacked in royal chambers, and the Quakers sit modestly in princely halls dealing out the bounty of the English and American people to generals and colonels, to their widows and orphans, to ladies and gentlemen of robes, and to masters of the hounds and stables. The Hapsburgs are gone out of their castle forever and ever, and strange to say, they are not missed by those who, from afar, feasted on their magnificence.

Is it the light-heartedness of Vienna? Is it ingratitude? Is it weariness? Is it because the Quaker grey is a better color for times like these than the black and yellow of the Hapsburgs?

One evening I went to the *Hofburg* theater, which was built and subsidized by them, reflecting royal grandeur. The crowns, the eagles, the lances and all the decorative motifs of imperialism are un- [*Continued on page 655*

# A College of Trees

## By Edith Brownell

THERE is a little white post box on the arbor at the entrance to my garden, and once a week or so the blue-bloused postman drops into it a pamphlet which sends me, browsing, to the nearest wicker lounging chair.

Severely scientific is this brochure, as befits the sponsoring "Harvard University" at its top. Its message is couched in lengthy botanical terms and wears the phraseology of the official bulletin. Yet I, who have no knowledge of botany or horticulture, and could not call a single tree or plant by its Latin name, read absorbedly; for nodding above the sedate leafage of information concerning species and varieties are the flowers of imagination and poetry.

"The familiar rhododendrons of New England gardens are so-called *Catawbiense Hybrids,*" I read; and then, farther down, "Pink Pearl has broad leaves and is very tender." ("Pink Pearl!" I murmur delightedly.) "*E Smirnowil,* a large shrub with large rose-pink flowers and pale gray-green leaves coated below with a thick mat of pale felt" (felt-lined leaves!—isn't Nature thoro)! "Charles Dickens has flowers of bright red." (I have no rhododendrons on my small estate, but what a play of fancy is opened up by the thought of a bright red one named Charles Dickens!)

Again, under a grave discussion of various cherry trees ("*Prunus serrulata, var. sachalinensis,*" and others) I run across a reference to the "Old World Bird Cherry." How nice! I drop the leaflet and look up at the vireos nesting in my bird house. I have no cherry trees on my place, either, but I promptly long for an Old World Bird Cherry.

On another day the pamphlet deals with willows. I learn: "The high price obtained in England before the war for willow wood for cricket bats resulted in investigations of the different trees from which wood suitable for this purpose could be obtained. . . . A tree which was planted at Boreham in Essex in 1835 and felled in 1888, when it was one hundred and one feet tall, had a trunk five feet nine inches in diameter. From the wood of this tree eleven hundred and seventy-nine cricket bats were made."



A luxury of lilacs

There is a great willow at the edge of the ravine across the road, and I fall to measuring it off speculatively into cricket bats (which I visualize as baseball bats). Five hundred, at the outside, I decide.

Well, so it goes. One week there is a description of wild pear trees, and as I have just tried transplanting an old pear tree this interests me. The next week lilacs are discussed, or hawthorns, or the winter-flowering witch-hazels. Always there is something to draw me further into the green world about me; and since I was, only a few years ago, one of those to whom "trees is trees," these weekly lessons are adding bit by bit to my education. Sometimes the pamphlet tells of so rare a shrub or tree that only one specimen may be found in this country; and then I plan to make a trip to the outdoor museum where all these woody growths have been collected—the Arnold Arboretum, in Boston, concerning which my leaflet is a "Bulletin of Popular Information."

An outdoor museum for tree-students! Instead of massive walls and glass cases, with special "rooms" for different collections, this museum chooses pine-needled hillsides or the edges of winding brooks to display its treasures. The Red Birches, so far from being in Room E, for example, are "around the bend of the road" from the elms. The visitor wanders thru "Conifer Path," up "Hemlock Hill," along the "Meadow Road." What amateur landscape gardener does not long to take a course in this tree-college? For the Arnold Arboretum is not merely a museum; it is a garden as well. Its specimens, which include every known tree or shrub which will grow in the New England climate, are arranged not merely in classified groups, convenient for comparison and study, but in decorative masses as well, with an eye to the beauty of the grounds. The Arboretum is an ideal object-lesson in the placing of shrubbery and trees.

"If you did not know that every bush and tree had been specially planted, cataloged and card-indexed, you'd never guess it in the world," exclaimed one visitor. "It's all so natural, so casual, like a beautiful park. It doesn't remotely suggest a deliberate collection."

And it does, at first glance, stretch away before one like the private park of a great country estate. Yet here and there, among the groups of familiar and friendly elms, beeches and hickories, there are rare specimens, imported from all parts of the globe—museum pieces, as it were. "Made in China" might be stamped upon many of these, since northern and western China appear to have been rich in tree-ancestors, whose progeny has made its way into gardens the world over. For example, in the "Pinetum" are several plants of the "Golden Larch," a native of the Ningpo Mountains, which was for many years cultivated only near Chinese and Japanese temples. A Chinese "cork-barked" oak is found among the trees on "Oak Path," and there is a lilac from China which astonishes the beholder with its brilliant autumn foliage at the year's end.

The Arboretum's "spring opening" of lilacs, by the way, is as alluring to flower lovers as the opening of a gallery hung with ancient tapestries would be to the frequenter of the city museum. In addition to banks upon banks of the simple lilacs of old New England gardens, there are lilacs with pale blue blossoms, some with rosy white flowers, and others with splendid plumes of deep red. There are specimens from Persia and Hungary; tree-lilacs from Japan and eastern Siberia; and the "*Syringa affinis*"; a favorite decoration of the Imperial Gardens of Peking. One variety is distinguished for being the only lilac with pinnate leaves, and there is a lone lilac that carries [*Continued on page 654*

# The Pot and the Kettle

## By Franklin H. Giddings

THE multiplying revelations of dishonesty and incapacity in the business world are cheering. They are the first trustworthy sign of enough sense and sobriety left to regenerate civilization. The debauch of profiteering and sabotage, of thieving and slacking, of crafty, stupid and fanatical legislation, of hypocrisy and lawlessness, has been reckless and prolonged, but the jag is abating. The human race has inherited a tough constitution.

So conservative a journal as the New York Times admits wonder "whether there is any spot in the business world which can stand searching investigation." Probably there is not, and the first step toward setting things right is to face the facts. The practices disclosed by Mr. Untermeyer and his fellow muckrakers in the building trades, in the insurance game and in the loan market, tell us little that is new about the wickedness and the recklessness of either big or little business, and the report of Mr. Hoover's committee of engineeers upon the inordinate waste in our industries is startling only to citizens whose conceit of Americanism has been disproportionate to their powers of observation and of imagination.

The substantial value of these disclosures will be found in their moral power to compel an honest attitude toward our problems. Business, labor and revolutionism have all been guilty not only of crooked and destructive practices but also of hypocritical pretences and false charges. Each, knowing its own insincerity, has laid responsibility for mischief at the other fellow's door. There can be no cleansing until it is understood that plaintiffs who ask judgment must come into court with clean hands.

In all our industrial history there has been no finding so important as this report of the American Engineering Council's committee on the elimination of waste, to Secretary Hoover. The report is long (one hundred and twenty-five thousand words), detailed and specific. Items instead of vague generalizations are the stuff it is made of. It tells us that billions of dollars are tied up in idle equipment, that time and energy and money are wasted in duplication, that both employers and employees restrict output, that the margin of unemployment amounts to more than a million men, and that for these evils and various transitory experiments the business crisis occasioned by war and world-wide extravagance are not an adequate excuse. For fifty per cent. of this waste the report holds management responsible, and for twenty-five per cent it holds labor responsible.

No one will be in any doubt about the reception such a report would have had in the business world if it had been made by university professors of economics or magazine writers on business practices and industrial conditions. It would have been characterized as socialistic or bolshevistic propaganda, and its authors would have been denounced as dangerous fomenters of revolution.

The buck can't be passed that way this time. The inquiry grew out of a movement of the country's engineers, about two hundred thousand in number, organized in the Federated American Engineering Societies, to bring about better industrial conditions and more harmonious relations between capital and labor. Nobody with any claim to intelligence will question the competence of these men to investigate and report. If they could not ascertain the facts nobody in the world could ascertain them. This will be the judgment of the American people. It may safely be predicted that the report will stand, and that public opinion will be shaped by it.

What then? Neither revolution nor socialism, but a return to elementary morality and common sense. There is only one way to create prosperity. Its factors are intelligence, knowledge, work, thrift, truth-telling and honest dealing. There is no mystery about it. It calls for no tearing down of the social order. It does not await Utopia. Business and labor will not get anywhere by everlastingly passing the buck. Pot and kettle are both black and both must be scoured.

Specifically, business and labor both will have to throw over a large accumulation of antiquated and fallacious ideas. The waste which Mr. Hoover's committee has found is largely attributable to the high proportion of incompetent men in America who are trying to conduct business. No country in the world has produced men of more commanding business intelligence than have contributed to the industrial growth of the United States, but no country has a larger proportion of business adventurers in its population. These men have found it easy to make money by exploiting natural resources and by playing upon ignorance and cupidity. They have not developed, they have not even studied sound business methods. Upon them largely rests the responsibility for the greater part of our perverse legislation.

Nursed on protective tariff pap they have looked to the Federal government and to state legislatures to afford them opportunities which business men in other countries have to create by their own sagacity and hard work. The days of their joy riding are about over. The American business man of the future will be a more rigorously selected individual. He will be better educated and better trained. He will be a broader-minded man, a more sober-minded man, a far more patient man, and in the long run a more honest man. He will deal more wisely with his employees and will cut out a hundred needless causes of friction between capital and labor. The revelations made by Mr. Untermeyer and by Mr. Hoover's committee, and the reactions of public opinion to them, will hasten his coming. The more such revelations we have until the whole situation is disclosed and courageously faced, the better. They are all to the good.

## Big Ships Mean Big Bills

CONGRESS is quite in favor of economy, except when it means reducing appropriations. How to combine a big navy policy with a small tax policy is the task now absorbing Senatorial minds. They might start by squaring the circle as an easy introductory exercise.

## The Mills of God

TWO news items from Germany will be read with great satisfaction. German courts are punishing German war criminals. A German court has acquitted the slayer of Talaat, an ally of Germany whose deeds have revolted even the Germans. One by one, by public punishment or private vengeance, the cruel bullies who gloated over the sufferings of prisoners of war or civilians in occupied territories are falling beneath the sword of justice. It is true that the men higher up, the Kaiser and his war chiefs, are not likely to face a court; Germany will not punish them and the Allies do not find them within their effective jurisdiction. But humiliation, exile, defeat and impotent rage are heavier penalties than any human court could impose.

What is true of individuals is true of nations. What has become of the great despotic empires which so greatly abused their day of power, confident that they could never be called to account? Russia has blown away into a whirlwind of anarchy; the very name of Austria-Hungary has vanished; Germany has sunk at one blow to a third rate

Power. The little people—Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Esthonians, Finns and all the rest—have crept out from the prison house to enjoy their place in the sun. The slaves of yesterday are more powerful today than are their former masters.

As of yore, God still exalts the humble and casts down the proud; he fills the hungry with good things and sends the rich empty away. Justice in human history seems slow; so slow that tyrant and slave both question "Where is God?" But the mills of God are grinding and it will not be long before the result is manifest to all men.

## Napoleon Versus Foch

PEOPLE speak of Foch as a "militarist." Well, militarism is a relative term. Put up alongside a British liberal, or an American pacifist, or even an ordinary French political leader like Briand, no doubt the Marshal, with his keen concern for "the watch on the Rhine," looks militaristic. But we have only to read his comment on Napoleon to see how wide is the gulf between the predatory France of the Empire and the democratic French Republic of today. In his interesting article in the London *Times*, Marshal Foch pays just tribute to Napoleon's military genius and then adds: "He forgot that a man cannot be God; that above the indivdiual there is the nation; that above men there is the moral law; and that war is not the highest goal, since, above War, there is Peace." If Foch is a militarist, we must find another and severer name for Napoleon and the Kaiser, and even for some senators who might be mentioned.

# Make Way for the Consumer!

### By John Spargo

THE war and its results thruout the civilized world have dealt hardly with some of the generalizations of Marxian Socialism. It is perhaps natural that the last people to recognize this fact should be those who have most implicitly believed in those generalizations, and based upon them their philosophy of life and their program of action. Nothing is harder than the acceptance of an adverse verdict upon cherished beliefs rendered by stern and uncompromising history.

"Workers and capitalists are irreconcilable enemies—they have absolutely no interests in common," declared a well-known Socialist a few days ago. He was utterly oblivious of the glaring contradiction of his pet theory furnished by the day's news. That morning the newspapers thruout the country carried an appeal by the coal mine owners of the country to the consumers of coal, begging them to lay in their supplies for next winter, and complaining that the dearth of orders was jeopardizing their industry. Simultaneously there was published a similar appeal to the consumers of coal by the officials of the miners' union. This appeal, like that emanating from the employers, stressed the danger to the coal mining industry resulting from the failure of the public to order the customary winter supplies. Here, then, was a striking example of identity of interests on the part of employers and employed. In no branch of industry has there been more bitter conflict. No large body of workmen have manifested greater class consciousness than have the coal miners of the country. Yet their interest was identical with that of the employers.

Not only did the appeal of the union manifest the same solicitude for the maintenance and prosperity of the coal industry as did that of the employers, and in practically the same terms, but both appeals were directed with equal force to combating the suggestion that there ought to be a considerable reduction in the retail price of coal.

Whether rightly or wrongly, there is a widespread and general belief that the retail price of coal is being arbitrarily maintained at an unjustifiably high level. The consumers are demanding cheaper coal. This demand is opposed as being unjustifiable by the miners' union officials quite as vigorously as by the spokesmen of the mine owners and the dealers. So far from there being any evidence of an irreconcilable antagonism of interest between them, the facts indicate a perfect understanding and a common policy directed against the consumer and his demands. There is rather more than a slight suggestion of a collusion of the miners and the mine owners to maintain the high price level at the expense of the consumer.

Of course, this is not a solitary example. The recent revelations of the manner in which unions and employers in the building trades in Chicago and New York have conspired and combined to exploit the consumer need only to be mentioned. In the face of such facts it is so absurd as to be grotesque to insist that the interests of capitalists and workers are always and inevitably irreconcilable.

That in their special relations as such employers and employed have conflicting interests is obvious enough, and it would be foolish to deny it. If that were not the case, the industrial warfare which characterizes modern civilization would be non-existent. At the same time it is obviously and dangerously easy to exaggerate the extent of that conflict of interests, and to ignore the still larger zone of commonalty of interests between the two classes. The manner in which both capitalists and workmen in the brewing industry and the saloon trade opposed prohibition is itself an adequate refutation of the class struggle theory in the extreme form in which it is commonly presented.

Unperceived by most Socialists, or at any rate ignored by them, there is developing in this and all other industrial nations a division of classes much more fundamental and comprehensive than that between employers and employed. I refer to the sharp conflict of interest between the consumers of goods and those who control the production and distribution of goods. This is the class conflict which bids fair to become dominant and to determine the organization of the economic life of the world in the immediate future. Even to the individual workman, the degree of exploitation to which he may be subjected by his employer tends to become far less important than the exploitation to which he is subjected as a consumer. What can it avail such a wage-earner to gain increase of wages if after all he cannot afford to pay the rent demanded for a decent home in which to live, or the price demanded for fuel?

THE fact is that, for the overwhelming mass of mankind, their interests as consumers are far more vitally important than their interests as producers. Upon the basis of the consciousness of their special interests as producers it is impossible and unthinkable that there should be developed any comprehensive unity of the wage-earners as a whole, to say nothing of the general population. At best there can only be solidarity within special groups which conflict with one another. The worker in the building trades demands higher wages and unites with his fellows to that end. Higher wages thruout the building trades means, inevitably, increased cost of building, and, therefore, higher rents for homes in which to live. In return for high wages the worker in the building trades may cheerfully pay high rent, but he grumbles at the high price of coal. The coal miner, on the other hand, grumbles at high rents and dear food. In other words, the class consciousness of wage-earners, as such, irresistibly operates to produce solidarity within limited groups only, and these groups are mutually antagonistic.

On the other hand, the class consciousness of the consumers, as consumers, tends to unite by ties of common interest the overwhelming majority of the people—all except a tiny minority, in fact. The controlling interest of the consumer is efficient and economical service. It does not matter whether men are farmers or mechanics, doctors or laborers,

skilled or unskilled, union or non-union. They all want to be able to secure shelter and fuel, food and clothing for themselves and their families at prices which they can pay. The combined action of wage-earners, as such, can never achieve that result. The combined action of consumers, as such, may do it. Any real socialization of the economic life of modern nations will have to be based upon the interests of the consumer and governed by the service ideal.

## The Turk in Tulsa

NOT riot, but massacre was the Tulsa crime.

The Turk massacres the Armenian because a subject race, once denied civil rights, has gained freedom, prosperity and created envy by his ownership of the good things of life.

The single lynching of one criminal may be an outburst against the crime; but when a prosperous negro quarter is attacked, fair dwellings are set aflame and slaughter dealt to men that have done no wrong but that of rising from the lowly level to which they once were held by law, by custom and by prejudice—this is massacre and nothing but massacre.

The men who committed this massacre put the American in the same public international pillory as the Turk.

World public opinion does not draw the distinctions we would like. Exactly as we hold Turks as a whole responsible, when massacre succeeds massacre, so Americans are held responsible, as a whole, when negro massacre succeeds massacre, as for two years past.

Tulsa is, at least, to pay the cost of the dwellings destroyed. This is just, lawful and salutary. The payment ought to include damages for every life lost, paid to the family left without support. Nothing checked riot in Northern cities like the heavy sum taxpayers in Allegheny County and Pennsylvania were forced to pay for the damages caused by the railroad strike of July, 1877, in all, $4,014,022. Responsibility for damage done and lives lost by massacre or riot needs to be made more immediate and direct.

No possible question exists that in the streets of Northern cities as well as Southern, the negro, a "citizen of the United States," by birth and by every constitutional right, has again and again lacked "the equal protection of the laws," pledged by the Fourteenth amendment. If Congress were to enact a statute mulcting city, county and state in heavy damages for every instance where this "equal protection" did not exist, "our best citizens" in cities, counties and communities, North and South, would do something more than "express regret" for these "lamentable occurrences" and make sure their property was not cast in damages for American citizens slain in race massacre.

Race prejudice is treason to humanity. When it brings massacre, it also lays bare the criminal failure of all American communities to provide adequate force to keep the peace and thereby afford "the equal protection of the laws" to all. Our city police is too small for emergencies, in all our municipalities. So is our National Guard. Our countryside is undefended. States are without an efficient constabulary.

If the States continue to fail in their duty the American people will place the task in Federal hands.

"The poor shall not alway be forgotten; the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish forever."

## Not Yet Reformed

SOME people say that we should welcome Lenin back to the company of civilized folk because he is dropping his communistic program. Americans are all interested, and most of them are pleased, to see the collapse of communism in Russia, but we will not applaud or trust the Bolshevist leaders until they also drop terrorism and tyranny. Whether Lenin is the dictator of a communist state or of a militarist capitalism or of some compromize between the two is less important than the fact that he is still a dictator and a cruel one. Some of us may distrust socialism, but what we hate is despotism, and we would be more ready to forgive the Bolsheviki for their economic program of plunder than for their political program of repression and massacre. We will begin to sit up and take notice when the Bolsheviki release political prisoners, recall the exiled liberals, remove all the gags from the press, abolish the revolutionary tribunals and the Extraordinary Commissions, remove the restrictions on the franchise, and call an honest election for the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal and equal suffrage.

## Colorado

HER forty-seven sisters are one at heart with brave and stricken Colorado, and ask only how they may help. Hardly a state but has been visited with flood or fire, earthquake or windstorm; and as each has known sympathy in turn, each knows how to extend it in turn.

## The Smokeless Revolution

### By Preston Slosson

WHEN a political earthquake shakes Europe it is the city that takes the eye of the journalist and too frequently of the historian. Kings fleeing disguised into exile, palaces in flames, mobs in the streets, proclamations, dictatorships, barricades, guillotines, epigrams, songs, red flags, a glittering succession of new constitutions and provisional governments, coups d'état, restorations, proscriptions, insurrections and counter-insurrections, espionage and counter-espionage, anarchist and communist theories, experimental legislation, and all the rest of the ingredients of revolution: these are affairs of the cities. Three-fourths of the history of the French revolution of 1789-1794 and nine-tenths of the history of the later French revolutions of 1830, 1848 and 1871 are really histories of Paris. In our own days to think of revolution is to think of Petrograd, Moscow, Berlin, Essen, Munich, Budapest, Vienna, Lisbon, Milan and other urban centers. City mobs led by radicals of the professional classes are the makers of revolutions.

But twenty years later, when the tumult and the shouting has died away and the kings are back on their thrones, and all the fine fury and picturesque symbolism of the revolution has gone into the history books and left the streets, has the city changed? Not very much. Old buildings have disappeared; new monuments have been built. Some streets have been named after nation-makers and empire-breakers. Perhaps a new flag floats over the public square—but certainly not the red one. Police court procedure may be somewhat reformed. New men appear in parliaments to discuss new issues, or old issues revived under new conditions. But there are still the fine restaurants and expensive shops; still the gray slums. Guardians of the peace still stand at the street corners to arrest the pickpocket and direct the tourist. Factory wheels revolve while grumbling workingmen discuss the general strike and the great proletarian revolution, sure to "come off" without a hitch *next* time. The cynic reflects that all things are as they have been, that they will be as they are, and that there is no new thing under the sun. Action and reaction; revolution and counter-revolution; sunset and sunrise; winter and summer—all things pass, but wine is still sweet and it is always possible to amuse one's self if one has a little money to burn. Democracy, autocracy and socialism are all very well for college students to play with, but the boulevard is the constant reality underneath the cloud battles of politics.

But there has been a revolution none the less. You cannot see it in the city. These town-made revolutions have for their real and permanent effect the division of the land

among the farmers. That is what has really happened, and it was worth all the blood and rhetoric which was spilled in the city streets to get it.

The French revolution is, of course, the classic example of all this. To the superficial eye—that is to say, the Parisian eye—France of 1820 was France of 1780. These was a king, a court, a nobility. There were very few avowed republicans, and as for the Jacobins and other extremists, they seemed already like monsters of the Dark Ages. The Catholic Church was as firmly established as tho the cults of the Supreme Being and of the Goddess of Reason had been launched on another planet. Even the glories of Napoleon could be mentioned only with a half apology. The Republican calendar had become a mere curiosity. Bourbon and Catholic France with all of its traditions had returned; the years of Danton, Robespierre and Napoleon had left hardly more trace than an evil dream.

But where were the great landed estates on which Bourbon and Catholic France had rested for ages? The clergy and the nobility held their old titles; what had become of the wealth and power which made those titles of real weight in the world? The restoration could restore everything else, but it could not restore the land. Deprived of the feudal organization which made the bishop and the count the natural leaders of the nation, the new France resembled the old but as a portrait resembles a living person. Peasants owned the land, clear of dues and menial services. In everything except politics France had become a democracy; and when the French peasants after 1871 became the rulers of France, the kings and nobles were pushed aside with a mere wave of the hand. Their roots had withered.

What happened in France in 1789 is what is now happening in Russia, Ukrainia, Lithuania, Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia. The landlord is dying. It makes little difference whether the partition of the land is carried out by violent seizure, as in Russia, or by orderly process of legislation, as in the nations of central Europe, or simply by the impoverishment of the landed aristocracy, as is the case to some extent in England. All three processes have the same eventual result, the social order based on land monopoly is passing away. The small freeholding peasant is coming to his own.

SUPPOSE that the worst comes to the worst and that the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs and Romanoffs creep back to their thrones. A new Kaiser may posture in Potsdam, but where will he find the wealthy Junker class which aforetime buttressed his power? The "vons," like modern French "counts," will be haunters of the boulevards. The more industrious ones will enter industrial enterprizes and lend their aristocratic names to float stock companies, or they will seek adventure in colonial fields, or they will be picking up a scrappy living as journalists and pamphleteers. Their lands will have passed to sturdy German peasants, once tenants on their estates. The Kaiser's crown will be a mere empty dignity, like the crowns of Denmark or Norway; and Germany will be governed by farmer politicians, as are Denmark and Norway today.

Of course, the Socialist will indignantly deny all this. He will say that when power passes from the ruling aristocracy it will go not to the peasant but to the town proletarian. The land will be nationalized or communized. Individual ownership will cease in small things as well as in great; the steel trust will no longer own factories, nor Farmer Jones a cabbage patch.

In Russia the experiment has been tried. A purely communist government assumed power. It devised a constitution, with a franchise system specially designed to keep the peasant out of power and to enthrone as absolute dictators the city mob. Socialization of the land was decreed. The revolution was directed by Petrograd and Moscow; the power remained in the hands of Petrograd and Moscow. It was hoped that the Russian peasantry would meekly fall in with the communist régime, especially since there was an old tradition of communist land ownership in the village community or mir.

Well, what happened? The peasant grabbed the land of the nobles. He did not turn it over to the commune, but held an individual slice for himself. Instead of becoming a collectivist he remained an individualist. The ties of the mir, already weakened by Stolypin's legislation, vanished almost altogether. The peasant prospered, at least in comparison with the townsman, and therefore did not revolt against Bolshevist rule. But while he did not revolt, neither did he submit. He held on with an iron grip to his land, kept its products for himself (since the town had nothing to sell him), and eventually forced Lenin to let him keep his land, farm it in any way he chose, and sell its output in any market he could find on any terms he could get.

In the meantime the towns were starving to death. The bourgeoisie were exterminated by massacre and hunger. The proletarians were fed barely enough to keep them alive and forced to work long hours under threat of imprisonment for slacking and the firing squad for striking. Petrograd lost a majority of its population. The only men in Russia who were getting any benefit out of the Bolshevist revolution were the men who were excluded from taking a directing part in it—the peasants.

So far has this process gone that one thing is now certain. Whether the Bolsheviki continue to keep nominal rule over Russia, or a real democracy is established, or the Romanoff dynasty is restored, the future of Russia belongs to the Russian peasant. The economic power is in his hands already. Political power will follow, soon or late. Not Lenin, not Nicholas; not the noble, the churchman, the merchant, the politician, the radical—these are but the clouds that pass over the landscape. When all is over Ivan Ivanovitch remains. Russia of 1930 will be like France—a government of, by and for the peasant.

People talk of a coming Irish revolution. The real Irish revolution has already taken place. Whether Sinn Fein manages to free Ireland from the British Parliament matters comparatively little. The important fact is that Ireland has been freed by the agrarian laws of Gladstone and his successors from the English landlord. When the Irish peasant could no longer be evicted from his holding, then Ireland became Irish, and English rule in the real and oppressive sense ceased to exist.

We see the same process in Mexico. Carranza, Madero, Villa, Obregon and other revolutionary leaders strut their brief hour upon the stage; there are revolutions and conspiracies without end; all sorts of picturesque or frightful occurrences continue to direct men's attention away from the one vital fact, that the great estates are being crumbled in the mortar of civil war and revolution.

The world around it is the same story. War, revolution and radical legislation are wiping from the earth the last relics of the great feudal system, which has been gradually declining for at least five centuries and has now touched "zero hour." Along with the decay of the landed estate goes the decay of the political and social institutions which it made possible. In its place appears the political form of the future, the agrarian democracy. The peasant inherits the earth.

What about the industrial world all this while? Well, it is still the mere trimming to agriculture. Nine-tenths of the human race is on the soil. Our urban problems, however urgent, are local problems. They are important to Saxony, Lancashire, Pennsylvania and other restricted areas. But Man is still Adam, the gardener. And if I were to sum up the last five hundred years of history in one phrase it would be:

**Adam has chased the landlord from his garden.**

# The Story of the Week

## Counter-Revolution in Siberia

THE Far Eastern Republic has fallen into the hands of anti-Bolshevist troops, formerly under the command of General Kappell as a part of Admiral Kolchak's unfortunate army. The Kappell forces, now commanded by General Verzhbitski, seized Vladivostok on May 26. The Japanese forces in the city remained formally neutral and did not interfere either to resist the invaders or to help them gain possession of the city. Using Vladivostok as a center, the anti-Bolshevist army extended its power over adjoining cities. The Vladivostok Chamber of Commerce welcomed the new régime and stated that the counter revolution was the natural outcome of Communist methods which "drove the population to desperation."

The central Government of the Far Eastern Republic, located at Chita, ordered a mobilization of local forces to protect the country against the counter-revolution. But another anti-Bolshevist army under General von Ungern-Sternberg threatened to cut off Chita. A third anti-Bolshevist force captured Omsk, in western Siberia.

A journalist and business man named Merkuloff was made provisional head of the new Government established at Vladivostok. He promised a moderate and conciliatory rule. The old Imperial Russian colors were floated above the city. Some Soviet leaders were arrested, tho freedom was promised to all members of the old Government except those who may be found liable to criminal prosecution. Many Russian refugees who had fled to Japan, Manchuria and other oriental countries when the reds dominated Vladivostok are now returning to the city.

Among the returning refugees there was one very embarrassing guest, General Semenoff, the Cossack leader. Since the destruction of his armies and his civil Government by the Bolsheviki he has been in exile in Manchuria. Many even of the anti-Bolshevist leaders were glad enough for him to remain away, for his autocratic methods alienated liberals and poor peasants who might otherwise have rallied to the cause. It is said that the Japanese urged him to remain away from Vladivostok, but that he came in defiance of the warning. When he got to Vladivostok he found people of a divided mind on the question of accepting him for their leader. The Vladivostok Town Council passed resolutions of congratulation to General Semenoff but requested him "as a true patriot" to go somewhere else! M. Merkuloff was reluctant to let the Cossack chieftain come ashore. There is possibility of armed conflict between Semenoff's Cossacks and the army of occupation at Vladivostok.




*Zurich Nebelspalter*

SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER

**"When I sketched hell in my Divine Comedy I was before my time. The present offers me much better material"**

The Soviet Government at Moscow has protested against the overthrow of the Far Eastern Republic, and blames the success of the counter-revolution on the Japanese. Tchitcherin, the Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, has sent a diplomatic note to the Allied Governments containing the official Bolshevist view of the events at Vladivostok. "Revolutionists representing a mere handful, under the protection of Japanese bayonets, suddenly seized the government of Vladivostok," declares the note. "The worst enemies of the Russian people are the extreme reactionaries whose obvious aim is to conquer Siberia with the help of Japanese bayonets, and then to become the agents of Japan. The conquerors violently seized power in those places occupied by Japanese armed forces." Japan is further accused of gaining control of the fishing rights of the Kamchatka peninsula. The European Allies are suspected of complicity in the Japanese plot: "The Soviet Government cannot but consider that all the Entente Powers are morally responsible for this new link in the interventionist chain, which appears to be the collective work of the Entente nations. It interprets this action on the part of the British Government as a manifestation of hostility not in harmony with the Anglo-Russian trade agreement." The Soviet Government has also started the rumor that General Wrangel's army, which was driven in defeat from southern Russia and has since found refuge on Turkish territory under the protection of the Allies, will be transferred to the Far East to begin a new campaign against the Bolsheviki.

## Red Russia in Asia

SIBERIA has played a considerable part in the Russian revolution, tho its exact position has been hard to trace at many times because of the confusion of factions and parties, the wild rumors that accompany each advancing army—white or red—like a flock of ravens, and the vast scale over which the drama is played. Siberia was naturally a revolutionary part of Russia because it was inhabited in part by persons exiled for their political beliefs under the old monarchy, and in part by the more adventurous Cossacks and peasants who sought to better their lot by taking up land on the frontier. The overthrow of the monarchy was, in general, welcomed in Siberia and the region remained loyal to Russia during the period of republican government, tho much disordered and disturbed by internal strife. Disorder became utter chaos when the Bolsheviki seized power and Russia passed from a republic to a class dictatorship. There were numerous reds and Bolshevist sympathizers in all parts of Siberia, but, on the other hand, the distance from Moscow and Petrograd was so great that it was easy for anti-Bolshevists to form centers of resistance and organize counter-revolutionary movements beyond the range of the red armies. Japanese and American soldiers occupied the Pacific coast of Siberia during the later months of the war in order to protect the retreat of the Czechoslovak troops from Russia thru Siberia.

Under Admiral Kolchak virtually the whole of Siberia was organized as an anti-Bolshevist State, temporarily

independent but intended to form part of a reunited Russian Empire when Bolshevism was overthrown. His armies, containing all shades of opinion except the communist, advanced on the Urals and prepared to invade Russia proper. But the military genius of the Soviet leaders proved more than a match for his own. He contended moreover against the disadvantage of leading a motley coalition against a united force. The communists, tho only a small part of the Russian population, have prospered by their unity and discipline, whereas every anti-Bolshevist leader that has taken the field has had to reconcile the factional disputes of monarchists and republicans, individualists and socialists, progressives and reactionaries. Kolchak was beaten back and killed; his armies were scattered in the wilderness where they perished by thousands. In a few weeks' campaign the Bolsheviki had conquered a territory roughly equal to that of the United States.

But in Far Eastern Siberia, beyond Lake Baikal, the direct authority of Moscow was not extended. Instead an independent "buffer State"—the Far Eastern Republic—was set up. It was organized on the Soviet model and largely dominated by the Bolsheviki but did not form an integral part of Soviet Russia. The Japanese extended their influence at the expense of the new State. The massacre of a number of Japanese by Bolsheviki at Nikolaievsk gave the Japanese a pretext for holding on in Vladivostok after the end of the war and for spreading the zone of occupation in Russian Sakhalin and the maritime provinces. The Far Eastern Government, centered at Chita, protested in vain against a Japanese occupation which seemed to menace its own political position. The Japanese were also accused, rightly or wrongly, of patronizing the anti-Bolshevist conspirators who were plotting in exile to renew the unfinished work of Admiral Kolchak and overturn first the Far Eastern Republic and then—using Siberia as a lever—the Soviet régime in Russia. The official attitude of Japan, however, has been one of strict neutrality toward internal conflicts in Siberia, even in those parts of Siberia actually occupied by Japanese forces.



*De Amsterdammer*

THE DOWNFALL OF BOLSHEVISM

**Atlas-Bolshevik: "If I can't keep it up, it will flatten me!"**

The seizure of several of the chief Siberian cities and the threatened seizure of others practically restores the conditions which prevailed two years ago when Kolchak was riding at the crest of power and threatening Soviet Russia with an invasion based on Siberia. But as that attempt failed, so may this. The Bolsheviki are beginning to take to heart the old saying "Threatened men live long." Unless the new expedition is more wisely conducted than previous anti-Bolshevist adventures have been a temporary and local success seems all that may be hoped for. As for the actual wishes of the Siberian peasantry, that is not a matter easy to determine. In Siberia, as in Russia, most of the people are land-tillers, poor, illiterate and of limited outlook, more given to having political institutions thrust upon them from the outside than to creating them for themselves.

# Russia Thru British Eyes

ONE of the most important studies of the present condition of Russia has been published as a "White Paper" of the British Government. It contains the results of nearly a year of investigation by a special committee appointed for the purpose. Particular importance attaches to the report for the reason that Great Britain has opened up trade relations with Russia and given virtual recognition to the Soviet Government by negotiating and ratifying a trade treaty. Great Britain, more than other nations, is therefore interested in the possibilities of Russian trade under the present régime. Yet the report is by no means optimistic as to the economic possibilities of Russia under present circumstances.

Certain conditions are laid down as indispensable for the economic recovery of Russia. These are: (1) "the complete renunciation . . . of propaganda directed toward the destruction of the political and economic order existing in other countries"; (2) "that the possibility of extending credit to Russia on a scale in any way commensurate with her needs" depends on the observance of agreements to cease this propaganda; (3) "the coöperation of the peasantry"; (4) "the settlement of the agrarian question on a basis which will provide inducements for agricultural production"; (5) "the restoration of rail and river transport" to convey food supplies to industrial districts; (6) a reform of "the state of administrative incompetence and corruption into which the departments of the Soviet Government have fallen"; (7) "guarantees of freedom and protection which are accorded to foreigners in other civilized countries."

It would appear, therefore, that the Soviet Government must decide whether they are going to maintain a policy of political repression at home and aggressive Bolshevist propaganda abroad, which will inevitably, whatever international treaties they may make, lead in practice to a continuance of their present economic isolation, or whether they will accept and honestly carry out the fundamental condition which can alone obtain for them the outside aid they so urgently need.

A historical review of the downfall of Russian economic life is included in the report. It is found that "from 1915 onwards" Russia was already dislocated economically and that conditions grew steadily worse, culminating in the bread riots at Petrograd in February, 1917, and the revolt of the Petrograd garrison. After the first revolution the peasants began to seize the estates of the landlords and the soviets to take over industrial plants. There followed "a rapid fall of production in the manufacturing industries." "The peasants ceased bringing their grain to the towns as a result of the fall in production and the great rise in the prices of manufactured goods."

After the Bolsheviki seized power by the second revolution "the Soviet Government proceeded to inaugurate a policy of nationalization of industry and to institute an organization for the State collection and distribution of food." This policy was carried out "in haste," without taking account of the disorder already prevailing in Russia, of the "complex structure of modern industry, of the absence of expert technical assistance," and "production continued to fall, and with ever increasing rapidity." The civil wars in Russia during 1918 "caused the Soviet Government to divert to military purposes all its energy and the residue of Russia's industrial capacity." The towns were faced with starvation and the Bolsheviki organized raids on the rural districts to requisition foodstuffs. An illegal traffic in food sprang up

in the towns owing to the inadequate supplies at the Government shops. Disease increased owing to underfeeding. The death rate rose to 6 per cent a year (about three times what it would be in a normal highly civilized community). Only in the military sphere was Bolshevist power prospering, and "The success of the Bolshevists in the civil war brought them face to face with the seriousness of the economic collapse which had taken place."

The Bolshevist leaders were not indifferent to the need of increasing production. They restored to some degree "individual control in industry," they undertook a special campaign (we Americans would call it a "drive") to build and repair locomotives, and they introduced conscription and forced labor in the factories. It is too early, think the investigators, to reach an absolute decision as to the effect of these measures in retarding economic collapse and the final bankruptcy of the communist régime.

"In regard to the future we can only speak with great reserve. No parallel is to be found in the history of the world for such conditions as now exist in Russia." The present crisis is far worse than that of the French Revolution, since the French Revolution made no attempt "to reorganize the means of production on a socialistic basis." It has been contended that Bolshevism has been in power too short a time and under too unfavorable circumstances for a final judgment to be passed on its work. "We doubt, however, whether so much human misery as has existed in Russia during the last three years has ever been the lot of any people within so short a time in the history of the modern world. While we are prepared to admit that the European war, the events following the first revolution, the civil war and intervention, are contributing factors in causing this misery, it is impossible to dissociate the Soviet Government from a large measure of responsibility for the recent sufferings of the Russian people."

One evil is the excess of officialdom; "an attempt to control completely the conditions of work and leisure, of food and drink, of education and amusement, of travel, and even of the home life of every individual in a nation whose population even now exceeds 120,000,000." Another evil is the food shortage. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* is quoted estimating a decrease in the area of land under cultivation as 40 per cent. For this reason it is believed that "There can be no question of the export of cereals in the immediate future" to the countries of western Europe. Only with the aid of foreign capitalists can Russia again be assisted to self-support and be able to produce a surplus of goods for export.




*Knott in Dallas News*

**The indictment**

## Talaat's Slayer Free

THE Armenian lad who assassinated the former Turkish Grand Vizier, Talaat Pasha, has been set free by the Berlin court which tried his case. The formal ground of acquittal was insanity, evidence being brought that witnessing the murder of his own mother by Turkish soldiers had unbalanced Teilirian's mind. But another reason for the acquittal may have been the feeling that the assassination was but an irregular act of justice on the greatest criminal of the age.

Evidence given at the trial threw fresh light on the Armenian massacres during the Great War and proved beyond a doubt that Talaat was directly responsible for them. Professor Lepsius testified that German consuls had placed the number of Armenians killed at one million. "It is conservatively estimated," he said, "that out of the 1,850,000 Armenians living in Turkey before the war only 850,000 are left." He cited official orders sent out by Talaat for the annihilation of the Armenian refugees, partly by direct massacre, partly by driving them into the desert to starve. Field Marshal Liman von Sanders confirmed the estimates of Professor Lepsius, but endeavored to clear the German authorities from any responsibility for the massacres committed by their allies.

Armenia has been rather badly treated by all of the chief Christian nations. Germany and Austro-Hungary, whatever may be their direct share in the Armenian atrocities, certainly did little to restrain their very dependent allies the Turks from doing what they would. Germany has always had an uneasy conscience on the matter, as the acquittal of Teilirian shows, and some Germans, such as Professor Lepsius, spoke out against the massacres even during the war, but official circles did all they could to hush things up and gloss them over. Great Britain, Italy, France and the United States are guilty of permitting the massacres to continue after the war was over and taking no effective measures to coerce the defeated Turks into recognizing Armenian independence; France has the added guilt of abandoning the Armenians in Cilicia to Turkish vengeance by withdrawing troops which had been already stationed in that province. Russia, the traditional friend of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire, under Bolshevist rule actually joined in an alliance with the Turkish Nationalists and aided in the reconquest of Armenia.

Fortunately recent events have tended to reverse the Allied policy of "letting the Turks down easily." The Nationalist Government has abused its power by killing Greek and Armenian refugees, by negotiating with the Bolsheviki, by excessive demands for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, and finally by the execution of an Indian British subject on the charge of espionage. There is talk in diplomatic circles that France and England may change their attitude and support the Greeks in their hitherto disastrous campaign against the Turks unless the Turkish Nationalists take on a more conciliatory diplomatic tone and cease to provoke irritating "incidents."

## League's Everyday Work Well Done

THE committee of investigation appointed by the League of Nations Assembly to study the operation of the League Secretariat and of the permanent International Labor Office has reported favorably on both. The committee finds that the Secretariat has kept within its duties, has been economical, has attracted a high type of personnel to its staff and has accomplished humanitarian work in various fields of international activity which far more than repays the cost of its establishment. It suggests the appointment of an auditing committee, selected from various countries, to examine annually the budget of the League and hints that it may be necessary to remove the League to some less expensive center than Geneva. So long as Geneva is the League capital, however, as many meetings as pos-

sible should be centered there instead of being held in rotation in various cities.

The committee further reports that the International Labor Office has worked most efficiently and especially commends Director M. Albert Thomas, former French Minister of Munitions and labor leader. It is specifically stated that the Labor Office has not been "a laboratory for the manufacture of a particular brand of social or socialist doctrines," but has adhered strictly to its duties as outlined in the Treaty of Versailles. The fears expressed by some American Senators that the labor clauses of the Treaty would tend to bring the United States within the orbit of European Socialism have been proved false by time and experience.

The report is of especial interest since the permanent agencies of the League, the Secretariat, the Labor Office, and the various committees and commissions attract less publicity than the occasional meetings of the Council, the Assembly and the Labor conferences. But the League is like our own government in this: that there is a great deal of useful routine work to be done even when "Congress is not in session." It is not too much to say that the League has already repaid to the world many times what has been spent in organizing it, merely in such everyday tasks as registering treaties and fighting disease.



*International*

**Hundreds are dead, thousands are homeless, and millions of dollars in property lost, in the floods that covered the city of Pueblo, Colorado. It started with a cloudburst, which was followed by the overflowing of the Arkansas River, and the breaking of dams that held irrigation reservoirs. The accumulated flood swept over the city**



*International*

**What is left of the once prosperous negro section of Tulsa, Oklahoma, when the rioters had done their work—a devastated area of a square mile, with a property loss of over $1,500,000, and thirty people known to be killed. The riot was the worst that has arisen from race antagonism in the history of the state**

MAN AND NATURE

# The Tulsa Race Riots

THIRTY persons known to be killed, a property loss of over $1,500,000, the complete destruction of the negro quarters of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the memory of the worst race riot in the history of the state was the result.

The cause of it all, as stated by Adjutant General Barrett, was "an impudent negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter."

No riot ever struck a city with less warning or found the local authorities less ready to cope with it. It was a spontaneous flare-up based on old prejudices, new suspicions and wild rumors. A negro was arrested on the charge of attacking a white elevator girl in an office building. Altho he was held safely in prison awaiting trial the rumor spread that there would be a lynching. The negroes thought the report probable enough, and, without waiting to investigate the truth, they assembled an armed band of several hundred men around the court house to protect the prisoner. The police attempted in vain to disperse the mob of blacks, and a number of shots were fired.

Then another mob assembled—a white mob. Whether it had originally planned a lynching or not, it was now bent on mischief. The whites were inadequately provided with arms, so they broke into hardware and sporting goods stores and took what rifles, shotguns, revolvers and ammunition they could lay hands on. Many of them made up automobile parties and rode unchallenged thru the streets with arms in hand.

After a considerable amount of sniping the negroes around the courthouse were beaten back. By dawn of June 1 the whites were in command of the situation. Neither the police department nor the sheriff took any effective steps to put a stop to the activities of the two rival mobs. At daybreak the troubles took on a new and more sinister phase. No longer content with the negative victory of having driven the blacks into the negro quarter, the white rioters decided to carry the war "into the enemy's country." They invaded the square mile of buildings which made up the black belt of the town and systematically wiped it out. Most of the buildings were mere cottages, but among the structures given to the flames was a fine church, a new schoolhouse, two newspaper offices and several three-story buildings. The raiders were more intent on arson than on murder, altho in some instances they fired into the crowds of fleeing negroes.

Order was restored by action of the state authorities. Governor Robertson came to the city in person. Adjutant General Barrett policed the streets with men of the National Guard. Martial law was proclaimed and permits to private citizens to carry arms were revoked. The negroes, rendered homeless by the conflagration, were given quarters in church buildings and in public parks and protected by guards of police and soldiers. Within a few hours from the time when Tulsa was a battleground of thousands of frenzied men it was as quiet as a graveyard.

The law-abiding element in Tulsa, tho taken by surprize and unable to prevent the riot, came to the fore as soon as the National Guard had dispersed the armed bands. A grand jury was called to investigate the circumstances of the uprising, to bring indictments against persons guilty of riot-

ous conduct, and to make inquiry as to the conduct of the police and of the sheriff's office. The Governor promised every aid which the state could give in discovering and punishing the guilty.

A committee of business men was chosen to rebuild the devastated portion of the city. Ex-Mayor Martin declared that "Tulsa can only redeem herself from the country-wide shame and humiliation in which she is today plunged by complete restitution of the destroyed black belt. The rest of the United States must know that the real citizenship of Tulsa weeps at this unspeakable crime and will make good the damage, so far as it can be done, to the last penny." On the initiative of many good citizens generous aid was brought to the negroes who had lost their homes in the fire.

## The Colorado Floods

PUEBLO, Colorado, has been drenched by floods along the upper course of the Arkansas river. The original cause of the diaster was a cloudburst—a torrential rain—but soon fresh peril arose from the overflowing of the river and the bursting of dams. Many small towns and villages in the valley of the Arkansas were flooded, but the greatest damage was done to the largest city within the path of the torrent, Pueblo, which has over 42,000 population and a real estate valuation of more than $32,000,000. The business districts were almost wholly under water and many of the lower lying residential districts were completely devastated. The property loss in Peublo alone is estimated at $10,000,000.

The death list from the floods is estimated all the way from 100 to 1,000. The full total will not be known until the waters have subsided sufficiently to permit a house to house search of the flooded districts. The distress of the survivors was great, as many thousands were rendered homeless and were forced to seek shelter in public buildings, in emergency tent colonies or houses lying above the water line. The water and gas plants were put out of business, railway tracks were flooded, telephone and telegraph poles were wrecked, fires started at several points. Urgent calls were sent out for first aid, including tents, bedding, Red Cross supplies, camp equipment, food and even drinking water (for the flood water was unsafe to drink and the loss of the water works cut off the usual supply). The Red Cross provided an emergency fund of $100,000 and sent men and supplies. The police and the militia are keeping strict order to prevent the looting which always follows in the wake of any great natural disaster. With characteristic American genius for improvising organization, the refugees strove to bring order out of chaos and to lessen so far as possible any further loss in life and property. Many persons, marooned in buildings surrounded by water, were rescued in boats. The death list was greatly increased by the fact that many persons persisted in staying with their homes after they had been warned that the floods were rising and that they should seek higher ground at once.

The state and local authorities seem to have handled the situation with efficiency and energy. President Harding lost no time in proffering the aid of the Government.

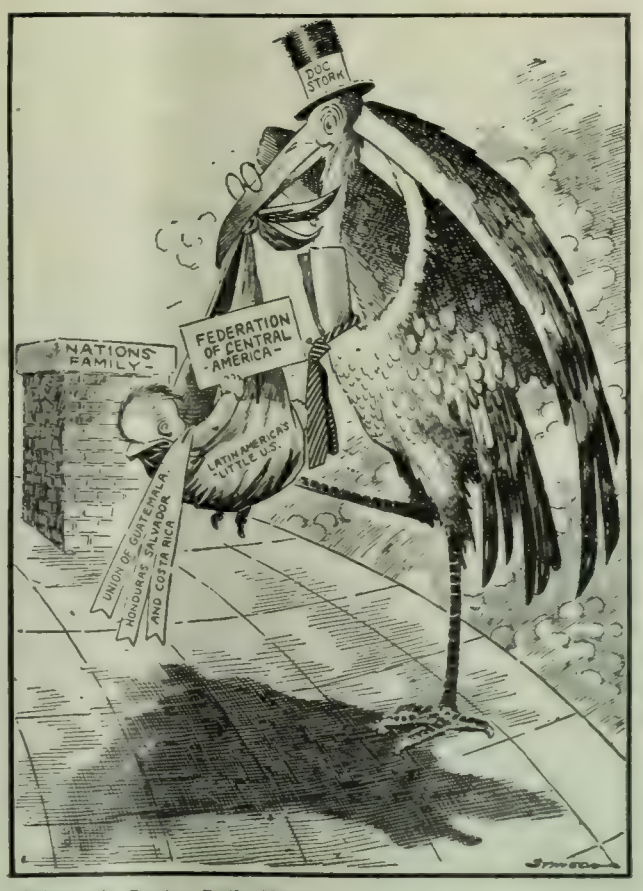
## Hughes for Central American Union

SECRETARY Hughes has placed the stamp of approval of the United States Government on the plans for uniting the petty Central American republics into a single federal state. The plan of union which has been under negotiation for months and has already been approved by Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador seems now likely to win the assent of Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Foreign Minister Zepeda of Nicaragua was the guest of honor at a luncheon in Washington and to him Secretary Hughes declared:

> We have been deeply interested in the proposals that have been made to bring together the Republics of Central America into a closer coöperation. If these proposals should meet with the acquiescence of all the peoples concerned, it would, in the opinion of this Government, be a happy result, as it would seem that important advantages would accrue thru united efforts in the field of common interest.

In the same speech he hinted at the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute and urged a peaceful settlement:

> There are questions which are distinctly American questions which must find their appropriate settlement here, and it is our privilege to be associated with you in securing peaceful solutions agreeable to the dictates of conscience and that enlightened self-interest which recognizes its dependence upon a just recognition of the interests of others.
>
> There is, of course, no assurance of peace unless we prize the processes of peace. These are the processes of reason and we cannot give opportunity for these processes unless in the hearts of our people the love of justice dominates the primitive desire to resort to the settlements of force.
>
> It is hoped that all remaining boundary controversies in this hemisphere may yield to peaceful methods and that this great source of disturbance and unrest may finally be removed. We are all, in our respective states dedicated to the ideals of liberty, and we cannot fail to recognize that these lofty conceptions can never be realized save as liberty itself is supported by the self-restraint which prefers the reign of justice to any of the temporary successes of tyranny.




*Stinson in Dayton Daily News*

Another "Interesting Event" draws near

## Canada's New Governor

THE Duke of Devonshire has retired from the Governor Generalship of Canada. He is succeeded by a soldier. Sir Julian Byng, the new Governor General, bears the title of Lord Byng of Vimy. His title indicates one of the great achievements of his career and the reason for his present appointment. As a British general he commanded the Canadian Corps in France, and under his command the Canadians stormed the German positions on Vimy Ridge. He also directed the attack on the German line near Cambrai in November, 1917, when the British demonstrated that a tank attack could be effectively carried out over a large front without artillery preparation.

The well-deserved honor which has come to General Byng carries with it very little power. The Governor General of Canada, like the King of England, is an ornamental figure-head; his real powers being delegated to the Premier, who is responsible to the Parliament elected by the people. It makes little practical difference, therefore, who is Governor General; but as a matter of sentiment and to cultivate good will between the British Government and the Dominion of Canada it is desirable to send to Canada a man who will command the respect and liking of the Dominion in which he is the representative of the British Crown.

The choice of this distinguished war hero who has led Canadian troops in action should meet with widespread popular favor.

# A Little of Everything



## A Lighthouse for the Blind

If you are one of the many who think of the blind only as creatures of great fragility, with patiently folded hands, The Lighthouse, maintained by the New York Association for the Blind, at 111 East 59th Street, has much to tell you. For the first principle of the new theory of the education of the blind, is that they differ from the rest of the world only in one particular, their sightlessness, and that like ordinary people, they must have work to make them happy and recreation and exercize to keep them fit. Last year large numbers learned to swim in the pool in the basement of The Lighthouse, and they say the 5 o'clock plunge hour is one of the happiest of their whole day.

"The blind seem soon to overcome any instinctive fear of the water," explained Miss Alma Guy, who is in charge of the recreational work, "and we have turned out some first-rate swimmers and divers in no longer time than it takes to teach a person who can see.

There is one great difference in the teaching method, of course. A blind person can learn nothing from imitation and in order to teach the stroke, we have to get into the water and move the arms and legs until the motion has been learned. There is no difficulty about keeping a sense of direction, however. To compensate for the lack of sight, the blind person develops a very keen sense of the physical nearness or remoteness of the objects about him and is able to guide himself in swimming almost as accurately as a sighted person."

The Lighthouse is the work of Miss Winifred Holt, who has been dubbed the "Lady of the Lighthouse" for her unceasing service for the blind during the past fifteen years. It is one of the most complete institutions of its kind in the country, and has as its aim the education of the sightless to take their places in the seeing world.

Not only is instruction provided to enable those without sight to earn a living, but the play side of life is emphasized. Regular gymnasium classes are maintained afternoons and evenings, where in addition to the usual calisthenics, folk and interpretive dances are taught with such good results that at the annual public performance it is difficult to convince many persons in the audience that the performers cannot see. A group of young men are very fond of bowling and carry on their contests independently except for the scorekeeper. On the roof, where there is a sunny promenade provided with high railing so that no false step may bring harm, the younger boys and girls do their roller skating. And there are no more upsets than with other children.

For the building of just such Lighthouses as these, and for the opening of wider opportunities for the blind of all ages, in this country and in France and Italy, the Committee for Lighthouses for the Blind is asking the American people for $2,000,000.

President Harding gives the appeal his direct patronage. He will serve as honorary chairman of the campaign. Franklin D. Roosevelt is chairman; Andrew E. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, is honorary treasurer; Lewis L. Clarke, president of the American Exchange National Bank of New York City, is treasurer. Checks may be sent the treasurer at The Lighthouse, 111 East 59th Street, New York City.



**A pyramid of blind boys at The Lighthouse. How they do it without sight is a mystery—which suggests, however, that the blind are considerably more like others than they are supposed to be**



*Gilliams Service*

**Rats, the carriers of bubonic plague germs, are apt to use the hawser ropes of the ship they have crossed on, as gang-planks to land by. So the Government Public Health Service has devised metal disks which, when in place on the hawsers, permit the disembarking ship rats to go thus far and no farther**

## Giving Medicine to Plants

During the past few years, according to the *Scientific American Monthly*, it has been shown that plants often derive a great deal of benefit from suitable medicines. A sickly maiden-hair fern has been given a new lease of life by the administration of codliver oil. Now and again plants suffer from a kind of anemia which manifests itself in pale green foliage, and lack of color in the flowers. This trouble is largely remedied by the use of iron. Water, which has been made rusty with iron, is employed, or even iron filings worked into the soil round the plant produce a speedy change in the health of the plant. The foliage assumes a deep green shade and the flowers develop a strong color. Where the amount of iron is large, surprising alterations will sometimes be seen in the colors of the blossoms. Thus, now and again, pink flowered hydrangeas will bear blue blossoms under such treatment.

Alcohol has a stimulating effect on many plants. White-flowered primulas and sweet williams were given small doses of alcohol for several days and, at the end of the period, the plants started producing blooms of a bright pink shade. In some way the alcohol brought into activity the latent color in the petals of the flower. The medical treatment of the plant does not

merely consist in giving doses at the roots. A weak solution of sulfate of iron, applied to the foliage and even the fruits of a tree, will act almost magically. This chemical has the power of stimulating the action of the leaves and fruit in drawing sap from the roots. Thus the foliage and the fruits show a development which is greatly in advance of anything that is grown normally. Plants which are kept for the sake of their foliage, such as palms, benefit greatly if now and then the leaves are wiped over with milk, or pure olive oil. The application has a wonderful restorative effect and the leaves remain in a very healthy state.

A few years ago it was discovered that plants were very much affected by anesthetics. A lilac bush submitted to the fumes of chloroform for two or three hours behaved afterward in a very astonishing way. Altho it was the middle of winter the bush soon after it had been chloroformed started to develop its leaves and flowers. In some way the deep sleep which the anesthetic induced appeared to take the place of the winter rest period of the plant. Thus, when the bush woke up, it started to grow with all the vigor of the spring. The use of anesthetics for the forcing of plants into a premature maturity is likely to prove of great value to the gardener.

## Potent Spells

Superstitions are as old as the human race; that they still prevail to a surprising degree is attested by the 4,000 or so collected and compiled by Dr. Daniel L. Thomas, late Professor of English at Center College, and his sister, Miss Lucy B. Thomas, teacher of English at Ward-Belmont College. These weird fancies are published under the title "Kentucky Superstitions" by the Princeton University Press. The end sought by the authors is not humor or satire; it is rather a contribution to history and psychology. The folk-lore interwoven with the superstitions of the isolated mountaineers and of the lowland darkies is particularly diverting. We quote hints on health, beauty and what-not:

*To cure your back-ache, let a seventh child walk seven times up and down your back.*

*To cure grip, hang your hat on the bedpost and drink whiskey until you see two hats.*

*It causes bad luck to jump out of a window unless you jump in again backward.*

*If your underskirt hangs, you will have to shovel coal.*

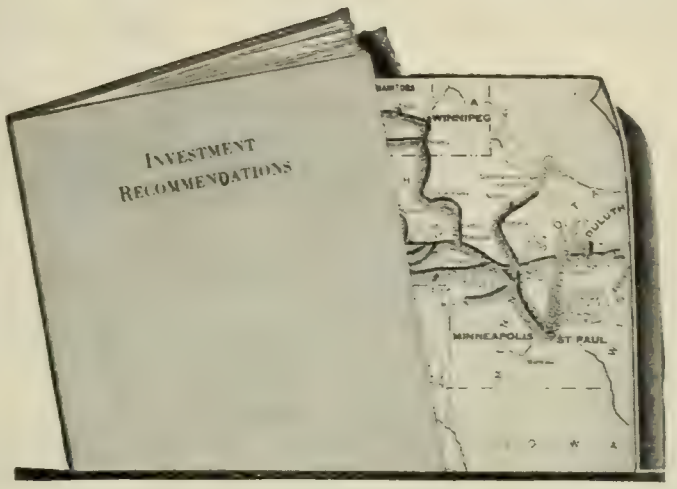
*One never sees a blue jay on Friday because these birds carry sand to the devil on that day. Another version says that every blue jay carries a piece of wood to hell on Friday, to heat the lawyers.*

*It is firmly believed by the people of Leslie County, a mountain county, that President McKinley's name was written*

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*by spiders in their webs as a prophecy of his death.*

*Plait your horse's mane with corn shucks, to prevent witches from riding him.*

*A negro with a rabbit foot, mounted on a white horse in the dark of the moon in a cemetery, will break a witch spell. (Mountains.)*

*To frighten ghosts away when you meet them in a lonely lane on a dark night, cross the left thumb over the index finger, draw a long breath and exclaim in a sepulchral voice, "Skip-i-to!" No ghost can withstand this process, especially if the words are repeated.*

*Locusts come every seventeen years; if they have a W on the wing, it means woe, war and want.*

*A white moth flying is the spirit of a grandparent hovering near.*

*If you put the last nickel of your allowance into the church offering, you will get a check within the next few days.*

*If a green snake bites you, you will laugh yourself to death.*

*To become beautiful, wash your face in dew before sunrise on Mayday.*

## Sending Intelligence Up in Smoke

During the early part of the school year of 1920-21, says a writer in *School and Society*, three "intelligence tests" were given to the students in the University High School, University of Arkansas. On the opening day they were given the so-called "Army Alpha test." A little later they were given the Miller test, a test standardized by the Minnesota High School Conference. The third test given is known as the Terman Intelligence Test A.

During the course of the first quarter a question was raised in the biology class about the ability of the boys who smoke to do high school work. In order to answer this question scientifically the names of the boys were first divided into two groups consisting of the names of those who smoke and of those who do not smoke. A grade score was next assigned for each student by taking his grades made during the first quarter of the school year, and calling Grade A 4, Grade B 3, Grade C 2, Grade D 1, and Grade F zero. A numerical grade score was thus made out for each student.

The names in each group of students were then arranged according to classes as freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors, and the student's numerical grade score was placed with his name. Side by side with the grade score there were then placed the student's "intelligence test" scores as found by each of the three tests which he had taken.

The results thus obtained showed that the intelligence level of the boys who smoke is 15 per cent lower than that of those who do not smoke, and that those who smoke are 30 per cent lower in ability to do school work than those who do not.

All of the boys in the University High School are of normal high school age. The classification into "smoker" and "non-smoker" groups was made by one of the boys, a smoker himself, and wholly unprejudiced.

## Fringes

Twelve American Rhodes scholars were killed in the Great War.

***

The super-sensitiveness of a Harvard freshman to eggs led him to commit suicide.

***

Forty out of forty-eight states have adopted some form of Mothers' Pension law.

***

A Massachusetts man holds at present the offices of Clerk, Selectman, Treasurer, Tax Collector, Constable, Public Weigher, Library Trustee, Measurer of Wood, Sealer of Weights and Measures, Pound Keeper, Fence Viewer, Forest Fire Warden and Justice of the Peace.

***

The United States is exporting six times as much railway material as before the war.

***

The Government of Santo Domingo has announced that its bonded indebtedness will be paid off thirty-three years ahead of time.

***

Prof Raymond Pearl, of Johns Hopkins University, says that the United States can support a maximum population of 197,000,000.

***

A small orphan attached herself to a group of mutes on the way to the Kentucky School for the Deaf and pretended to be dumb; it was two months before the authorities discovered she was normal. She forgot and asked aloud for a drink.

***

The chief of Genoa police has received a letter signed "The Tramway Pickpockets' Association," complaining that the persons from whom they abstract pocketbooks have "the dishonest habit" of declaring to the police a larger loss than they suffered.



*American Museum of Natural History*

**All that is left—but quite enough—of the well-named Tyrannosaurus Rex, the largest carnivore that ever lived. He stands 19 feet tall and 47 feet long in the American Museum of Natural History, one of whose expeditions, under Dr. Barnum Brown, excavated him in Alberta, where he lived probably 3,000,000 years ago. The skeleton was erected on the skyscraper principle, by Mr. Charles Lang; the bones, weighing two tons, are held together by structural steel clamps. In his present position the monster's step is only seven feet; his normal stride was fifteen. His appetite seems to have matched his size; the picture in the upper corner shows him about to fall upon and devour an extinct herb-eating monster, Triceratops. A group of distinguished scientists is standing unabashed beneath the giant frame; Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn—in the middle, with lifted hand—is the scientist who gave the creature his name**

# How Milo Jones and His Wife Made a Fortune

***Starting in their own home, during their spare time they built up a big money-making business***

By WILLIARD OSBORNE

ONE time when the minister came to break bread at the farm home of Brother Milo Jones, Milo thought the good man was probably "fed up" on chicken so he gave him some of Mrs. Jones' home-made sausage.

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The pastor's friends, the Joneses friends and everyone else who tasted that sausage said it tasted like more. And they insisted on having more; with the result that Milo and his wife were soon spending all of their spare time in the kitchen making sausage to supply the demand.

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A Fortune in Pigs

Charles E. Hires started his root-beer as a side-line when he was in the drug business.

W. H. Conant whose "Bluine" made him rich, started in a small way with a few boy and girl agents.

Alfred C. Gilbert started making toys as a hobby, and last year his sales amounted to two million dollars.

E. J. Shaylor, a traveling salesman, spent his spare time raising peonies. Now he is an expert in that line, has a big business and has received as high as $100.00 for a single bulb of one of his choice varieties.

One of the country's successful real estate men started during his spare time, without capital or experience, and built up a million-dollar business in less than five years.

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You, too, can turn your spare time to profitable account. Time is money. And we all have an equal share of it. What are you doing with your share? Are you wasting several precious hours a day that you could use in starting and developing a money-making business of your own?

If you are, stop it right now! Make up your mind—today—that from now on you will use your spare time intelligently and profitably—turning your *idle* hours into *golden* hours—for your spare time properly used can easily mean to you the difference between *success* and *failure*.

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They contain 137 successful business plans, any one of which you can adopt, for making money right at home, during your spare time.



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And in addition to this big collection of carefully-gathered business ideas, the plans also contain the fundamental business principles that make it easy for you to start right—avoiding the common mistakes—the snags and pitfalls—that you would otherwise run up against.

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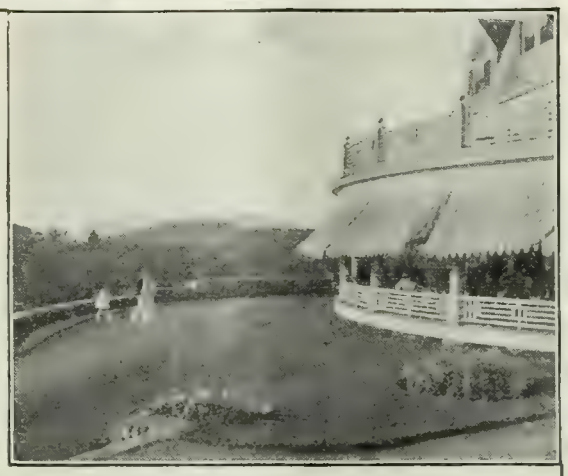
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(*Continued from page 636*)

But in the factors making for his particular success, Beatty was fortunate. He was born in Thorold, a small Ontario town. His father was of the famous Beatty Steamship Great Lakes line; so that he must have breathed a water and rail transportation atmosphere from childhood. He must have imbibed without knowing it the correlation of these two—how they must work together to lower rates—as they have on the Great Lakes—instead of being divorced to fight each other as by the American law separating all ownership of coastal steamers from transcontinental rails—a system that fell down when the war tested it. He went to the average town school, then to college in Toronto, from which he graduated to study law in the office of a firm handling C. P. R. matters. From this he graduated to the presidency of the "only railroad solvent in America."

Externally, his life parallels and resembles many other lives. From the hosts of "I knew him whens," who remember him as schoolboy and student, I gather he took and gave joyfully the usual kicks that weld a boy into a man. He didn't grouch, and he didn't grouse. He wasn't brilliant, and he wasn't a plodder.

He was always known as a "middle of the road" man; but if you jump to the conclusion he was a compromizer, you don't know Beatty. He was simply never an extremist, self-hypnotized or otherwise. He held rather to facts than opinions; if men would anchor to facts for guidance rather than to opinions, there wouldn't be so many differences of opinion, and progress would be surer, steadier, faster. And when I came away from my interview with President Beatty, I felt as if I had been talking with a man with a tremendous grasp on world facts, rather than with an exclusively railroad expert.

For instance, when I asked him if he expected Canada to be convulsed by the Bolshevik communist theories universally upsetting the world, he answered: "No! I don't; tho they may make more noise than the silent unexpressed sentiments of the majority. To begin with, we are essentially a nation of producers. Then, Quebec is the most prosperous province in Canada. It is also one of the most highly industrialized provinces; and the Catholic Church will always act as a stabilizer. You don't hear of strikes in Quebec. The Church does not suppress strikes. It invites open discussion under Church guidance of all problems affecting its people; and it meets arguments with facts. Its people don't get misinformed."

Every provincial government in Canada today is more or less a farmers' government. This applies from Ontario to British Columbia. If unionized labor and the farm governments would line up together, they would sweep the Dominion and control the next Federal

Government. I asked President Beatty what he thought of such a line up. Would it come?

"Never! It is an unholy alliance and will never be cemented even for a temporary victory. The farmer is essentially a vested righter and owns his own labor. He will never consent to class legislation, to ownership in common, to the elimination of profits, to a short day and high pay; for his day is conditioned by the weather, by the season, by factors which the unions can never unionize." Within two months of this prediction, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia provincial governments had refused an alliance with unionized labor as a class.

"As to nationalization," said President Beatty, referring to railroads, "there are two doctrines. High freights in which the shipper pays and the consumer pays in increased costs to meet deficits; or deficits met by frankly paying the loss out of the public treasury, when the taxpayer pays. People are lining up behind one of these alternatives, as though there were no middle of the road course. Now the middle of the road course would be to leave the railroads alone as business properties managed by business men, who must make them pay, or be thrown out by their shareholders. If they put freights too high, freights will decrease and the deficits work their own remedy. Freights fall off. Consumers don't buy. If they put freights too low, again the deficit works its own remedy. The same of wages. Get wages too high, and the railroad to meet its obligations must lay off men and economize in service. It is either such wages as income permits, or fewer men employed; and the burden of this decision falls on labor itself—either more men employed and steady work, or fewer men, intermittent work and higher wages. I have no fear of labor not coming to a wise decision. The trouble is—we are mixing private ownership and public management. It can't be done."

Terse, isn't it? But that is exactly what has happened in Great Britain, in Canada, in the United States; and when the taxpayer has been called to the rescue, he has refused to sanction higher taxes.

Space forbids more than a few quotations from this young and unspectacular man:

"The usefulness of a railroad only continues so long as the people believe in the company, in its honesty and fair dealing to the people it serves. When it fails to serve better than public management can serve, its usefulness is at an end."

"We need labor in Canada and we can always get it; but we can only get it if labor itself realizes that as Canada prospers, so will labor prosper.

"The year 1921 will be the great test of rail management. Costs must be reduced by economy and effciency in order that costs may be reduced to shipper and consumer"—to which the public of the whole world will utter a loud "Amen!"

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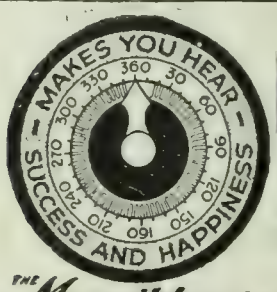
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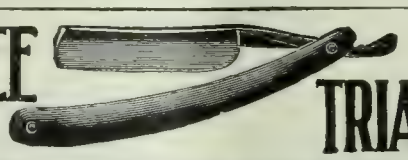
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## A College of Trees

(*Continued from page 638*)

its flowers in drooping clusters. All told, about one hundred and seventy different members of the lilac tribe hang their delicate banners in the sun—a family reunion that draws an annual audience of over ten thousand in May and early June.

It is curious that comparatively few Americans have made their way to this College of Trees. Perhaps it is because trees are such unobtrusive persons, growing in stately silence and calling little attention to themselves. Trees employ no press agents! Perhaps, too, it is because those who love and study trees are much the same sort—more concerned with learning their secrets than in exploiting them.

If Mr. James Arnold, a merchant of New Bedford who died about fifty years ago, could have foreseen what could be done with the $100,000 which he left for the advancement of horticulture, he would doubtless have been even more eager to devote this sum to the development of the trees and flowers he loved. It was four or five years after his will was read that the plan took shape which resulted in the addition of a Tree College to Harvard University. A farm in West Roxbury had been given to the university some time previous, and one of the trustees of Mr. Arnold's estate conceived the idea of combining the two bequests in one.

At first the museum of woody growths which was the outcome occupied only one hundred and twenty acres. About ten years later the city of Boston, seeing the value of adding these beautiful grounds to the city's park system, added some outlying lands and made a contract with the university which must have made the great trees settle into their places with a long sigh of contentment, knowing that they would never be disturbed! The contract provided that the garden should stand for a thousand years!

I have seen trees five hundred years old in the cloistered walls of Oxford; what will trees a thousand years old be like? *Do* flowers and trees live a thousand years, anyway?

Thus far the Arboretum has been the special charge of Charles S. Sargent, Arnold Professor of Arboriculture of Harvard. He has devoted more than forty years of his life to the making of this rare Garden of Trees, and the writing of exhaustive scientific studies concerning the shrubs and trees of this country and others.

The museum is not complete, in spite of its having acquired specimens of every form of woody growth which will grow there.

One of the shrubs that is wanted is a white misteria, that is the white form of *W. sinensis*. This is an exceedingly rare plant. "It was found by Fortune in Chinese gardens, and first flowered in England in 1849," says the Bulletin. "Wilson (an explorer for the Arboretum) saw occasional plants on the cliffs near Ichang in central China. There was a plant in Francis Parkman's gar-

den in Jamaica Plain, which flowered in 1880, but has now disappeared; there is said to be a specimen in a garden in Connecticut, and there are two splendid old plants in gardens in Opelousas, Louisiana. It is wanted for the Arboretum."

Another plant that is much wanted is a variety of lilac—*Syringa vulgaris flore pleno Liberti* or *Syringa vulgaris azurea plena*. This is a lilac bearing small double flowers, discovered in 1843 by a nurseryman at Liege, in Belgium. "It was probably a seedling of the common lilac, and not a hybrid. It was this plant that Lemoine, the French hybridizer, selected as the seed-bearing parent in his first attempt to improve the garden lilacs."

One need not contribute to the museum to have a very large share in its treasures. It is free to the great American public, and is destined—for a thousand years to come—"and so on, from time to time forever"—to be a great educative force in acquainting folk with the wonders which spring from the ground.

# Shifting Clouds

(*Continued from page 637*)

touched. Not so many years ago the royal box was sacrosanct. That night *schiebers* occupied it and ate sausages between the acts. The repertoire used to be in harmony with monarchic prejudice. This night, the play was Molnar's comedy, "The Swan." It is a satire on royalty in which the characters are unmistakably Hapsburgs, and the problem of a match with the heir apparent, contemporary history; yet these Viennese, who, a little while ago looked upon the ceremonial which surrounds royalty as equivalent to the sacredness of a mass, were thoroly enjoying it.

Vienna is suffering, there is no doubt about it. Food is scarce and dear, children are under-nourished, clothes are almost unpurchasable and thousands of people stand in line daily to buy shoes which the state sells at or below cost. The rich, of course, get all and everything they want; the workmen strike on every occasion and get more paper crowns. With each increase in wages prices rise, just as with us, but they manage to get food enough, and in summer clothes enough.

Students and many professors could not exist if it were not for the one meal a day which they receive from the American Relief Association; yet they pursue knowledge with the old time vigor. In fact, everyone in Vienna seems to study, judging by the young people who crowd the university, the workingmen who throng the *Volksheim*, and the serious books one sees being read on the cars and in the parks. It sometimes seems as if it would be best to close the schools and compel the young people to go out and dig; but that is more easily said than done. Austria has not enough soil or raw material, and workmen are crowding one another for jobs. However, there are movements in that direction, and organizations have been started to acquire land, to build simple homes, and to have their members live off and on the land.

The Quakers are doing much in that direction, not only by giving needed and expert advice, but by importing from Holland and England pure stocks of cattle and breeds of chickens, supervising their care and allotting the increase to those who will make the best use of them.

Naturally there is the danger that the relief work which has saved the morale of the Viennese, may turn into immorale, as they are naturally an easy going people. For centuries the Czechs have been their tailors and cobblers, and the Slovak men and maidens their servants. They have lived luxuriously because of the toil of Magyar and Serb farmers; so they are finding it hard to rest back upon their own endeavor, and the help which has poured in from all over the world, has made their sense of dependence greater. The relief workers, realizing that, are cutting down wherever possible and stimulating the spirit of self help.

Singerstrasse 16, the Quaker headquarters, has become a consulting and clearing center where Vienna's problems are being studied from all angles, and some advance can be noticed. Relief on a large scale may again be necessary next winter; certainly the children will have to be seen thru.

What fate awaits Vienna no one can tell. Austria wants to belong to Germany, and will, sooner or later; but even while she is hanging in mid-air, as it were, she is beginning to feel the fact that she is so placed geographically that she cannot be ignored. Vienna, as I have already indicated, is again becoming a center of trade. Unfortunately, import and export have to be smuggled for the most part.

The Austrians are working hard and will work harder; they harbor no ill will, plot no *revanche* and no irredentas poison their thought. Austria seems forever cured of imperialism and militarism. She does not long for the Hapsburgs, neither is she weeping for her lost provinces. She wants to be able to live, even to learn how to live, and she is leaning heavily.

While the Quakers feel that the dramatic moment of help for Vienna is past, they cannot desert her now, when the slow, constructive, unromantic work looms so large.

BUT there is one region where the color has ebbed and faded—the occupied territory of Germany.

Here and there a grey uniform, mended till it looks like the new map of Europe; a shabby coat or cap, remnants of the war, reluctantly worn with civilian clothes, a daring officer in his regimentals bemedaled and beribboned (as proud as a cock who lost the fight), declaring his loyalty to the


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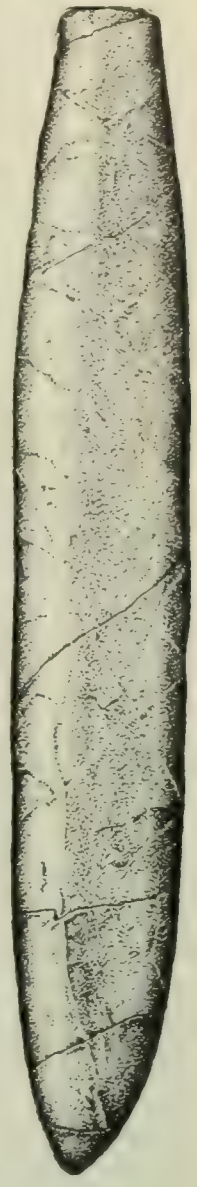
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things that were, and his hope that they will be again; a company of *Reichswer,* their equipment strictly business, walking wearily along, out of tune and time with the times—are all that is left of the military pomp of Germany.

The Rhine is occupied and it bears the marks. It is more than a river, it is a stream of blood, life blood, and the occupation has turned the corpuscles from red into pale white. There are companies of soldiers around stacked arms, the noses of menacing tanks pointing up into the air, machine guns with lean necks and round fat stomachs; then, looming up suddenly, like two hands lifted in solemn petition are the towers of the "*Dom of Cöln.*"

In the "good old days" Cologne was either the beginning or the end of the Rhine journey, and the *Dom* was the objective. Innumerable throngs of "Cooky" tourists looked at the superb cathedral, and some of them felt the power of every up-reaching turret. Some compared its hight to the standpipe or some other tallest thing in their booming town back in the U. S. A. None could escape the holy power of that noble interior, and they whispered admiration and felt the worshipful mood.

Now the *Dom* seems lost to view. English Tommies squat on the steps, one's favorite hotel has been commandeered and made into headquarters for something; another and another has shared the same fate, showing the same wear and tear. There are placards in English commanding this or that thing, and when the Tommies read them aloud, one stumbles over dropped h's. Such and such a place is closed to civilians, soldiers are permitted to go to the public restaurants until the fantastic hour of twenty-three; so that magic number comes into its own again. (There is no a. m. or p. m. in the English zone). The English officers are unmistakably and uncompromizingly English, the monocle making their immobile faces more rigid.

A few hours of daylight, then the night, a new morning and after a short railroad journey I saw the American flag floating from the fortress of Ehrenbreitenstein. "The *Vaterland* is a little *ruhiger*" where the Yanks keep the "Watch on the Rhine"—tho feverish enough, and the truth of it stranger indeed than fiction! Any man who had foretold this, ten years ago, who had visioned the American flag waving from the Kaiser's favorite palace, and Yankee soldiers spilled all over the streets of Coblenz, would have been declared a lunatic.

Friendly boys they are, young boys on the whole, these Yankee soldiers, with here and there a toughened specimen of the regulars. The rest are youngsters upon an adventure, doing their time without much else on their minds than how many *marks* one gets for a dollar. Yet how quickly they go in spite of their number, because of everlasting thirst, blue-eyed *fräuleins* and fickle fortune at cards.

The Y. M. C. A. keeps brotherly guard over them—and sisterly, which they like better. There are huts everywhere, from Andernach to Biebrich; cheerful places with pictures, flowers, ham sandwiches, ice cream, and "Oh Lady!—Pie!" Young women old enough to be older sisters keep the huts, adorn them, sell the goodies, offer good advice gratis, and make these soldiers' camps as sweet and attractive as only one or two young women resourceful to the finger tips can.

A militarized Y. M. C. A. secretary took me the rounds. First to the fortresses, Fort Roland, then to Ehrenbreitenstein. Unchallenged, our Ford entered, and bumped us thru dark tunnels; huge gates, never before opened to sightseeing civilians, swung wide upon ugly barracks, sun-baked, empty drill grounds, guard houses full to overflowing, and in a labyrinth of walks and walls is the Y. M. C. A. hut.

The "Y" girls were busy; it was pay day and heyday, for the boys spend their money while the sun shines—also alas, when it does not shine. I saw on one boy's plate two ham sandwiches, two chocolate sundaes, three pieces of pie stacked like pancakes; and then he had a second helping. The boys can't be homesick at Coblenz. They are in America, more indeed than if they were at Yuma or some other hot place in Arizona or New Mexico, and the reason is largely the Y. M. C. A. men and especially the women.

The citizens do their share to make the boys feel at home. "Come in and get a genuine bootblack," "Bootblacking done in all colors," "Mince pies *that* mother used to bake," "American money changed at highest *rats.*" By these and other signs they express their interest in the boys, and they reciprocate.

On pay day they go from café to café. They buy everything, from Marzapan cakes to bottles of wine, and judging by the unsteadiness of some of them, they have purchased *Cognac,* which they pronounce "Kooneyack," and which the law pronounces "dangerous and forbidden."

The great *Fest-Halle* belongs to the boys, and nowhere in their native country have they so fine a place for entertainment. Boxing, theatricals, concerts, everything is theirs, the best there is; yet when one goes beneath the surface, one sees that they also get the worst there is; both they and the people of the occupied area. The America they bring to Coblenz and the neighboring villages is hardly fit for export, and an army of occupation is rarely a cultural agency. The officers, even the militarized Y. M. C. A., are forbidden fraternizing with the native population; so whatever of the good or noble we have is not spread abroad, while the vulgar or wicked is scattered broadcast.

An American woman whose work frequently carries her thru the occupied zone, declares that the English soldiers get along best with the natives; that, and, pity it is, the American soldiers have created for themselves the most immoral conditions. She says that the French officers are always gentlemen, tho they rule with an iron hand. One hears on all sides praises of General Allen, and that the administrative side of our occupation is both wise and wisely just.

I have not seen black troops but colored troops: Algerian and Moroccan. According to the testimony of the natives, they are not worse than others, but different. In no case, I was told by the head nurse of a maternity hospital, are the mulatto children born of German women due to rape. Unfortunately the colored men have a strange attraction for the women of this region, and for those of France no less.

The fact is, that their presence is resented less here, where they are, than in America, where our negrophobia was used for a rather despicable propaganda. The occupation itself is bad, demoralizing to the soldiers of every race, to the people in every region, and the sooner it is ended the better.

ONE Sunday evening I attended a meeting under the auspices of the English Quakers. The hall was crowded and many were standing. The speaker was Carl Heath, an Englishman, and if England has a hundred such righteous men she will not perish, in spite of her iniquities. He spoke calmly, as calmly as only the English can speak, and as simply as only Quakers can, of the futility of force and the iniquity of revenge.

The men, and there were many who took part, spoke like sick men, or men astray, seeking a trail they had lost. They envied Carl Heath his simple faith, his directness of speech.

There were Socialists, Pietists, Communists and cranks, with panaceas and crude suggestions of every sort. None spoke as well as one who has founded a society called "*Das Neue Werk.*" Thousands of men and women have joined him, have moved onto the land, and by hard work, simple living and clear thinking, are trying to make of Germany a "New Creation."

I found in Frankfort an editor who has some sense and a world view. He edits the *Frankfurter Zeitung.* "May his tribe increase." He told me this story. During the occupation by French troops he, as a newspaper man, was free from the compulsion of being indoors at 9 o'clock at night.

Walking thru the deserted street one night, he met a colored trooper and said to him in French: "This is not very exciting." To which the man replied: "No, Monsieur, it is not, and I don't want excitement. I want to go home to my people. Perhaps some day you and we shall have sense enough to prevent such a calamity as this war, and we may all remain at home and eat our bread in peace."

Perhaps it has come true that God has "confounded the wise and prudent," and that "out of the mouth of" —Colonials—who are but "babes and sucklings" He has "ordained strength."

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

"Where do the jelly-fish get their jelly?"
"From the ocean currents."—*Widow.*

He (passionately)—Darling, I have a secret to whisper into your ear—where is it?—*Pennsylvania Punch Bowl.*

Doctor—Did that medicine straighten your husband out all right?
Wife—Yes, we buried him yesterday.—*Yale Record.*

Citizen—Judge, I'm too sick to do jury duty; I've got a bad case of the itch.
Judge—Excuse accepted. Clerk, scratch this man out!—*Widow.*

Jack—Say, Artie, this firecracker won't go off.
Artie—That's funny, it went off all right a minute ago.—*Boys' Life.*

Alice—Did you see the leopards at the Vodivil last night?
Stage Hand—Yes, I spotted them before they came on.—*Stanford Chaparral.*

He—My brother is exactly the opposite of me. I don't suppose you've met him, have you?
She—No, but I should like to.—*Yale Record.*

"Was your daughter's musical education a profitable venture?" asked Smith.
"Rather," said Brown. "I bought the houses on either side of us at half their value."—*Blighty.*

The boy stood on the railroad track,
The train was coming fast;
The boy stepped off the railroad track
To let the train go past!
—*Lehigh Burr.*

Teacher—Which one of the five senses—sight, feeling, hearing, taste or smell—could you get along best without?
Small Boy—Feeling, because when you get in an accident you won't get hurt.—*Boys' Life.*

Little Roy—We've been playing school, mother.
Mother—Well, I hope you were well behaved during the school hours.
Little Roy—I didn't need to be, because I was the teacher.—*New York Globe.*

A young college boy from our city
Was thrown into jail—what a pity!
He attempted to steal
A ferryboat's keel,
So his room would look boyish and pretty.
—*Juggler.*

Elsie—Mama, George Washington must have had an awful good memory, didn't he?
Mother—Why, my dear?
Elsie—Because everywhere I go I see monuments to his memory.—*The Christian Advocate.*

"Can you tell me how much water to a gallon flows over Niagara Falls?" asked George.
"I haven't the slightest idea! How much?" returned his friend.
"Oh! Exactly four quarts," replied George.—*Exchange.*

## Remarkable Remarks

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON—England will be dry in ten years.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—My father is of all men the most democratic.

SECRETARY HUGHES—We need trained men in the diplomatic and consular service.

LADY ASTOR—I would rather have a rattle snake around than a disgruntled domestic servant.

WARREN G. HARDING—I would rather be an American citizen than a potentate of any country in the world.

EX-PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT—Some of the largest churches are losing control over the young women and men.

ROY K. MOULTON—A woman who fixes up a den for her husband usually succeeds in putting everything into it except the husband.

PROF. R. W. BROWN—If a student is to receive the maximum of attention from an average American college he must be to some extent a mental or a moral deficient.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEEWOMAN HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON—The country has been "fathered" to death. It needs a little bit of "mothering" right now.

JAMES P. SINNOT—Jack Dempsey does not write or eat with his left hand, but he bats left-handed when playing baseball and handles a tennis racket with the left hand.

HERBERT HOOVER—There is no more inconceivable folly than this continued riot of expenditure on battleships at a time when great masses of humanity are dying of starvation.

GEN. TASKER H. BLISS—Why should not the United States take the lead in the definite proposal and demand for a reasonable limitation of armaments? Who can do it better than we?

DOLLY MADISON—I should hardly refer to Mrs. Goodhue Livingston, Mrs. Walter Cutting, Mrs. George G. DeWitt, Mrs. Charles Steele, the Hoyts, Clarence H. Mackay, etc., as unimportant people.

WALTER GEORGE SMITH—As a leading member of the family of nations, we should make it known that justice towards the Armenians is the condition of generosity on our part towards the Allied powers.

## Opening Nights

*Sun-Kist*—a California extravaganza produced by Fanchon and Marko. Good, average musical comedy. (Globe Theater.)

*Miss Billie Shaw and Co.* produce five flimsy and tawdry playlets that occasionally are vehicles for a slight prettiness of costume and picture. (Apollo Theater.)

*The Broadway Whirl*—familiar type of summer show, with heavy shower of puns, manicure songs and gorgeous, rainbow costumes. Richard Carle is funny and Blanch Ring sings. (Times Square Theater.)



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When the ships brought our soldiers home, we marched them gloriously down Fifth Avenue, and the Washington Arch, built in memory of the first great fighter for our democracy, was like a gate of welcome to them all. It was of no consequence then that Italian, Irishman, Jew marched side by side. Today, in sharp reaction, we are drawing back into ourselves, and—thru motives of self-defense or selfishness, however that may be—we are substituting fear, suspicion, antagonism for the mutual trust and coöperation that was the war mood. On the opposite page, Mr. Rollin Lynde Hartt presents one of the studies in a series of articles on this new spirit, the "pull-apart" spirit which he calls "The New Hyphenism"

The Independent
June 25, 1921

# New York and the Real Jew

## The First of a Series of Articles on "The New Hyphenism"

## By Rollin Lynde Hartt

FOR the thousandth time, Lucille Rogers sang "Eli! Eli!"—"My God! My God!"—before a Ghetto audience on New York's East Side. As usual, there was a frenzy of applause, but not a Jew among her hearers recognized that anything exceptionally dramatic had occurred.

It had. "Eli! Eli!" is the wail of a Jewess crucified by Anti-Semites, and on the day when the East Side prima donna sang "Eli! Eli!" for the thousandth time, Henry Ford's Dearborn *Independent* made Anti-Semitism a reality in America by accusing the Jews not only of having caused the unrest that has followed the war, but of plotting to overthrow this and every other government and rule the world—a monstrous charge, very nearly as shocking to Jewish-American sensibilities as a pogrom in East Broadway.

During the past few weeks Jews have talked of little else. In Orchard Street the pushcart mercants gasp "Eli! Eli! Persecuted—here—in 'free' America! Oi, oi, oi, what a country!" Half way up the Metropolitan Tower, in the offices of the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Bernard Richards said to me one morning, "Isn't this a shame? Thruout the war we all pulled together. Now we are pulling apart." The Jewish newspaper row fringing Seward Square seethes with wrath, and there are evidences of distressed apprehension. Jew-baiting has begun. Where will it end?

Meanwhile *Facts*, a Jewish brochure, cries, "Henry Ford, you are a liar, a self-confessed traitor, and lower than an anarchist!"—apparently with the intention of goading him into suing for damages, as then a court of justice would announce its decision regarding the forged "Protocols of the Learned Elders in Zion," upon which his wholesale accusations against the "formidable sect" are chiefly based.

Happily there are Jews who can laugh. Over their pot cheese and sour cream at Strunsky's, the intellectuals of the Ghetto exclaim, "Who would have imagined that Gentiles could be so superstitious?" and in East Side bookshops they blurt out, jeeringly, "Rule the world! Could anything be funnier? True, a certain Leon Brauenstein, better known as Trotzky, is war minister in Russia. One Jew. One—count him! But the mass of formerly prosperous Jews in Russia (they belonged to the bourgeoisie) have been stripped of their all if not butchered outright. Formidable, are we? Look at us here in New York. See how harmless we are and on the whole how helpless!"

A point well taken. With its 1,500,000 Jews, New York is the world's greatest Jewish city. Nearly half the Jews in North America live there. Nearly 10 per cent of all the Jews on earth do. From "Coheney" Island to "Kike's Peak" and beyond, they swarm. Every fourth New Yorker is a Jew. There are five times as many Jews in New York as in any other municipality under the sun, and more Jews than were ever before gathered together in a single place. Columbia University is one-third Jewish, the City College 97 per cent Jewish, the Washington Irving High School, with its 6000 pupils, almost wholly Jewish. Jews monopolize the real estate business, the ready-made clothing business, the theatrical business. There are Jewish policemen. There are Jewish firemen. A famous bridge has been rechristened "the Jewish Passover." But are these Jews in New York a formidable sect? Are they a power financially, even? When Zangwill was asked to write on "Why Jews Succeed," he replied, "They don't," and the New York Jews agree with him. Note what happened when the great Zionist drive (slogan, "Rebuild the Jewish homeland now") undertook to raise a mere matter of $10,000,000.

Apart from coteries who declare, "We are not a race, but only a religious sect," and from other coteries who assert, "Nationalism is narrow and evil; what the world needs is universal brotherhood," all good Jews are Zionists. Two hundred and fifty Jewish volunteers from New York—the first Jewish military unit in 2000 years—fought under Allenby, with the seven-branched manora on their caps and the shield of David as their standard. When Palestine became a Zionist state, innumerable New York Jews paraded, cheering. Ghetto shops display maps of Palestine, with the names in Hebrew letters. Zionist calendars

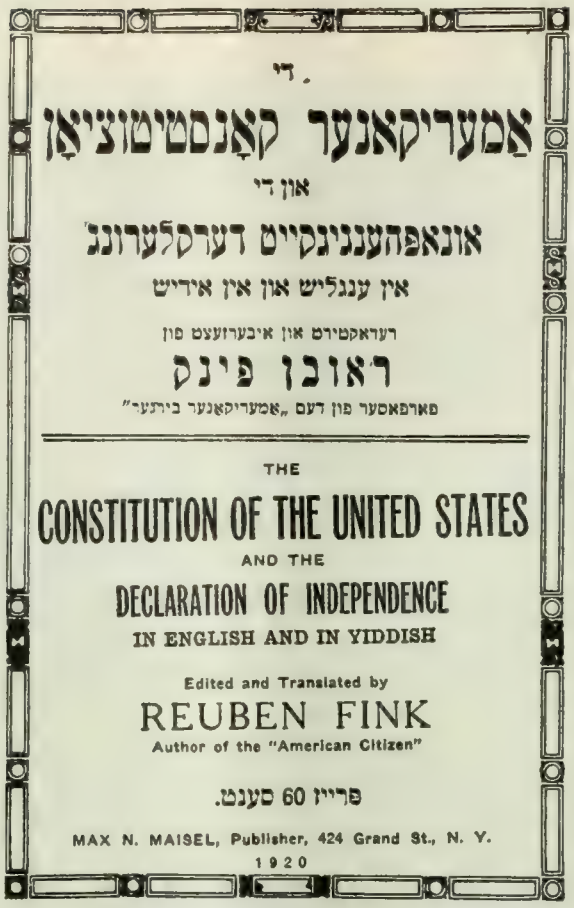
**New York is:**

**The largest Negro city**
**The largest Jewish city**
**The largest Italian city**
**The largest Irish city**
**The third largest German city in the world.**

**In New York, better than anywhere else, is "The New Hyphenism" to be observed and studied. This is Mr. Hartt's phrase for the post-war state of things, when in reaction from the war need to draw together under a common flag, race antagonisms and race exclusiveness are straining and striking at the "hyphen" which binds the new America from other shores to the old. In "I'd Like to Show You Harlem" in The Independent for April 2, Mr. Hartt presented the picture of the Negro city on Manhattan. This article on the Jews in New York carries on the story, and the other articles of the group will appear in subsequent issues**

appear in Jewish homes—gayly lithographed affairs, showing the Goddess of Liberty draped in the Stars and Stripes, while before her a Jewish maiden waves aloft the blue and white flag of Zion with its six-pointed blue star.

At Zionist headquarters in Fifth Avenue I met young Jews who were on the point of emigrating to Palestine. Quite a few have already gone. A Palestine Tools Campaign Committee supplies agricultural implements. The Red Mogen David of America promotes "the welfare of Jewish legionaries for Palestine and their families and the transplanting into the land of Israel of orphans from the war-stricken countries." Recently Mr. Nathan Straus gave $100,000 to found the Medical Research and Health Department of the University of Jerusalem. From of old every good Jew has recited a Hebrew prayer bewailing the Dispersion and begging for the Restoration; now that the prayer is answered, Zionism has emerged from its merely sentimental phase and become a passion. Yet how fared the great Zionist drive? Demanding $10,000,000, it got $2,000,000. The reason? Jews lack money.



One of the announcements of a local publisher in New York's lower East Side

Nothing is more pitifully absurd than the alleged wealth of New York's Jewish population. Here and there some Straus or Schiff or Baruch amasses riches on a grand scale, tho seldom on the grandest. Frequently, because of their oriental instinct for display, Jews appear splendidly prosperous. Thanks to their native generosity, impressive buildings house their Mount Sinai and Beth-Israel hospitals, their Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls, their Y. M. H. A., and their Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Asylum, while a few Jewish centers of worship—notably the Temples Beth-El and Emanu-El in Fifth Avenue—lead the undiscerning to conclude that in general the New York Jews are rich. Whereas, the bulk of them (witness the throngs that block your way on the clothing district sidewalks at the noon hour) have with incredible suffering barely attained the sweatshop level of existence and shudder lest they drop from that. Formidable? About as formidable financially as they are politically!

Irish Boston has its Irish mayors. Jewish New York has had no Jewish mayors, and just now the president of its board of aldermen is a Mr. La Guardia. A member of that board voted against granting the freedom of the city to Professor Einstein, Jewish savant, and Dr. Weizmann, successor to Dr. Hertzl as leader of world-wide Zionism. Police authorities in New York fearlessly enraged every Jew by forbidding the sale of Passover wine. And even when Jews find themselves in a position to become "formidable," they decline to. Of the great New York dailies, two are Jewish. See if in either the *World* or the *Times* you can trace the machinations of a "formidable sect."

Far from scheming to overthrow [*Continued on page 672*

# "When *I* Was Young—"

## A New Version of the Old Story About the Girls of Then and Now

## By Annie G. Porritt

**Professor Giddings, of the editorial staff of The Independent, goes on record as saying that "whether girls wear their skirts short or long makes as much difference as whether a man parts his hair in the middle or on the side."**

**The author of this article says, "Modesty is spiritual, and has nothing whatever to do with clothes."**

**What do *you* think?—about the whole subject that this brings up, or about any part of it? Write us a letter, two or three hundred words long, defending or blaming the girls of today, defining the situation as you see it in the fairest way you can. Address your contribution to The Contest Editor, and in an early issue of The Independent we will publish a selection from the responses we receive**

SOME forty years ago, away back in the nineteen-eighties, Mrs. Lynn Linton wrote, and the *Saturday Review* of London published a series of articles on "The Girl of the Period." These articles at once attained a wide success, if success can be measured by the number of people who read them, talked about them and wrote letters to the newspapers approving them. They were the precursors of many, many articles of similar character that have been given to the world between that time and the present; for the "Girl of the Period" is always with us, whether that period be the twentieth century or the days of the first Isaiah.

Mrs. Lynn Linton herself was very much "the modern woman." She lived in England while her husband lived in America; for she took lightly the duties and responsibilities of married life. It might have seemed that she would have been sympathetic with the "new woman," and that she would have given support and encouragement to the efforts that were then making for higher education and the opening of the professions. But no, every effort of girls toward greater freedom, toward better education, toward the breaking down of the barriers that surrounded them called for Mrs. Linton's stern disapproval, and greatest scorn was reserved for the college girl, whom she represented as smoking, drinking and swearing; altho in those days the girls who went to Girton and Newnham were most scrupulously careful not to discredit the new women's colleges.

Fashions in the days of Mrs. Lynn Linton differed very considerably from fashions in 1921—just as fashions also differed in the days of the first Isaiah. It is the spirit of

youth, with its extravagances and its exuberant vitality that is an offense to the older generation, and it does not seem to matter much how that spirit expresses itself. In Mrs. Linton's case, the strictures were chiefly concerned with habits or supposed habits. In Isaiah's, the indictment was drawn up in a catalog of precious possessions—"their anklets and the cauls, and the crescents, the pendants and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the headtires and the ankle chains and the sashes and the perfume boxes and the amulets, the rings and the nose jewels, the festival robes and the mantles and the shawls and the satchels, the hand mirrors and the fine linen and the turbans and veils."

The chorus of blame for the "Girl of the Period" is antiphonal. It begins with a deep bass, taken up by the tenors. The old men, the priests and prophets, the senators and city fathers, the newspaper editors all join in laying the responsibility for the immorality of the world on the young girls, on their manners and the fashion of their dress. Mrs. Grundy, old and young—all the Mrs. Grundys married and unmarried—take up the refrain. The whole burden of the vice, the lowered standards of morality, the general decadence of the age is laid upon these convenient scape-goats, and the critics get away with it, because, as a rule, the objects of their disapprobation are too young and inexperienced to defend themselves, and they find few advocates.



The latest thing in ladies' sports' wear—according to *Harper's Weekly* in 1885. This was just about the time when Mrs. Lynn Linton was righteously denouncing modern girlhood in the press

One might imagine that in the course of ages it might occur to the men and women who relieve their feelings of disappointment and disillusion by attacking the "Girl of the Period" that there was a time when they were young and when their generation was vigorously attacked by their elders. The girls of their own time were held responsible for the evil of the world, just as they themselves are now holding responsible the girls of 1921. Yet they survived the disapproval and the girls grew up to be the women of the present day—the elder women who are now held up as examples of what the girls ought to be.

No such perspective is recognized by the critics of our modern girls. They feel that this is an age without parallel; that standards are being smashed as they never were before, and that even if girls were foolish and sometimes dangerous to the peace of mankind in the past, there never was a day when the "Girl of the Period" was so endangering civilization as she is at the present moment.

There is some truth in this contention. Standards are being subjected to examination and merciless criticism in a way that would have startled the Girton or Newnham girls of Mrs. Linton's animadversions. Girls nowadays refuse to acknowledge the authority of maxims and prohibitions merely because they are handed down from hoary antiquity.

The continual antiphonal chorus of blame arouses also at the present time a feeling of impatience and resentment, which is probably stronger than the similar feeling in the days of Mrs. Linton—or of the Hebrew prophets. There is less of the patient endurance which the long infliction of many injustices produced in our grandmothers and even in ourselves of the older generation. The mood is more dangerous.

Undeserved and exaggerated blame produces recklessness, contempt of the opinion of the elders, and unwillingness to listen even to the wisest and most kindly and sympathetic of advice.

Before we impose our standards and our ideas of right and wrong in conduct upon the girls, it might be well to ask by what right we can ask her to accept them.

First of all, we have to concede frankly that in these post-war days we are facing a world which in many respects is not so good a world as that in which we who have passed the forty or the fifty line grew up. War has left its horrible traces on us all. It has demoralized both victor and vanquished, and left its legacy of hatred and greed, of selfishness and recklessness of human life and happiness.

If there is any human being who is innocent of these direful results and who is entirely without responsibility for the present condition of the world, it is the baby who is just coming into it. The children generally are free of all responsibility for deterioration in morals due to the habit of the war-mind. The "Girl of the Period" was a little child when the war began. She did nothing to bring on the struggle. Of all this we must entirely acquit her.

On the other hand, she—if she were as articulate and as ready to cast stones at her elders as they are to inflict punishment on her—would have a tremendous indictment to bring against us. It is we of the older generation who accepted war as the only way to settle our differences—differences in which she was not in the least interested.

Nevertheless the war and its consequences have affected the girls to a degree of which they are themselves hardly conscious.

They may not say so in so many words, but subconsciously they arraign their elders and the standards of the past for what happened to the world when war took the place of peace and barbarism again reigned supreme in Europe, with the echoes of barbarism affecting every heart and mind in America. What right have the elders to impose standards of conduct on the young? They did not succeed in securing standards of conduct for themselves which would have averted this great calamity. Why should the girls accept a precept or a prohibition simply because it is handed down from the past? [*Continued on page 677*

# Big Shears—or Common Sense?

## A Timely Discussion of the Problem of Moving-Picture Censorship

### By Henry MacMahon

THE imperial state of New York—12 per cent of the Union in population and headquarters of most big business, not forgetting films—is about to try the great experiment of officially ordering what motion pictures shall or shall not be seen by its citizens. Three $150-a-week commissioners will essay this office. It is estimated that the film licenses will add $1,000,000 to the State's revenues annually.

Without regarding the law as a serious attack on freedom, the present writer does not believe that its plan is the best way to improve the movies, the results wherever else censorship was put in practice having been quite the opposite of what was intended.

The censor is a human being to whom the personal fact of $7,800 salary is likely to loom larger than the love of fellow-man. While the Governor's appointees may be most public-spirited, they are nevertheless job-holders, and political ones at that, who wield the legal mace rather than the arts of persuasion and uplift. Now the work of selecting and commending films is first and foremost a social service. It is part of the editor's, preacher's, school teacher's work; it should also be the part-time activity of women's committees, community leaders, and social settlement organizations. On the "Let George do it!" theory the function is turned over to the State thru the outcries of short-sighted reformers who fail to see that theirs should be the actual participation in any betterments, theirs the responsibility for touching public sentiment and creating a better taste.

Let us suppose that the chief executive appoints a Solon for judgment, a Georg Brandes for critical acumen, and a veritable Mrs. Grundy for morals. What is their collective opinion worth? In matters of this sort, nothing at all! After excising the obviously improper (which the present police laws could just as well suppress), the individual standard as to the rest is as arbitrary as personality, and none of the standards are self-consistent or agree. I propose to show this thru the history of other boards. From Killigrew to Brooke and from Oberholtzer and Funkhouser to the most callow girl sub-clerk who tells prairie states what they shall look at, it is impossible to cite a censor who can be credited with anything of constructive achievement. The only worth-while improvement springs from group sentiment exerted thru leaders who voice the demand for a sounder art. What we really need is a Ruskin, a Morris of the movies—not a committee of drill sergeants!

In Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio and Kansas the amount of trash exhibited has not been less than in the other forty-four states. The censors of the named states make cuts and eliminations ranging from a few hundred to six thousand per annum. Pennsylvania excludes about half of one per cent of the subjects viewed. Ohio boasts 30,000 partly cut subjects since 1913; those that have been excluded can be counted by the hundreds. A southwestern city barred nineteen subjects in a year's time, but ordered 799 cuts in 265 other subjects.

The real point about these cuts and excludings is they do not keep out of the movies the mush, false sentiment, claptrap and cheap offensive melodrama that constitute a main evil, whilst the labors of the numerous jobholders center around Mrs. Grundyisms that may or may not be absurdly local in their bearing. Conceding that their censorship of the vile and vulgar is admirable (tho the policeman of average sense could do that as readily), one may question whether the censors and their subordinates are benefactors in their major task of hair-splitting distinctions over propriety and in their "moral" judgment of films that they but imperfectly understand.

An amusing instance of the latter was "The Miracle Man," by far the most universally popular of the "features" now being shown in the schools and churches. When "The Miracle Man" was first presented before the Pennsylvania Board of Censors that eminent body gravely said: "Disapproved because it deals with lust, prostitution and sexual immorality." Among the many other things found fault with, special objection was made to one scene because "it shows a man's hand affected with a loathsome disease!" Need it be stated that the disease he meant was in the corrupt imagination of the viewer rather than in the subject?

After many arguments and entreaties and with a considerable number of eliminations the beautiful "Miracle Man," first rejected, was finally passed; tho probably even then the Board didn't understand that progress away from evil upward to redemption is the outstanding merit and moral of the story. Fortunately for the State, two veteran dramatic editors capable of appreciating a play in its totality, were soon put in charge, so that mistakes of this kind are not likely to be repeated. The same State gave itself the ridiculous distinction of barring any reference to the approaching event of birth. Until the courts ruled otherwise, the interesting myth of the stork was sacrosanct there, for neither the expectant parent making the baby clothes nor the empty cradle could be exhibited! In another State smoking by women cannot be "moviely" represented, tho inscrutably enough the vaudeville or theatrical player can smoke as much as she pleases. The length of the kiss is a problem that has worried these learned film doctors not a little. In Ohio more than a yard and two-thirds of movie affection was regarded as strictly de trop, tho on the seaboard or out on the prairie osculation may linger eight to sixteen feet (a half second to a full second).

"Carmen" was barred on account of its tragedy, Camille and Armand were told to get married and come back for review, the magnificent Joan of Arc film was prohibited in Canada and "Way Down East" kept out of Montreal, the Penn State stoutly objected to the name of "The Easiest Way" and the words of Jesus were ordered eliminated from "The Eternal Magdalene" sub-captions: "Let him that is without sin amongst you cast the first stone. . . . Neither do I condemn thee, go thou and sin no more."

IMAGINE such a hobbling process applied to printed or acted literature and drama! Reflect yet again on the arbitrary power of censorship over screen economics or controversial themes. Both the Keystone and Buckeye States saw fit to prohibit motion pictures of the coal strikers' activities. Rupert Hughes saw his "Cup of Fury" rejected for fear workers might take example of the big scene and try to blow up a shipyard. In Chicago, strangest of all, during the Great War, Mary Pickford's "Little American" ran up against the ukase of Censor Funkhouser, who trembled lest it might annoy the Germans! In the New York law the epithet "inhuman" forms a loophole for the commission to extend its power against anything it does not personally approve, while "sacrilegious" would afford a bigoted body excuse to bar films exposing hierarchy and creed.

It is solely because the cinema yet plays a comparatively slight role in controversial matters that the measure does not constitute a very dangerous [*Continued on page 679*

# An Open Letter to the President

## By Hamilton Holt

IT is now six years that the League of Nations issue has been before the country. It is now two years that you as Senator, Presidential candidate, President-elect, and President have had the League of Nations issue officially before you for action.

As Senator you voted to have the United States enter the existing League provided the Lodge amendments were made part of that act of ratification.

As Presidential candidate you left the country and even your own followers in doubt as to your attitude. Thirty-one preëminent Republicans—among whom were your Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, and your Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover—assured their fellow countrymen that you would go into the existing League. Senators Borah and Johnson and the other "Irreconcilables" assured them you would not.

As President-elect you did not see fit to disclose your attitude on the League beyond what you had said during the campaign. Both the "Thirty-one" and the "Irreconcilables" claimed you for their own.

As President, however, you have unequivocally repudiated the existing League of Nations, whose area comprizes considerably more than half the earth and whose population numbers three-quarters of the human race. You even permitted without rebuke your Ambassador at the Court of St. James to say that you will have nothing to do with any "commission or committee appointed by the League or responsible to it directly or indirectly, openly or furtively."

You have, nevertheless, as Presidential candidate, repeatedly promised during the campaign, and as President you have reiterated that promise, that you will seek to establish "an Association of Nations based upon the application of justice and right, binding us in conference and coöperation for the prevention of war and pointing the way to a higher civilization and international fraternity in which all the world might share."

You have not yet given the American people the slightest inkling of the terms of this Harding Association that you propose shall supplant the Wilson League. Has not the time come, I respectfully ask, for you to do this?

Surely you cannot expect the forty-eight members of the present League to scrap it and come into your Association unless two things are perfectly clear:

First, That the new Association is substantially as good as or better than the existing League, and

Second, That this time a proposal of a President of the United States will have the permanent and overwhelming support of the American people.

You are a statesman of sufficient experience to know that our people will not support your Association—no matter how excellent—without the fullest preliminary discussion. Events of the last two years have demonstrated this. You cannot, therefore, hope to get public opinion behind your association without taking your countrymen into your confidence.

Even if your own party were completely united on the issue, you would still have to get some Democratic support to assure the ratification of your Association by two-thirds of the Senate. As your party was the one that first made the League a party issue, the Democratic Senators would be only human now if they turned the tables and also made your Association a party issue. They control more than a third of the votes in the Senate and they can block you as you and your colleags blocked Mr. Wilson.

If you expect to gain Democratic support it is incumbent upon you to propose an Association so concrete and effective as to commend itself to the enlightened sense of both parties. Therefore, the quicker you take the American people into your confidence the better.

There is another and even more important reason why you should disclose the details of your plan at once. The world is on the brink of revolution, famine and pestilence. The only two great ideas that have come out of this war as world panaceas are the League of Nations and Bolshevism. If you repudiate the existing League and delay too long suggesting anything in its place you run the very real risk of making the world believe you have no plan at all and if that comes to be generally believed can you guarantee that the world would not turn to Bolshevism?

Mr. President, the time has come for you to redeem your promises. The country and the world have waited long enough to know just what kind of an Association of Nations you have in mind. If you delay much further people everywhere will inevitably conclude that either you have no concrete plan at all or else that you propose to put party harmony above world welfare. In that event there will be nothing left for those who want America to play her rightful part in stabilizing the world but to organize the country so as to capture Congress for the League in 1922 and the Presidency in 1924. This can be done, for the vast majority of the American people—Republicans as well as Democrats—want the United States to enter some sort of a League or Association with enough "teeth in it" definitely to hasten the day when as Victor Hugo prophesied "the only battlefield will be the market opening to commerce and the mind opening to new ideas."

# It's an Ill Wind—

## By Talcott Williams

THE rise of wages is the one great blessing of the war whose results will not wholly disappear.

A social uplift has come to at least half, probably three-quarters of the families of the United States because, while it lasted, war advanced wages to about two and a third times the range and level in 1914.

This has meant more children sent to high school and college. High schools, now close to 2,500,000 in attendance, have grown from 1,300,000, or about doubled in seven years. What an advance this means! What joy of knowledge, open opportunity, wider outlook.

Waste has come; of course. The rain falleth on the just and unjust. But what a beneficence this rain of higher wages has been. A new standard of life has come. Until seven years ago—the years that Uncle Sam has labored for his children and sweat blood and treasure—we once foolishly talked of $900 a year as enough for an American family of five; we are now thinking in terms of $2,200 to $2,500 a year as fit. As changes come, this will be reduced, but it will remain twice the old sum.

Prices have risen? Certainly! But prices have fallen and fallen heavily. They averaged twice and more of advance. They are not now, on the average, more than a third higher wholesale. The retailers have not heard the news. So with transportation, both railroads and trolleys. They will hear. They are hearing. The automobile, the railroad's rival and approaching fate, has heard. Cheap car and truck, of general use, are at old prices with works busy. The industry as a whole is about at 35 per cent capacity.

Wages have fallen from a tenth to a fifth. This means that $1 of wages in the war on the broad, broad average became $2.30 of wages. This has been cut to $1.80 to $2.20. This is a very general statement, but it is about the way it

works out in iron, steel, cotton, woolen, silk, shoes, clothing, for book and job printers and in many cities for newspaper printers and pressmen.

Building wages in the cities rose close to three-fold. In New York, before the war, buildings of size ran at 50 cents a cubic foot. They rose to $1.30 to $1.50. They are nearing 80 to 90 cents. Meanwhile a great crowd of small buildings, on cheap land, is going up around New York, where building wages have fallen. They have in lesser cities.

In unskilled labor the fall is a round third. The man with a shovel in the great interior industrial empire, which begins to blacken the sky at Harrisburg and is not ended at Chicago, was getting $5 a day. On many contracts, not all, he has fallen to $3.33.

But he is turning out 50 per cent more work. This is general. The big retail stores have cut their staff heavily, but they are getting out just as many parcels and making as many sales. So factories and shops, that have cut their force to one-half, find their output of product nearly as great as ever. Everybody is spryer. Each of us is doing his work and, in general, her work more efficiently. This works for cheap products on a great scale.

People are thriftier. Old securities are low and people are a bit shivery as to next Fall; but new securities—which mean new capital just saved—are being bought on a larger scale than ever. "Hard times" are saving times. "Good times" are spending times.

These are the months when the industrious, the enterprizing, the steady, the saving get in their work. So does the well-managed enterprize.

These periods of falling prices and reduced wages have in the past usually been also periods of collision and widespread strikes. After 1873 we had the railroad riots of 1877; after 1884, the terrible conflicts on the Missouri Pacific Railroad and in the Southwest. After the Homestead steel strike in 1892 and the failure of 1100 banks in 1893, there came Debs and the Chicago railroad strikes.

This frightful waste and loss for all, from industrial conflicts, has been saved by both the intelligence and the higher organization of labor. The union is a great regulator at a time like this. Mr. Gompers, after 1907, saved standards of wages at the cost of unemployment. He is doing that now. He could not do this if labor were not intelligent.

CAPITAL has been wiser than in the past. Big establishments like the Swifts in the meat-packing trade are taking the workmen into management. All over the country figures and facts have been published by employers. In raw materials, corn, wheat, meats, cotton, silk, wool, copper, hides, leather, the fall has been headlong. Mr. Gary, head of the Steel Trust, has been insisting on a slow reduction, extending over a year. This is good for the Steel Trust, which made in book profits a very, very large sum, perhaps $400,000,000, in the war; but it defers building revival and it squeezes the middlemen.

Salaries in colleges and schools maintain the advance they secured. Nothing short of a great war could have accomplished this reform. Retail prices rob teachers at present of a part of the benefits of the advance in pay; but the prices will fall. Salaries will not. Adequate tests for capacity have not improved with the salaries.

The pay of actors has doubled for all and quadrupled for the top. The Los Angeles group of movie people paid $3,000,000 in income tax in 1919 and twice that last year. Chorus girls, who had $18 a week, have gone up to $40. In these fields the fall will not be in rates, but in employment.

The unemployment current in all fields is in very wide measure the elimination of the slack, the inefficient. High wages did not bring efficiency from 1915 to 1920; the reverse, rather. It is epoch-making that the Amalgamated Garment-Workers' Union in New York City, in closing a long strike with a 15 per cent cut, also made arrangements, thru a joint committee of employers and employed, to maintain efficiency under the reduced wages.

Railroad labor is having its first reduction in wages. Efficiency has not yet returned, tho there is improvement. The risk is that the truck will get the profit-making freight before efficiency comes. Such cuts as have come run from 10 to 30 per cent. The railroads cannot spend the share of their income on labor that they now do, and survive.

## Two Indiscretions

IF it is right to rebuke an American Admiral in London for slandering Ireland, what reprimand would be sufficient for an Ambassador in London who has slandered the United States?

# Fair Play—or No Play at All?

## By Edward N. Clopper

A human being between birth and two years of age is called an infant; in the eyes of the law he is an infant until he reaches his majority, but in looking at him through the eyes of social work we can allow him only two years of infancy. Between two and five years he is of pre-school age; and between five and eighteen or twenty, of school age. In the infancy and pre-school periods, social work is almost altogether in the fields of health, provision for home life, and protection from cruelty and neglect. It is the child of school age for whom the bulk of social work for children is done. Is he feeble-minded?—there are agencies to test him, to classify him, to train him. Is he delinquent?—there are other agencies to study him, to deal with him, and to turn him from the error of his ways. Is he dependent, neglected, crippled, or exploited?—there are agencies to care for him in any of these cases.

But what of the child who is not deserted, or destitute, or neglected, or abused, or dependent, or delinquent, or defective?—the ordinary child whom you and I know and meet every day, the "average" child, if we may call him so—what about him? He is surely the rule in this land of ours, and the others are the exceptions. The "average" boys and girls, the ones who are normal in respect of mind, body, activities, and home life, are about to take our places before long. Will they be ready to fill them better than we have done? They do not need testing, or classifying, or reforming—they are sound and fit for the job. But they do need the chance to develop whatever is in them of latent good so that it may be of use to themselves and others. Are they getting this chance?

I know there are fine school buildings, and elaborate school equipment, and playgrounds, and libraries, and other educational and recreational advantages for children, open to all who will use them, but where are they? In the cities. And where are most of the children? In the country.

What do the country children have? Generally speaking, they have the poorest schools, the poorest teachers, the least opportunity and the least facilities for recreation, the fewest books, the least companionship, and the slightest contact with the progressive life of the world. It is a pathetic thing to see a lot of bright and sturdy children cramped up in rigid, ill-fitting desks or huddled on benches around a red-hot stove, in a bare and dismal schoolhouse, wrongly lighted, wrongly ventilated, and unadorned, droning out dreary and bewildering facts to an unsympathetic and wretchedly qualified teacher. In one of our states, for instance, there are, in this year of grace, nearly five thousand teachers whose educations did not go beyond the elementary school! And they are teaching in the rural schools.

The appeal I make is for the normal child, and especially the child of the country. And it is in the country, too, that child labor is chiefly found—not in the mines, the factories,

the workshops, the stores, the streets, but on the farms—a million and a half from ten to fifteen years of age reported as laborers on farms, and a quarter of a million of these working for persons other than their parents, hired out as hands. So far as community thought and action are concerned, they get little or no attention. We make our cities attractive and when boys and girls flock in from the country we wonder why they do it. How can they be so foolish as to leave the whispering trees, the babbling brooks, the lowing kine, God's great open out-of-doors? We give them the worst of our public school system, the least in the way of amusement, the meagerest bit of the things that satisfy the wants of normal active youth in this day and age, and we think in our happy-go-lucky way, if we think at all about it, that somehow or other they will come out of the struggle strengthened and ennobled and prepared to enter upon careers of usefulness in the years to come. Once, in talking to the principal of a state normal school, I asked how many students there were in the institution and he told me there were twelve hundred. I asked him how many of these were preparing themselves for teaching in rural schools and he answered, "One."

There is another kind of rural migration, not of individuals, but of families, not in pursuit of a well-laid plan with a definite and certain end in view, but in a blind and helpless groping after "something a little better;" it is the shifting of rural tenants. This moving about from place to place is a common thing in the country, and the children are the chief sufferers, for, unlike the normal school migrants, they seldom improve their lot. I have a vivid picture of one such family. I was trudging along a rough road in a hilly section of our great southwest and watched them slowly moving toward me in an old and rickety wagon drawn by a team of horses—father, mother, eight children, with all their worldly goods, slowly moving from one little house to another. They had just harvested the crop on the place they had been renting during the past season, and had broken up and started for a vacant house and a bit of ground which, they had been told, lay "over yonder beyond the hills."

Whether the child is an infant, or of pre-school age, or of school age, whether he be handicapped or normal, whether he live in the city or the country, he is entitled to the best chance we can give him. As the plight of the defective and the menace of the delinquent arouse us to action in defense of ourselves no less than for the sake of the ones so stricken, I make this plea for those who are forgotten, for those who bring no blight save the blight of ignorance, for those who are to take up the burden where we lay it down.

# Nail the Flag to the Mast

## By James H. Williams, Able Seaman

THE present American merchant marine should be regarded as an emergency fleet, and treated as such. It amounts to about 16,000,000 dead weight tons and has cost our taxpayers $3,000,000,000. We have got the ships for better or worse, but we should not expect to recover our money. That was a war loss and should be now written off at the lowest possible figure in the interests of American commerce. American ship owners are still loudly clamoring for subsidies of various kinds to offset foreign competition.

Subsidies are an unpopular subject in the United States, and if granted by Congress could never become permanently effective nor nationally acceptable as a marine policy.

They could only be considered as an evasion, a subterfuge, or a flimsy expedient at best. If American ships in a given trade were supported by Government subsidies, foreign ships in the same trade could be provided similar bounties by their respective governments likewise, and odds would be evened in that regard.

But the United States is the only country on earth owning a national merchant marine under Government control. In the great war emergency it was necessary for the Government to build the ships, but there its function ended. Under peace conditions the merchant marine should be operated on peace terms.

Now in order to offset the cheapening effects of low foreign operating standards, and to stimulate commercial enterprize among native ship owners, the emergency cost of these fabricated steel ships should be written off to war account and they should be turned over to responsible ship owners at the lowest possible figure, or even, in some cases, at nothing at all, in order to overcome and offset foreign competition.

This policy would likewise offset any reasonable demand for subsidies; it would keep ships working instead of rusting, and relieve the Government of the most colossal encumbrance it ever attempted to handle. In cases of ships being so allocated, the Government should always retain a lien upon their keels, by which they should be preëmpted to national service when required.

Nationally owned ships should be allocated only to responsible and reliable owners who can guarantee profitable service for them—and none of them should ever be alienated to any foreign service except by Government consent.

All national advantages which may lawfully accrue from the use of national waterways or harbor improvements should be reserved for American ships using the same.

Wherever the terms of commercial treaties with foreign nations operate adversely to the interests of American shipping they should be modified or abrogated by international convention. Federal laws conflicting with the free operation of American ships should be amended in conformity with existing conditions or else repealed.

SUCH a policy if adopted and strictly adhered to, and carried out to its logical conclusion, would unquestionably allow the American merchant marine a commanding place in the competitive race for world trade. But to be American, our merchant marine must be American manned. This part of the problem has received very scant attention hitherto. Americans will not become seamen or remain at sea under foreign conditions. The conditions of service and opportunities for promotion in the merchant marine must be sufficiently tolerable and alluring to attract good American boys to the service, and to persuade their parents to allow them to go.

If American ship owners are permitted to go unrestrained into foreign labor markets to engage the personnel of their crews the American merchant marine must eventually become almost entirely foreign-manned as it was before, and will inevitably revert to foreign flags as sure as water flows to the sea.

The following excerpt from a recent issue of the *Shipping Register* (San Francisco) may shed some light on this obscure phase of the inevitable tendency of commerce to gravitate toward foreign levels. Says the *Shipping Register* exultantly: "Captain Robert Dollar was wise when he put most of his ships under an alien flag. He pays his deck and fireroom crews $10 Mex. per month. On his ships there are members of the crew—coolies—who have not set foot on shore for five years."

Does any intelligent, patriotic American citizen wish or expect his own son or any one else's son to become reduced to such a state of slave service as that described by the *Shipping Register?* Yet that is precisely what he will have to submit to or stop going to sea if the ship owners are given unrestrained privileges in operating the merchant marine. Every American ship owner has a perfectly legal right to do as Captain Dollar has done to reduce ex-

pense on his own ships. Whatever policy may be adopted for the promotion of American shipping interests should have behind it the support, influence and protection of a strong, well-equipped and efficient Department of Marine, under the direction of a Cabinet officer charged with the administration of all maritime affairs. Under the present régime the administration of marine matters is farmed out to the dubious attentions of an already overworked Department of Commerce with most deplorable results.

And finally, the success of our merchant marine depends more essentially than anything else upon the sincerity and coöperation of those specifically charged with its operation and development—ship owners and seamen.

If these two great indispensable factors can be made to coöperate for the national good and the glory of the flag, they will succeed in overcoming even greater obstacles than now appear on our maritime horizon.

Then the old maritime prestige of our country will be restored and the American flag will fly over every sea.

# The Armenian Character

## By George R. Montgomery

*Director of the Armenia-America Society*

AT a time when the Armenian race is fighting for its existence and when prejudice on the part of possible friends may mean the loss of the fight, ill considered opinions as to the Armenian character should not be permitted to prevail. One hears it said that the Armenians, "like all Orientals" do not appreciate honesty. Those who speak so should realize that in the Near Orient at least loyalty counts above honesty. Those races have survived where the clan and family feeling were the strongest of motives. Before passing verdict on the character of those eastern people the critic should appreciate the social, that is to say, the moral atmosphere. Some politicians in America put party loyalty higher than public spirit. Intensify the American politician's feeling by adding deep religious sentiment, then add business interests and social ambitions, and one will begin to realize what loyalty to the family, and what racial feelings are in the East. You can count on the Oriental, but you must count on different motives from those which determine action in the West.

This indicates the necessity for a different basis of estimate. An Oriental who will cheat may, nevertheless, have it in him to develop great honesty, provided he comes under the influence of a different moral atmosphere. The Armenians, for instance, have shown themselves peculiarly sensitive to the influence of American public opinion. There have been unfortunate instances of Armenians who, newly arrived, have found America to be good picking. This type is much more rarely met with today. Inquiry will show that there is hardly any race of immigrants into America which more quickly develops a high regard for honesty. Desirability from the standpoint of possible American citizenship is to be gauged by the record that a group has made in the United States, not by an estimate of the group made in the country of its origin, and the verdict of those who know the facts is that the Armenian race has been assimilated easily into American life, and that the race stands high with respect to morality and public spirit. In the Orient also the Turks have singled out the Armenians for places of trust where finances are involved.

One hears it said that the Armenians are the Jews of the Near East. Without disparaging either race, it can be replied that there is nothing to such a comparison. The Armenians are aggressive and ambitious. Perhaps for casual acquaintanceship they are not therefore as pleasant companions as the Turks; the Turk lacks ambition and from that standpoint he is easy to get along with. But when it comes to real constructive helpfulness, and when it comes to deeper friendship, the Armenians are not surpassed.

Much that has been repeated in disparagement both of the Armenians and of the Greeks has originated from Levantine sources in Constantinople and Smyrna. It is to the English merchant's advantage to praise the Turk, especially the peasant Turk, with whom he has no commercial rivalry, and to slander the Armenians and Greeks who are his close rivals. The peasant classes of all the races in the Near East, not the Turkish peasant alone, are characteristically trustworthy; stupidity has something to do with it; ignorance of the methods of dishonesty has much to do with it; the fact that in dealing with the peasant class, the objects are largely material objects, visible, tangible, has much to do with keeping the peasants in the straight and narrow pathway. The peasant does not know the technique of dishonesty.

As soon, however, as the entrusted objects assume the character of contractual relations, intangible obligations, invisible pledges, the peasant as quickly yields to temptation as anyone else.

By constant repetition it is easy to attach to a race a stigma entirely undeserved. The English themselves are constantly subjected to the fling of "Perfidious Albion." In many parts of Europe the phrase is believed to describe perfectly the English character. It would certainly be unfair to our English cousins to accept the prevalence of the phrase as evidence of its truth.

One of the commissions sent out by the United States Government into the Near East made it a point to listen to Greek testimony, and one after the other Greek merchants came out in a most earnest manner to speak of their confidence in the word of Armenian merchants. A Levantine may sneer at such testimony and say that it is a case of the pot calling the kettle white, but as evidence, the testimony is worth more than an Englishman's, because the latter proverbially despises all the non-Anglo-Saxon races. Many American travelers and officials have been contributors to the wrong opinions about the subject races in the Near East. Americans are likely to believe that amalgamation of all races is possible with one or two exceptions. They are likely to think that the negro cannot be assimilated. Many of them are likely to think that the Jew cannot be assimilated. With these generalizations fixed in their minds they go to Turkey and they have a ready rule of thumb to explain the antipathy between the Turks and the Christians. The Christians as the subject race correspond to the negroes, or else the Christians as the merchant race correspond to the Jews. Whether or not the Armenians are capable of building up a nation should not be decided by casual verdicts of this sort any more than by accepting the word of those who have any advantage to gain by belittling the Armenians. The decision should come from those who know the country and who have tried to work constructively with more than one race.

Those who have observed the Armenian race both in Turkey and in America, those who have had personal dealings and personal friendships with them agree in saying that they are capable of wonderful progress, that they have great native ability, that they have constructive genius and that they are singularly dependable.

In their own land they respond to ideals of honesty with remarkable readiness and the Christianity which they profess has in its system the possibility of setting morality in the very forefront of its teaching. This last point is almost enough by itself to determine the possibility of building up a stable Armenian nation if the people are given political independence and freedom from oppression.

So far as their courage goes, their part in the late war gave them opportunities in which they consistently revealed courage of the highest sort. The defection at Kars last winter, of which so much has been made, can be explained as an exception, due to Bolshevik influence comparable to that which persuaded the Russian troops at the end of the Kerensky régime to throw down their arms.

# The Story of the Week

## Peace and War in Congress

ON June 13 the House of Representatives passed the Porter resolution terminating the state of war between the United States and Germany, Austria and Hungary. The vote was 305 to 61. Only one Republican, Representative Kelley of Michigan, voted with the minority, while forty-nine Democrats joined the Republican majority in voting for an immediate peace.

The Porter resolution is substantially the same as the Knox resolution. It terminates the state of war and reserves American rights. But there is a difference in form. The Knox resolution, which passed the Senate, repeals the declaration of war; the Porter resolution, which passed the House, does not go so far, it simply declares a state of peace to exist. As Representative Porter explained it, his resolution leaves the President "as free and unhampered in the making of a treaty as if the resolution had never been passed." He objected to the form of the Knox resolution on the ground that it entrenched too far on the prerogative of the President. The differences in form between the two resolutions will be settled in conference between the two branches of Congress.

When the peace resolution is out of the way, President Harding can either negotiate a separate peace with our late enemies or ask the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles with such reservations as he may deem necessary. The immediate effect of the peace resolution will be to reopen normal diplomatic relations with Germany, Austria and Hungary and to remove such restrictions on trade as result from even a nominal state of war. It will also fix a terminal date for the war which will be of convenience to the courts in dealing with legislation passed "for the duration of the war" or private contracts and other legal agreements depending in any way on the existence of a condition of war.

The House and Senate are also pulling apart somewhat on the question of international disarmament. The Senate passed the Borah resolution for naval disarmament by agreement as an amendment to the naval appropriation bill. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House reported a broader and vaguer resolution simply authorizing the President "to call an international conference to consider the limitation of armaments with a view to lessen materially the burden of expenditures and the menace of war." Altho the scope of the resolution was greater than that of the Borah amendment, since it could be interpreted to comprize military as well as naval armaments, it was criticized as too indefinite. It does not instruct the President to do anything, but leaves all to his discretion. The House sent the naval appropriation bill to conference without settling the difference between the two houses. Another matter to be settled in conference is the addition of some $98,000,000 to the naval budget in the Senate over the amount originally appropriated by the House.

The Senate is more favorable than the House to a big army as well as to a big navy. The House has attempted to restrict the size of the standing army to 150,000. On June 7 the Senate by 35 votes to 30 approved an amendment providing funds to pay an army of 170,000. On the following day the Senate reversed its action by the close vote of 36 to 32 and thus averted another conflict with the House. Only two Democrats favored the increase to 170,000 men, but on the decisive ballot thirteen Republicans joined the Democrats against it.

The four questions of (1) the peace resolution, (2) the disarmament resolution, (3) the naval appropriation, (4) the army appropriation, are obviously closely related to each other, and it is interesting to note that on each issue some difference of opinion has arisen between the House of Representatives and the Senate, altho both branches of Congress have large Republican majorities. Congressional politics is not always a fight on party lines, sometimes it is a struggle for ascendancy between the House and the Senate.




*Spencer in Omaha World-Herald*

**Still facing backward, but slowly moving forward**

## The Elephant's Powwow

THE Republican National Committee meeting at Washington transacted a good deal of important business. John T. Adams of Iowa succeeded Will Hays of Indiana as chairman, since being Uncle Sam's postman was as much load as even Mr. Hays can handle. Ralph Williams of Oregon was named vice-chairman and Mrs. Leonard Woods of Pittsburgh second vice-chairman.

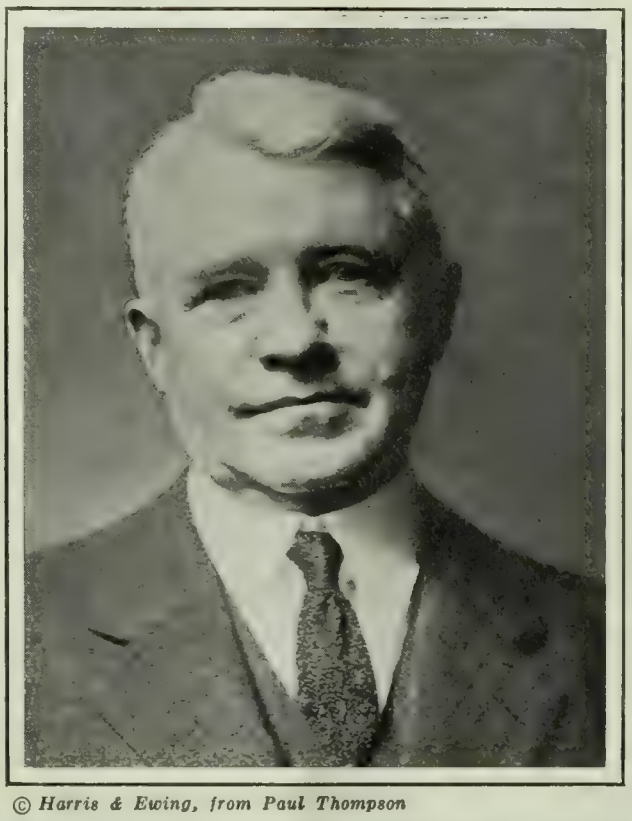
The most exciting item on the agenda was the discussion of a new plan for reducing the representation in national conventions of states where the Republican vote is insignificant. This has been an old and recurrent issue in the internal politics of the Republican party. It does not affect the Democrats, since, altho the Democratic votes of the country are very unevenly distributed about the map, the Democrats form at least a substantial minority in every state and everywhere maintain a fighting organization. Hence it is logical that in the Democratic conventions representation should be patterned on Congress and the electoral college. But in the Republican party the case is different. There are states of the "solid South" where the Republican party makes hardly more show at the polls than the Socialist Laborites in the North. The only large group of Republicans consists of the negroes, who are virtually disfranchised, in part by force and fraud or the fear of force and fraud, in part by legislation, and in part by their own indifference and hopelessness. This places the party in a dilemma. If representation is in accordance with the votes cast by states in the electoral college then a "rotten borough" system is created

in the convention, a large group of southern Republican delegates who represent only themselves, or at best small caucuses, and who are easily made subservient tools of the Administration by the hope of winning appointive office in exchange for their support in the convention. On the other hand, if representation is in proportion to the Republican vote cast at the polls, the party seems to acquiesce in the disfranchisement of the negroes.

In spite of many efforts to alter the system, full representation was given the southern states until the party split in 1912, due among other causes to the charges of fraud in the convention of that year, emphasized the necessity of change. The rule was adopted that there should be two delegates from every Congressional district in which 7500 Republican votes were cast, and one from each district in which fewer votes were cast, in addition to the four votes of the state at large. But many Republicans did not feel that this change was sufficiently drastic. So the National Committee has adopted a new ruling on district representation. No Congressional district is to have any separate representation unless it has a bona fide local Republican organization and casts at least 2500 votes for a Republican elector or for the Republican nominee for Congress. To be entitled to the full quota of two representatives the district must cast 10,000 votes for a Republican elector or a Republican candidate for Congress or else have elected a Republican Congressman at the last previous election. States which cast their electoral vote at the previous election for the Presidential candidate are also accorded two additional delegates at large, making six in all.

The changed rules were approved by the National Committee by thirty-six votes to twelve. A number of southern committeemen spoke strongly against the altered basis of representation, as condoning the disfranchisement of the negro. But it was answered that the new system would tend to build up the Republican party in the South by making it to the interest of Republican voters to go to the polls, since even if they failed to carry an election they might at any rate increase the representation of their state and district at the next party convention.

The retiring chairman, Will Hays, warned the party not to rest on its laurels. He said, with pardonable pride, that "The majority of 7,000,000 in 1920 is reasonably satisfactory. A Senate by twenty-two and a House by 170 brings a degree of content not inexcusable." But he added that "It is well to remember that no majority is necessarily permanent and that certainty of continued success comes only with certainty of performance."



*© Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson*

**John T. Adams of Iowa, unanimously elected to succeed Will Hays as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to free the latter for his labors as Postmaster-General**

## New Shipping Board Picked

ON June 8 President Harding announced the composition of the Shipping Board. Albert D. Lasker, a wealthy business man of Chicago, was named as chairman, to serve for six years. He is a Republican and represents the central states. T. V. O'Connor, president of the International Longshoremen's Union, was appointed for five years, representing the Great Lakes region. George E. Chamberlain, a former Democratic Senator from Oregon with a distinguished legislative record, is appointed as a Pacific coast representative for four years. The three year term goes to Edward C. Plummer, Republican, of Maine, representing Atlantic coast interests. Frederick I. Thompson, Democrat, of Alabama, serves for two years as representative of Gulf State interests. Meyer Lissner, Republican, of Los Angeles, and Rear Admiral William S. Benson of Georgia are given one year terms on the Board.

The Board is carefully balanced politically and geographically, as the law provides that not more than four of the seven members may be of the same political party, and that two members must be chosen to represent the Atlantic coast, two the Pacific, one the Gulf ports, one the Great Lakes and one the interior. President Wilson's nominations last year failed of approval in the Senate. Admiral Benson was his selection for chairman of the Board; he is retained in the new "slate" but only for the shortest term. Mr. Thompson was also one of President Wilson's nominees. The third Democrat on the new Board, ex-Senator Chamberlain, was still in the Senate at the time President Wilson made his selections. The four Republicans were none of them among the choices of the ex-President.

Chairman Lasker on taking office pointed out the very grave problems confronting the Shipping Board and feared that it would be months before it could put the American merchant marine on a paying basis:

> We have been told that something over 3,000,000 tons of its ships are unfitted to sail the seas and must be salvaged. The fleet itself, built during the war at the highest prices known, has, so it is reported, a liquidation value of maybe only 25 per cent.
>
> Because of the stagnation in world shipping which followed the signing of the armistice, a large part of the fleet is today tied to the docks, the operations of the board entailing a charge on the public treasury of $20,000,000 monthly. This loss has been accruing for many months prior to March 4.
>
> It will be the first duty of the board to do those things which are necessary to end incompetence and make of the Shipping Board a business institution guided by business principles and measuring up to business standards. The charge on the public treasury must be cut down so that this burden on the taxpayers will be alleviated. It may be necessary in accomplishing this at first to tie more ships to the docks. This initial stage may take a few months.

## Another Carnegie Gift

THE Carnegie Corporation has announced that it has arranged to give an additional sum of $17,462,000 from the estate of the late Andrew Carnegie. The sum will be divided between the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh and the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Along with the gifts there will be a drive to raise $4,200,000 additional from outside sources; so that the two institutes may expect to have their endowment increased within the next few years by a total of $21,662,000. During Mr. Carnegie's lifetime he gave over $27,654,000 to the same institutions.

The Carnegie Corporation declares that the Carnegie Institute of Technology now has about 4,000 students, coming from every state in the Union and from many foreign countries. He had originally planned it for the benefit of young people from Pittsburgh, but now nearly half the number come from other parts of the country. The Institute has attained such national importance that the original endowment was no longer sufficient for its work. The investigating commissioners remind the public that even the new gifts will not always be sufficient:

> It seems to be the inevitable lot of institutions founded by private philanthropy and heavily endowed to come upon a period

when the initial endowments no longer suffice and when no other sources of support are available. If the experience of a long line of privately endowed institutions is any guide, it is certain that . . . the time will soon come when that institution also will have to obtain a part of its support from the communities which it serves.

The commissioners further recommend that the Carnegie Institute of Technology and the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh be separated and each placed under its own Board of Trustees.

## An Admiral in Hot Waters

REAR Admiral William S. Sims is admittedly one of the greatest seamen the United States ever produced, but like so many famous sailors of history he has the habit of speaking or writing his opinions without reflecting as to how they would be received. In 1910 he made a speech in London in which he pledged the British American aid in case the existence of the British Empire were "seriously menaced by an external enemy." As military alliances are the concern of Congress and the President, not of individual naval officers, President Taft was forced to rebuke him for his indiscretion; even tho 1917 proved that his words were but prophecy. At the end of the Great War he engaged in a serious quarrel with Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in the course of which both men said many things regarding our part in the war and our relation to foreign nations that might with advantage have been left unsaid. And now Secretary Denby has demanded an explanation of a speech by Admiral Sims, attacking the policy of Sinn Fein, at a London luncheon. He is reported to have said:




*James in St. Louis Star*

At it again

I do not want to touch on the Irish question, for I know nothing about it. But there are many in our country who technically are Americans, some of them naturalized and some born there, but none of them Americans at all. They are American when they want money, but Sinn Feiners when on the platform. They are making war on America today.

The simple truth of it is that they have the blood of British and American boys on their hands for the obstructions they placed in the way of the most effective operation of the Allied naval forces during the war. They are like zebras, either black horses with white stripes or white horses with black stripes. But we know they are not horses—they are asses, but each of these asses has a vote. . . .

The Irish question is partly an American question. Eleven years ago I made a prophecy that came true. I will venture on another now. The English-speaking peoples are coming together in the bonds of comradeship, and they are going to run this round globe. I should like to see an inter-English-speaking policy and when we have that we shall have peace and prosperity.



© *Keystone View*

**The Prince of Wales and Admiral Sims recently received at the same time honorary degrees from Cambridge University. The photograph shows them in the robes in which they took their degrees from the Vice-Chancellor of the University**

## Ban on Revolutionary Papers

ALTHO Postmaster-General Hays has restored *The Liberator*, *The Call* and *The Milwaukee Leader* to the mails, as stated in The Independent of June 11, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia has confirmed the lawfulness of the action taken by Postmaster-General Burleson in excluding these radical publications from mailing privileges. The decision will have no effect on the present status of these papers, in view of the ruling of Mr. Hays, but it may be taken advantage of by some future Postmaster-General who chooses to return to the repressionist policy of Mr. Burleson. Till then it has a merely theoretical importance.

The essence of the decision by the Court of Appeals is that "When it is kept in mind that this publication (*The Call*, of New York) constantly has sought to imbue its readers with the idea that it is their duty to overthrow the Government, disregard all law, and seize for themselves the property and belongings of others, irrespective of means and regardless of consequences, we must find that there was substantial evidence before the Postmaster-General justifying his refusal to accord any postal privilege to this polluted matter . . . this does not constitute a censorship of the press, but merely evidences the unwillingness of the Government to lend its aid to those who would destroy it in the dissemination of 'matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder and assassination.'"

## Can We Recognize Mexico?

SECRETARY Hughes has cleared up the mystery of our relations with the Obregon Government in Mexico by a characteristically lucid statement of American policy. The essence of this policy is that American recognition of Mexico be conditioned on Mexico's agreement to a treaty protecting American rights and interests. "When it appears that there is a Government in Mexico willing to bind itself to the discharge of primary international obligations, concurrently with that act its recognition will take place." A treaty was presented to President Obregon containing stipulations for the safeguarding of American property rights in Mexico and for the adjustment of claims for loss of life and property during the revolutionary period. Negotiations respecting this treaty are now being carried on between Washington and Mexico City.

The present difficulty arises from the

constitution of 1917 which extended national control over private land, oil and mining concessions and in several ways discriminated against alien concession holders. The question at issue is whether these clauses look only toward the future or apply retroactively to concessions already granted. As Secretary Hughes said:

> Mexico is free to adopt any policy which she pleases with respect to her public lands, but she is not free to destroy without compensation valid titles which have been obtained by American citizens under Mexican laws. . . . This question should not be confused with any matter of personalities or of the recognition of any particular administration. Whenever Mexico is ready to give assurances that she will perform her fundamental obligation in the protection both of persons and of rights of property validly acquired, there will be no obstacles to the most advantageous relations between the two peoples.

The recognition of President Obregon's Government was pending in the last months of President Wilson's Administration but was delayed by the same obstacle which now holds up recognition: the reluctance of President Obregon to write into a formal treaty the assurances he has informally given that the Mexican constitution will not be applied retroactively to the damage of American property rights validly acquired under Mexican law. Relations between the two countries have been friendlier under Obregon than under either Huerta or Carranza, and Mexican affairs seem more stable than they have been since the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz, but the United States is not disposed to enter into full diplomatic relations with any Mexican Government which takes an ambiguous attitude toward the legal rights of resident Americans.




*James in St. Louis Star*

The tie that "binds"

## Germany Carrying Out Orders

ON June 4 Chancellor Wirth won from the Reichstag an endorsement of his policy in agreeing to carry out the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the ultimatum of the Allies respecting reparations. The vote was 213 to 77 with forty-eight members not voting. The members who abstained from voting belonged mainly to the German People's party (the old National Liberal party), which represents the great industrial magnates and "big business" generally. The position of this party is the most perplexing problem of the Wirth Government. The majority Socialists are willing to stretch a point in order to keep a liberal Government in existence, they are willing to coöperate with the Catholic Centrists and with the bourgeois radical Democrats, but they draw the line at the capitalistic People's party. The Wirth Government wishes to become a rallying point for all the republican and constitutional elements in the nation, but it will probably be forced to choose between the Socialists and the People's party. Perhaps a general election will soon take place to give the ministry a more solid parliamentary basis.

Three things were especially demanded of Germany by the Allies: the payment of indemnities, the disbanding of the irregular Bavarian militia, and the punishment of the war criminals. Since the German Government bowed to the Allied ultimatum there has been little trouble about reparations; the initial payments demanded have been made in good time. Of course, the experience of a few weeks does not prove that Germany can or will live up to her obligations over a period of many years. Bavaria for a long time obstinately withstood the demands for disarmament, but eventually—fearing perhaps that the French would order an advance from the Rhine—the Bavarian Government agreed to disband the Einwohnerwehr (citizens' guard or militia) by June 30.

The trials of German war criminals are proceeding, on the whole satisfactorily, altho the sentences imposed are light and no men of high rank have been brought to trial. The case which has caused most criticism was the acquittal of Lieutenant Neumann, who sunk a hospital ship during war. The plea on which he was acquitted was that he was only acting according to orders; which, not unnaturally, has caused the Allied press to inquire: "Then when will the men who gave those orders be brought to book?"

But the Germans, in turn, have a grievance in the failure of the Allies to keep Upper Silesia under control. Since the British have joined their forces to the French and Italians the Poles have been slowly driven back, without much actual fighting, but they still hold a large part of the disputed area, and the French have been much quicker, it must be confessed, to resent and repress German insurgency in the plebiscite zone than Polish. With five armies—British, French, Italian, German (ir regulars) and Polish insurgents—in the field, cramped into a small mining district where both national and class hatreds are at fever heat, almost anything may happen. Thus far there have been only minor conflicts and these have taken various forms: Germans against Poles, Germans against French, British against Poles, and other less common combinations. It is often hard to tell whether a local force is keeping order as a police or is waging war as a national army.

## Belgium's Little Sister

WE are accustomed to thinking of Belgium as one of the very small nations, requiring protection from the Great Powers, but Belgium is now to be the protector of a still smaller and weaker neighbor. A treaty has been published which places Luxemburg within the customs union of Belgium and in other ways brings the two countries into closer relationship.

All customs formalities are abolished on the frontier. Belgian money is to replace that of Luxemburg in denominations larger than ten francs. Luxemburg is to receive a loan of 175,000,000 francs, to be raised by Belgian financiers; Luxemburg will pay two per cent. interest on this loan, the rest being paid by Belgium. The railroad system of the Grand Duchy will be consolidated with that of Belgium and the combined system handled by a single administration. A supreme council of five, containing representatives of both countries, will oversee the execution of the agreement.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is about the size of Rhode Island and has a population a little greater than that of Delaware, yet it ranks as an independent and sovereign nation. Like Belgium it was protected by an international guarantee of neutrality, and like Belgium it was invaded by the German army in defiance of this guarantee. But Luxemburg was in no position to resist the invasion,

having no military resources to speak of, and so never joined the Allies and took no active part in the war. It remained simply a neutral country occupied by Germany until the war ended. The question of Luxemburg came before the peacemakers at Paris. It was agreed that the customs union (Zollverein) between Germany and Luxemburg which existed prior to the war should be terminated and that Luxemburg should no longer be a neutralized state, but no positive settlement of the future of the country was embodied in the Treaty of Versailles.

Luxemburg was left at the crossroads, uncertain which way to take. Some of the people wanted to unite with France, some to unite with Belgium, some to establish an independent republic, some to keep the nation as before an independent Grand Duchy. After many months of hesitation and uncertainty Luxemburg decided to remain an independent country under a monarchical form of government. After that point had been settled the question remained as to what country Luxemburg would choose as a commercial partner, for such a tiny nation could hardly keep up a tariff wall on its own account when completely surrounded by larger nations. Germany was no longer available as a partner; the Treaty forbade it, and the Luxemburgers themselves did not desire it. But Luxemburg is tangent to both France and Belgium, and for some time it was expected that negotiations would result in a customs and railway union with France; it now appears that Belgium has been chosen instead.

# Is Bolshevism Reforming?

THE virtues of the Bolsheviki may not be many, but among them is a certain frankness and candor in confessing their failures and blunders. Says Karl Radek: "We are aware that failure to materialize a one-hundredth part of our program is thru Russia's isolation." Says Krassin:

> Lenin sees that he holds alone the outposts of progress. He has advanced too far. He cannot maintain his position and tho his faith has not weakened in the slightest he feels compelled to make a strategic retreat—an unfortunate but inevitable move of which he has had the courage to proclaim the necessity.

Says Lenin: "Capitalism in a certain measure is inevitable." Also:

> The world revolution is growing stronger, while the economic crisis in Europe is getting worse at the same time. But, at any rate, were we to draw from this the conclusion that help would come to us from there within a brief period in the shape of a solid proletarian revolution, we would be simply lunatics.

And again:

> The peasants are not satisfied. They do not care for the economic forms we offered them. We must not conceal anything, but admit that a form of relationship which the peasantry does not care for will never exist. The peasantry has become far more middle class than before. The village has been leveled down. The middle class peasant now predominates. We must, therefore, see what this peasant wants. He demands: (1) a certain freedom in his economic turnover; (2) opportunity to market his products in exchange for goods.

The new program of the Bolsheviki, as announced in detail before the Communist party congress and approved in principle by that body, is a compromise between communism and capitalism. Peasants are to be taxed in kind, to the extent of about one-third of the grain crop; the rest is to be at the free disposal of the peasant to use or sell or barter. The idea of nationalizing (which in practice meant confiscating by organized raids) the nation's grain crop has been for the present abandoned. The Government retains in its hands the most important branches of industry, especially the transportation services, and the leather, salt and textile industries, which are expected to supply the peasant with what he wants in exchange for his grain. Mines and natural resources generally are to remain nationalized, tho concessions may be granted to foreign capitalists.

Voluntary coöperative associations are to be organized and small private industries tolerated. By the bonus system special inducements are held out to individual workers to increase production.

The reasons why the Bolsheviki have so greatly modified their communistic program have frequently been mentioned in The Independent. The world-wide proletarian revolution which the Bolsheviki so confidently expected when they seized power in Russia has "hung fire." The Bolsheviki have never held that communism could exist in Russia alone if the rest of the world held aloof; on the contrary, they have frequently admitted that of all European countries Russia was the very least adapted to communism, owing to the large excess of the rural (and by consequence individualistic) population over the urban proletariat. As Lenin said: "The regions southward along the Don and Volga and northward toward Vologda and eastward about Omsk have a marked patriarchal life of semi-barbarism and actual savagery. A similar situation is found in the rural backgrounds of the rest of Russia." Or, in other words, the physicians who have had charge of the life of Russia with such disastrous results are convinced, not indeed that their remedy was at fault, but, at any rate, that the patient was not good enough for the medicine! The peasant must be humored or he may rise in rebellion. Later on, when the productiveness of industry has been increased (Lenin personally attaches great importance to the development of electrical power) the peasant may be won over to the communist system.

Another reason for modifying the communist program was the need of reopening trade relations with the rest of the world. The trade treaty with Great Britain was the greatest diplomatic victory Bolshevism has yet attained, and great hopes are held out in Bolshevist circles for a revival of the economic life of Russia under the stimulus of the British market. Krassin says that hitherto the Bolsheviki have been carrying on their foreign trade with gold; "but our gold must come to an end and our scarcity of transport makes it difficult to export raw materials. We have so far exported only a very little. There remains, therefore, only the granting of concessions." As for the paper money that nobody will take, Krassin is not worried. With an impish cynicism he says that the problem will solve itself because "We will print so many banknotes that no one will take money seriously any longer. Then the people will light fires with all that valueless paper!"




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

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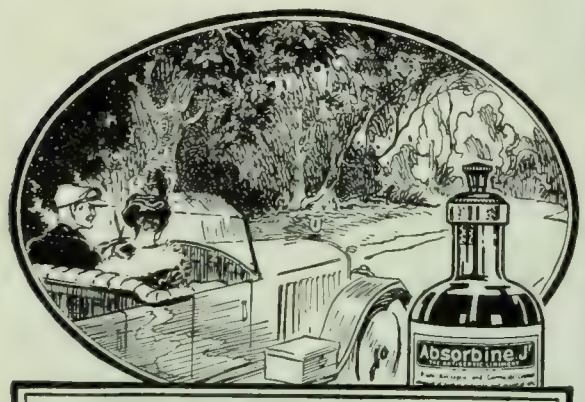
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*Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, Mass.*

## New York and the Real Jew

(*Continued from page 660*)

the established order of things, anywhere, Jews are phenomenally adaptable. Carried away into Babylon, they forgot their Hebrew and returned speaking Aramaic. In China, according to Ross, "the Jews of Kaifêng-fu lost their language and their religion and became Chinese in all but physiognomy." In Abyssinia today there are 50,000 black Jews. Next to his ambition to learn English, a Jewish immigrant's most earnest desire on reaching New York is to master every paragraph in Cushing's "Manual of Citizenship." He takes a Yiddish newspaper, it is true—the *Day*, the *News*, the *Forward*, or the *Jewish Times*—and very foreign it looks to us, with its Jewish-German text reading from right to left and printed in Hebrew characters with all the vowels left out; but more and more the Yiddish press is conforming to American standards, in spirit as well as in make-up. Then, too, our newly arrived Jew seeks amusement at a Yiddish theater, the People's, or perhaps Thomaskewsky's or Gobel's—where serious drama is admirably presented. But more and more the Yiddish players borrow their "script" from Broadway, translating and adapting it, while frequently an English phrase or sentence survives intact. And, despite his supposed conservatism, the Jew is soon tempted to discard his religion.

Uptown you are told that large numbers of Jews now attend service at the Church of St. Thomas. Still larger numbers affiliate with Unitarians, while thousands are agnostics. In the Ghetto, "chop sueys" appear, and "chop sueys" are not "kosher." On the lower East Side you will find an establishment "for the re-conversion of Jewish youth to Judaism." The other day I amused myself by asking Jews what proportion of the Ghetto was Orthodox. One said, "Three blocks." Another said, "All of it; on the great Jewish holidays, twice a year, the only sound is the creaking of new shoes." The fact lies somewhere between—a fact so serious that there might seem to be a promising field for evangelization, and would actually be, had not Christians persistently oppressed and tormented Jews, the world over, for upward of nineteen centuries.

Several months ago, in a solidly Jewish neighborhood well sprinkled with wurst-fabriks and little synagogues and places where wedding gowns are offered for rent and shops filled with Talmuds, Jewish prayer-books, seven-day candles, manoras, Pentateuch scrolls, embroidered wrappers for scrolls, and long-fringed, purple-striped prayer-shawls, a Jewish theater displayed a film called "The Birth of a Race." I believe I was the only "goy" there. We saw Eden. We saw the flood. We saw Moses lead Israel out of Egypt. Loud was the applause. Then followed the story of Christ, from Bethlehem to Calvary. It sounds incredible, yet those New Tes-

tament episodes called forth from Jewish spectators applause no whit less enthusiastic than the outbursts that had greeted the Old Testament episodes. It is not the Christian religion that repels Jews; it is Christians—the Christians of bygone ages, and frequently those of today.

To be entirely frank, the Ghetto has not a particularly exalted idea of Gentiles. In Second Avenue a few evenings ago, Abie was telling about his sweetheart, and a friend of mine overheard. Said Abie, "Yes, she's a Christian, but when you go in her house it's clean." Well, consider. Twice annually—just before Passover and just before New Year's—every Jewish family cleans house. On what occasion, pray, do the Perciatellinis of Hester Street clean house? Judging Gentiles by the Gentiles they observe at close range, Jews naturally enough regard themselves as superior and as not merely in a scriptural sense the "chosen people." Quoth a rabbi, in my hearing, "Because we are the chosen people, a solemn responsibility rests upon us. We must set an example to all the others."

Imagine, then, the deep indignation among Jews when an American, duped by European Anti-Semites—Mr. Ford's sham "Protocols of the Learned Elders in Zion" were fabricated abroad—accuses the Jews of base intentions? Imagine their resentment the other day when somebody connected with the Department of State was reported to have classed Jews with Armenians and Persians as "undesirable immigrants!" On historic grounds, if on no other, the Jews claim a right to come here. Jewish settlers first established themselves in New York in 1654. Jews helped to finance Columbus. Five Jews sailed with him on his first voyage. His mother was Jewish—or so the Ghetto declares—nor has the Ghetto forgotten that a Jew advanced $600,000 to General George Washington. During the recent war, as you will be informed at the Jewish War Records headquarters in Union Square, more than 200,000 American Jews put on khaki. Three thousand five hundred died in France. American Jews brought home 130 Distinguished Service Crosses. Two won the medaille militaire, three received Congressional Medals of Honor, 174 the Croix de Guerre. What the Jew then did he is ready to repeat. He has the grit. He has the bodily toughness.

In New York you are still told that Jews lack physique and dread physical toil. Absurd! Rare, in the Ghetto, is the Rembrandt Jew, with his "Ghetto bend." Thanks to the Jewish dietary, to Jewish temperance, and to sixteen days of complete repose every year, plus the splendid start in life vouchsafed to breast-fed babies, the Ghetto has evolved a hardy type, with a minimum death-rate and a huge avidity for exertion. New York Jews are crowding into the metal trades, into furriery, into cabinet-making and shoe-making. Young Jews play basketball with fury. Benny Leonard, Soldier Bartfield and Battling Levinsky are pugilists.





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# A Letter from H. G. Wells

Dear and Only Upton: That Bible idea is yours. I got it from your previous book of elegant extracts ("The Cry for Justice"). I say so somewhere in these lectures which, since I couldn't come and spout them, the "Saturday Evening Post" is giving in homeopathic doses to a slightly indignant world. You have just saved a bit of your property by getting ahead with your "Book of Life." I should have been at that in a year or so. I may do it still in spite of you. Why do you always think of things first? I am older than you. I have read both your books ("The Brass Check" and "100%"). I will not say anything about them except, "Fine!" If I start on anything more I shall use up the whole morning, and meanwhile you will be getting ahead. Love, H. G. Wells.

We put this very gracious and charming letter back as a crown upon the head of H. G. Wells! Not often does an author write that way to a possible rival! Also, we publish the letter for the glimpse it gives into the "Brass Check" boycott. In one of Wells' articles, published in the "Saturday Evening Post," he called for the writing of a new Bible, consisting of, first, a collection of the world's most vital literature, and second, a guide to modern conduct. We wrote him that we had tried to supply the first in "The Cry for Justice," and were busily publishing the second as a serial in "The Appeal to Reason," under the title of "The Book of Life." Wells' reply reveals that he paid tribute to "The Cry for Justice"; but we do not find this tribute in the articles as published by the "Saturday Evening Post"! We are wondering—does the great Monument to American Mediocrity forbid to the most distinguished of living English novelists the right to mention the name of Upton Sinclair?

## The Cry for Justice

An Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest, with an Introduction by Jack London, who calls it "this humanist Holy-Book." Selected from 25 languages and 5000 years of human history. 891 pages, 32 illustrations. Price $1.00 paper, postpaid; $1.50 cloth, postpaid.

Do you desire amnesty? Do you want to bring the political prisoners out of jail? If so, the first thing to do is to make the people realize how they got in; and for this purpose the prisoners themselves recommend

## 100%

### The Story of a Patriot by Upton Sinclair

Many letters come to us from political prisoners who have read this book in jail. "Here is the truth!" writes one. "If only the people would read this story!" It is being published in England under the title of "The Spy," and an English labor man writes us: "Thank God I live in a monarchy!" It is being translated into French by Madeleine Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland, and into Italian by Arturo Caroti, member of parliament. In Germany and Austria it is running serially in a dozen papers. We have articles about it in Norwegian, Russian, Hungarian, Bohemian, Dutch and Esperanto, none of which languages we read fluently.

"100%" is a story of the "White Terror," and tells how "big business" pulled off the stunt of landing the "reds" in jail. It is the inside story of a "secret agent," and deals with half a dozen celebrated cases concerning which you have been fooled. Louis Untermeyer writes: "Upton Sinclair has done it again. He has loaded his Maxim (no silencer attached), taken careful aim, and—bang!—hit the bell plump in the center. First of all '100%' is a story; a story full of suspense, drama, 'heart interest,' plots, counterplots, high life, low life, humor, hate and other passions—as thrilling as a W. S. Hart movie, as interest-crammed as (and a darned sight more truthful than) your daily newspapers."

## The Brass Check

### A Study of American Journalism

The Associated Press announced at its annual convention that it had made an investigation of this book, and was about to make public a mass of evidence to refute it. We waited a month and two days, and then we wrote the Associated Press that if they did not make public the evidence, we would sue them for libel for making the statement. We await their answer. Meantime, the University Socialist Federation of Great Britain has adopted a resolution "To put on record its sense of the invaluable contribution made by Upton Sinclair by the publication in 'The Brass Check' of his unique and convincing study of the American plutocratic press."

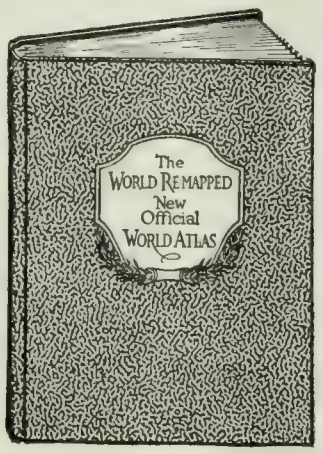
"La Grande Revue," Paris, publishes an eight page article, entitled "Le Jeton de Passe," in which Upton Sinclair is discussed as "One of those difficult spirits whom the present does not please at all and who succeed nevertheless, one does not know how, to some notoriety, such as formerly among us Rabelais, Moliere or Voltaire, and today Anatole France." "Das Forum," Berlin, publishes an article by Wilhelm Herzog, stating that "Maxim Gorki, Anatole France, and Upton Sinclair are recognized as the greatest writers of the world-literature of the present." "La Nacion," Buenos Aires, states that "Since having conquered Scandinavia, Upton Sinclair his actually invaded Belgium. His 'Jimmie Higgins' is being translated by Henri Delgove. 'The People,' of Brussels, considers Upton Sinclair as 'the American Zola,' and adds that his novels are 'the most living, the most moving, and the most characteristic of modern Anglo-Saxon literature in America'." We submit the above to the "Saturday Evening Post!"

Prices of "The Brass Check," "100%," "The Jungle," "King Coal," "The Profits of Religion"—Single copy, cloth, $1.20 postpaid; three copies $3.00; ten copies $9.00. Single copy, paper, 60c. postpaid; three copies $1.50; ten copies $4.50. "Jimmie Higgins," "Sylvia," and "Sylvia's Marriage"—Cloth only, $1.20 postpaid. Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California; Middle Western Agency, The Economy Book Shop, 33 South Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.



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"I'd rather talk of Jewish poets and musicians," said the Jew from whom I obtained these illustrious names, and thereby hangs a tale. In order to learn about "Eli! Eli!" I had gone to the National Winter Garden, a Jewish "home of burlesque" not far from the Bowery, and called upon the manager in an office adorned with photographs of "burlesque queens." On his desk a volume of Schopenhauer lay open, and he had just finished reading Mr. Wells's "Outline of History."

"Jack Shargel knows about 'Eli! Eli!'" he said. "Wouldn't you like to watch the show till Shargel is thru for the evening?" I declined, begging to wait in the office and discuss Schopenhauer and Wells, and then began a feast of reason such as I had not enjoyed since the days when I used to hobnob with Harvard dons in Brattle Street, Cambridge. Wonderful! Glorious! Religion, ethnology, metaphysics, history, literature—in the office of an East Side burlesque show! Two Jewish friends of the managers joined our pow wow, each contributing a wealth of erudition. And finally came Shargel—burlesque comedian adored by the East Side. I took him out to supper.

He talked religion. He was for realities, not forms, and decried the occasional Jewish over-insistence upon "piety wigs" for women and earlocks and unshorn chins for men. This, he argued, could engender hypocrisy. "Better a Jew without a beard than a beard without a Jew." And he talked Bolshevism—most unsympathetically, for, with rare exceptions, the New York Jews scorn Lenin and Trotzky. "Why fool with Bolshevism when you can have an ideal order of society merely by enforcing the laws of this country?" What a fellow—by trade a clown, by instinct a philosopher!

There was nothing extraordinary in that. Barring a few examples of the Potash-and-Perlmutter type, every Jew is an intellectual. Visit Cooper Union and see. Or visit the University Settlement. You will find more thinking in the Ghetto, more study, more conversation of high significance than in any other section of New York, and recognize in Jewish mentality a national asset.

When you come to understand it, you will admire Jewish character. Certain faults, proverbial and ruthlessly overstated by Gentiles, certain Jews undeniably possess. There have even been Jewish gunmen in New York and Jewish promoters of the once-prevalent white slave trade. But saloons never thrive in Jewish neighborhoods. In proportion to the Jewish population only an infinitesimal drop in the bucket ever betook itself to Blackwell's Island. And what is so infrequent as a Jewish divorce case?

Ambassador Page, then editor of the *Atlantic*, once remarked to me, "The most interesting fellow in America is the Jew, but don't write about Jews; without intending it, you may precipitate the calamity America should be most anxious to prevent—I mean Jew-baiting."

More than twenty years have since passed. The calamity is here. Jews feel hunted. They tend to become more Jewish at heart, less American at heart. Therefore, write about Jews. It cannot make matters worse. It may make them better—especially if some reader is prompted to stroll the Ghetto and see with his own eyes, hear with his own ears. Try it. Drop in, anywhere, and announce your curiosity. You will be charmingly received. But I warn you. It is hard to get away.

*Westport, Connecticut*

## Independent Opinions

One of our readers believes that he has discovered a contradiction between the Constitution and the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in order that all sides may be heard we print the salient portion of his letter:

To me it is incomprehensible how anyone who can read plain English can read Article X of the Covenant and still insist that it does not limit the war powers of Congress, or rather transfer that power to a presidential appointee, member of the League Council. Under Article X the members of the League solemnly agree to preserve each other's territory and independence against external aggression. The formulation of the plans for carrying out of this pledge is placed with or delegated to an international body on which we are represented by a presidential appointee. This appointee can, under the Covenant, commit us to war. From this commitment we can free ourselves only by repudiating a treaty. Will you please quote the provision of the United States Constitution which empowers the treaty making branch of our Government to transfer any such authority to a foreign body on which we have one representative?

C. M. JANSKY

*Madison, Wisconsin*

The obligation under Article X of the League of Nations Covenant to "respect and preserve as against external aggression" the Member States of the League no more limits the constitutional power of Congress to declare war than do the treaties which we have made with Panama, Cuba and other countries by which we have assumed the duty of protecting our weaker neighbors against foreign conquest. Every government in the world has, from the very nature of its sovereignty, the right to make treaties of alliance or agreements with other countries that may place moral obligations upon itself in certain contingencies; but these moral obligations in no way limit the legal power of the war-declaring agency (in our case, Congress) to refuse to declare war.

---

Chester T. Crowell's article, "Why Young Folks Leave the Farm," in The Independent for Feb. 14, 1920, elicited the following vigorous response from a subscriber who seems to know exactly what he is talking about:

I must say a word in answer to C. T. C.'s article on "Why Young Folks Leave the Farm."

I am one who would have liked to leave the farm and it makes me tired to read the foolish talk on why boys leave the farm. In Michigan I believe the average rural youth has as much liberty as the


# TRAVEL AND RESORTS

The Independent invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to Travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea; tours domestic and foreign. This Department is under the supervision of the BERTHA RUFFNER HOTEL BUREAU, widely and favorably known because of the personal knowledge possessed by its management regarding hotels everywhere. Address inquiries by mail to INFORMATION, The Independent, New York.

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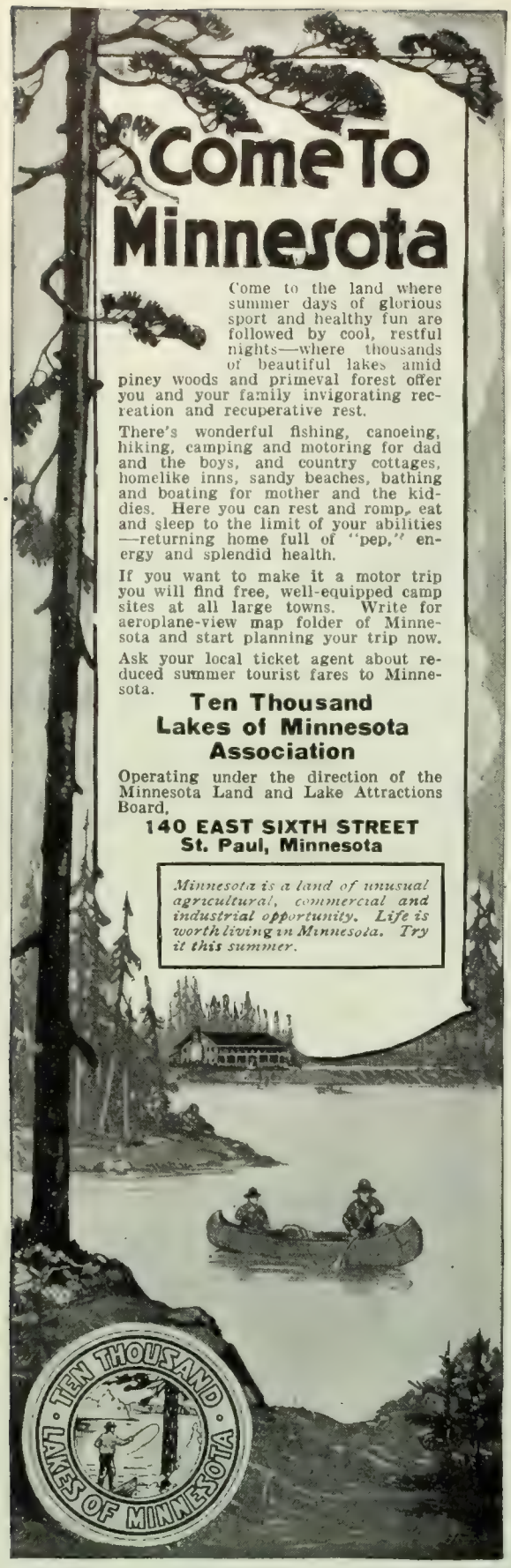
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city or village boy—if—he can afford it. Pleasure is as free in this country as anywhere.

The difference is that short hours leave energy enough in the bones to enable him to enjoy a dance or to keep awake to see a theater entertainment.

A farm, Mr. Editor, *cannot be worked on an eight hour plan*. Nature will not permit. If the grain farmer adopted this plan, the world would starve.

A dairy cow demands a twelve hour day. She must be milked at nearly equal intervals. The city man sees the dairy farm with its beautiful, sleek dairy herd, up to date equipment, with a barn where the guests are entertained in the alleys between the cows.

Not many farmers have all these, without some other business to finance them.

Did the friend from Texas ever pour two pounds of liquid salts down the throat of a good sized Holstein? The herd usually has a sick animal. Did he ever dig a hole large enough to bury his best full blood?

Did he ever clean up a stable after forty heads had spent the day there?

Sometimes Nature is beautiful, and at others filthy. She is a hard and unreliable master.

Some time ago you printed an article, "The Tractor That Never Tires." Written by another Texan I think. One saying was "The farmer rides under a canopy, fanned by breezes created by the moving machine." The author was a humorist.

The farmer sits on a cast iron seat, a canopy over his head, two, four, or six red hot gas cylinders between his knees and 90 degrees in the shade on his back. Fanned by breezes created by four miles per, and smothered by a cloud of dust and stinking gas smoke as dense as a London fog.

M. M. FARLEY

A Porto Rican takes exception to the contention in Dr. Giddings's editorial, "A God-Given Right to Fail," that the case of Porto Rico is one in which the theory of self-determination is out of the question:

With great regret I have read in your magazine, issue of April 2, 1921, Mr. Giddings's article, "A God-Given Right to Fail?"

If I am indignant about it, you can easily see the reason, for there is little or no truth in the main points of Mr. Giddings's article.

So hear, Mr. Giddings:

At the end of the Spanish-American War (1898) there was no need of establishing order in Porto Rico for there was no disorder, no insurrection nor uprising. After the army of the United States took possession of the island the fighting was all over. Not that the people were cowards, for twice the English and once the Dutch were repulsed in their attempts to capture the island. But we knew that the United States came with a friendly desire and so we welcomed the United States. Just before that, we had received from the Government of Spain, an autonomous government, self-determination, and this was acquired, not by bloodshed, not by fighting in the brush, but by statesmanship. We are a peaceful people and only need to be left in peace. Slavery, the cause of so much war, so much bloodshed, so much enmity in the world, was abolished in the island without a drop of blood, without a tear of woe being shed. What other nation or people can say the same? Let the memory of Abraham Lincoln speak for itself.

But those are things of the past, let us look at the present.

Do not look on us as slaves, for we are not, and never shall be, but look at us with a more friendly feeling and then we might come to an understanding.

Is it our fault that there is the bubonic plague in the places with which we have to do business? Whose fault is it that the focus has not been stamped out? The larger powers are at fault, not the small ones.

As to education the system we have in our island is one which is as good as the best in the United States for after those it has been planned, with some improvements. From Mr. Lindsay to Mr. Miller, the work of education in Porto Rico has been carried on with an advancing step, and is advancing, Mr. Giddings, in spite of the fact that we are an over-populated country, and in spite of the fact and condition, true of all peasants in the world, of our peasants being poor. That is the fault of mankind, not of the people of a small island. But we have good high schools, we have a university, we have a great many institutions of scientific research, to find different methods of combating tropical diseases. In our schools we study two languages, and make a mess of none. Is that ignorance?

The population of the island is not a *population of half-breeds*, as you say, but in its great majority is as Caucasian as any. But don't slander the negroes if they are ignorant; they only saw the sun of liberty about two score and ten years ago. They have not had the chance yet.

The cities of the island are, if you have seen them—which I doubt—clean, and as clean as any of the United States, for we have the same methods of sanitation. Don't judge a community by the beggars, tramps and hoboes.

If you desire a League of Nations to run the affairs of Porto Rico, you are mistaken in your wish; the Government at Washington will decidedly not permit that. And if we were what you claim we are, which we are not, then tell me, on whom would the blame fall? On those that show us how to do things, or on us that do them? With or without a League of Nations Porto Rico shall be Porto Rico. And over it shall wave only the American flag.

R. CESTEROY

A Washington fruit grower sends the following thoughtful discussion of Mr. Purinton's articles on Big Business:

Your write-up of the Steel Corporation traverses some of the most telling facts of the Interchurch World Report which the magnates tried hard to suppress, but found some real Christians on that committee who could not be bought or bluffed. Not being able to suppress the report big business has been trying to suppress the Interchurch Movement. I wonder how many copies of The Independent are ordered by these corporations after you have given them such a fine coat of calcimining and varnishing? All steel products west of Chicago, you know, have added to the price an unhauled freight rate from Pittsburgh to Chicago. Is this business efficiency or plain robbery? All the nails we use in our apple boxes and all other steel products used here have to pay this extortion. All the stock for slaughter sold to your Swifts and other blood suckers of the big five here at Portland, Oregon, has *deducted* from the price paid the grower the unhauled freight rate from Portland to Chicago, no matter where the meat is sold. Is this justice, efficiency, good management, or just plain stealing—or rather double-back-action-duplex-compound-triple-expansion stealing?

After the efficiency experts, we need most urgently sufficiency experts. Ruskin said, "the most sacred work in the world is to teach people not to better themselves, but to satisfy themselves. Nothing but jus-

tice and righteousness will satisfy people." Then let us have a sufficiency expert, who after you have preached efficiency to us, will give us expert findings on justice and righteousness. No matter how much efficiency we may have and welfare work and benevolent feudalism we know there will be no peace on this land or any land until justice and righteousness are enthroned there. In perplexity and doubt, but in firm belief that humanity is above dollars and justice above efficiency, I live and hope for a better day.

We are facing a tragedy. It is not a question of welfare work for laborers, of benevolent feudalism, of high wages or low wages, of a twelve hour or an eight hour day! It is a question of humanity, of human freedom, of eternal justice, of the brotherhood of man and the right of every one to a human way of life. "What is it you want, anyhow?" asked a big manufacturer of a committee of employees who came to him with a grievance, and after much discussion he could not tell what was the trouble. Then in despair he put the question: "What is it you want, anyhow?" and quick as could be spoken came the answer: "The same as you want for yourself and your family!" That ended the interview. Those simple words really go down to the heart of things and carry before them the destiny of the whole capitalistic and wage system.

H. V. ROMINGER
*Underwood, Washington*

## "When *I* Was Young—"

(*Continued from page 661*)

Was the past so successful that it must be accepted as a model without improvement?

And while the girls are asking these questions—consciously or unconsciously voicing these doubts and hesitancies—we go on imposing our precepts and inhibitions without helping them to firm ground and clear vision. The very fact that the conspiracy of silence has been broken—cracked at least if not cleared away—makes the position of the girls more difficult. In the old days there was great likelihood that girls might remain ignorant of most of the problems connected with social vice and with irregular sexual relations. Their world was small and fixed, and there was no possibility for them to widen its boundaries. But the modern girl knows enough to be aware that there are problems and questionings, and yet she is not given that frank, clean instruction which would enable her to understand that there is a real and substantial reason for many of the "thou shalt nots" which seem to her to be mere harassments.

We have got to accept it, whether we like it or not. The modern girl will not model her conduct merely on our say so. She demands principles. She insists upon understanding the rules.

In 1921, as in every age of the past, the first count in the bill of particulars of the charges against our girls, concerns their dress. Immodest, provocative, indecent, shocking are just a few of the adjectives that are used to characterize present fashions. As usual the innocent object is made responsible for the subjective reaction in the mind of the beholder. Our girls, being themselves on the whole per-


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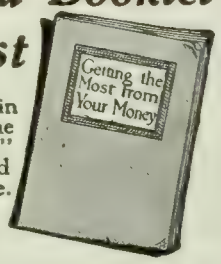
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fectly clean-minded, have no idea of the filthiness of mind that afflicts so large a proportion of the male members of the community. They have not the slightest conception that an extra inch of leg above the ankle suggests the vilest thoughts and ideas to vicious men, or even that there are vicious men who could conceivably entertain these thoughts. Even if they had the matter explained to them they might reasonably ask why the reformers did not concentrate their efforts on those members of society who really needed reforming, instead of demanding that the liberty of the innocent should be curtailed to give free play to the guilty.

The great mistake that has constantly been made in regard to criticism of women's clothes is that virtue or modesty is in any way inherent in costume. It was just as possible for the girl with the billowing amplitude of skirts which came down to the ground to be immodest, as it is for the girl of the present scantier fashions. In fact it was probably easier, for the greater the amount of concealment of the person the more readily can a slight exposure suggest evil. Modesty is spiritual, and has nothing whatever to do with clothes, and the man who cries out against girls on account of mere fashion of dress, regardless of the mood in which the clothes are worn, shows a mind that is bound down to the material without perception of anything beyond his own reaction to what he sees.

In judging of the way in which our girls dress, the first necessity is to get rid of the idea—so strongly held by most of the male sex—that girls dress to attract the attention of men—that they plan their clothes with this intention and that this purpose is uppermost in their minds whenever they choose a garment. Girls dress to please themselves first of all, and only secondarily to please other people. The dress of every girl, who is untrammeled in her choice, is an expression of her own individuality, and this self-expression thru dress persists to a greater or less degree according to the freedom with which the girl is able to make her choice of what she shall wear.

Considered from this point of view—subjectively to the girl and not in any way objectively from the effect on the mind of others whether men or women—there could be nothing more cheering or hopeful than the present-day clothing of our girls. First of all girls demand freedom. They will not endure the imprisonment and servitude of a generation or two ago. They have utterly rejected the corset which moulded the body completely out of the form which nature intended for it and compressed the vital organs almost to the degree of torture. Girls nowadays have scope to breathe, for their blood to circulate and for all the processes of life to go on untrammeled. Neither will the girls consent to drag long skirts around, hampering their every movement, and almost as crippling as the deformed feet of the much despised Chinese lady.

It is true that girls are now two-legged animals, instead of being creatures hobbling along with their pedestals. A pedestal may be all right so long as movement is not required; but to insist that women shall have pedestals instead of limbs, and then to require them to walk and work was cruelty—cruelty against which the girls of the past continually rebelled. But why should it be immodest for a girl to have two legs? There is nothing vile or suggestive of evil in the free walk of our girls as compared with the mincing and difficult steps of our own early days. And it must be remembered that the girls show their legs with equal freedom whether they be well-shaped and beautiful, or whether they be ungainly and without grace.

EVEN the high heels of our girls have their good points, taken as an expression of their personality and their aspirations. The girls are growing up to their new opportunities, and to the exercize of powers formerly unsuspected in the female sex. They want to reach up. They are not satisfied with their present stature, and they add an inch or two of heel because it gives them the satisfaction of greater hight and of being raised a little above the level to which they are restricted. Our high-heeled girls are more self-respecting than they would be if they were shuffling along in moccasins. They must be trim about their ankles, their stockings must be without wrinkle or flaw, their steps must be more precise and taken with greater care.

Many things in the world just now are discouraging. It seems a bad world as compared with the world of my youth. But of one thing I am confident—that is that its chief hope lies in our girls. There never were girls like these of ours; so hopeful, so ready to engage in the great adventure of life, so eager to be and to do, and so determined to be themselves, and to do what seems to them to be right and worthy. When I look back at my own girlhood and remember the barriers that circled me around, and the darkness in which I had to work out my problems, I grow hopeful even of this discouraging world. The girls nowadays have escaped their prison, and they will never be shut in again. They are eagerly examining the world around them. They are tearing our old standards and preachings to bits and trampling on much that we held sacred. In the enthusiasm of their youth they sometimes refuse what is good along with what is outworn or useless. But our standards were never so perfect that they were not in need of clear-sighted criticism, and what was good will not be destroyed, but will be reinstated in standards which the girls will respect and conform to, because these standards are their own and not merely the second hand precepts of people who have largely forfeited their claim to confidence and respect.

*Hartford, Connecticut*

## Big Shears—or Common Sense?

(*Continued from page 662*)

attack on liberty. Far more important at this writing are other sinister aspects of censorship. I refer to the graft that seems inseparable from arbitrary legalized judging of questions of art and morals. The statement holds true with the utmost respect to the high characters of Harry Knapp and Henry Richardson of Pennsylvania, the Mistresses Miller of Kansas and Ohio, and the present censor executives of Maryland, Detroit and Chicago.

Here is the possible underground railroad: The clerk who does the routine reviewings has a friend known to the trade as "the fixer." Under such guidance, all but the most glaring misdemeanants can be passed up. The sub-clerk needn't see nor report violations. As the $1500 placeholder of a "million dollar" job, he or she is likely to make a botched judgment either way. Comes along the friend and representing the picture in the most favorable light convinces the reviewing clerk that everything is O. K. And it really is O. K.ed there and then, for any group of two or three executives will find it physically impossible to look at the millions of feet submitted annually and *must* entrust the main viewing to subordinates.

The "swag" and the "divvy" may be present or absent. While I personally believe that most American judging is law-honest and swayed by friendships only such as prejudice all of us, plenty of examples of grave scandals of censorship are found in other countries. In one metropolitan center $200 is the regular bribe for admitting a short picture, and $500 for passing a "feature." This is done by the artful device of "editing."

The censor or sub-censor first condemns the picture outright. To the film man's suggestion that possibly the company can reconstruct the picture by itself making the changes, he turns a deaf and stony ear. That is the cue for the film man to say: "By the way, Mr. Censor, could you enter the employ of our company for the purposes of this picture? Edit it yourself, I mean, and get it fixed up the way you want it. Of course we will pay you whatever is right!"

With an air of bland innocence (like the functionary who took money only when his hands happened to be behind his back) the censor pretends to be loath, but in the end accepts. He has the picture cut by some newspaper friend, stuffs the five hundred American dollars in his pocket, and presto! the vile and impossible film work has become an angel of light and leading and is quickly passed and rented to the theaters of the country. Just the same, $500 forms a pretty heavy extra-legal tax to pay on each "feature" export item. And oh! I almost forget—the person who possesses this extraordinary "editorial" ability is said to perform his film visitations today in a Rolls-

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DIVIDENDS

## The American Brake Shoe and Foundry Company

NOTICE OF DIVIDENDS ON NEW PREFERRED AND NEW COMMON STOCK.

The Board of Directors of The American Brake Shoe and Foundry Company has this day declared a quarterly dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1¾%) upon the new preferred stock of the company and a quarterly dividend of One Dollar ($1.00) per share upon the new common stock of the company, said dividends to be payable, in the case of each class of stock, on June 30, 1921, to stockholders of record at 3 o'clock P. M. on June 24, 1921, and thereafter to the holders of all such new preferred and new common stock of the company as may be issued and exchanged for preferred and common stock of the company authorized prior to and outstanding at the time of the amendment to the certificate of incorporation of the company.

Checks will be mailed.

GEORGE M. JUDD, Secretary.

Dated, New York, June 14, 1921.

## AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

**127th Dividend**

A quarterly dividend of two dollars and twenty-five cents per share will be paid on Friday, July 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, June 20, 1921. H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

## AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

**Four Per Cent. Collateral Trust Bonds**

Due July 1, 1929.

Coupons from these Bonds, payable by their terms on July 1, 1921, at the office of the Treasurer of the Company in New York, will be paid at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.

H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

## United Shoe Machinery Corporation

The Directors of this Corporation have declared a dividend of 1½% on the Preferred Capital stock. They have also declared a dividend of 50c. per share on the Common Capital stock. The dividends on both Preferred and Common stock are payable July 5, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business June 14, 1921.

L. A. COOLIDGE, Treasurer.

## WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

A quarterly Dividend of 2% ($1.00 per share) on the PREFERRED Stock of this Company will be paid July 15, 1921.

A Dividend of 2% ($1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company for the quarter ending June 30, 1921, will be paid July 30, 1921.

Both Dividends are payable to Stockholders of record as of June 30, 1921.

H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.

New York, June 18, 1921.

## UTAH COPPER COMPANY

25 Broad St., New York, June 9, 1921.

The Board of Directors of Utah Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of 50 cents per share, payable June 30, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business June 16, 1921.

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Royce, tho he could not even afford a Ford when he first tackled the elder Cato's job.

Anywhere that a big super-picture having sensational elements is involved, the higher executives take a hand. There are favored lawyers' fees, mock-serious hearings, free junkets for legislators or officials to neighboring cities, and often as a clincher a whacking big contribution to the ruling party's campaign committee treasury. The author of an enormously successful "special" recently remarked that the picture cost him $75,000 to make, but the lawyers' fees cost $475,000. A lot of skullduggery can always be looked for when art and politics mix!

The censorship fan (and there *are* censorship fans, tho they are somewhat less numerous than the movie fans) here maintains that the grafting evil applies in all kinds of public regulations, and that censorship regulation is no less necessary simply because graft may exist. But the censorship fan misses the whole point of the argument in so saying.

For malfeasance in matters of building, sanitation, water supply, public utilities, public safety, etc., is a matter of fact and of record that an investigator like Hughes or Ivins or Untermeyer can definitely uncover and expose. But censoring films and plays, on the contrary, is quite a matter of opinion. No two juries could be trusted to decide alike on any of the problems. The censor-grafter goes unpunished because his venal opinion is after all as good as any other man's. The fixer, so-called, may be arguing a sound case. The reformer on the other hand may be quite wrong-headed on that particular matter. So that a traffic in favors and passings and rejections springs up and flourishes because there cannot possibly be any set standard that those of integrity can enforce.

Most of the ridiculous mistakes are caused by the laying down of rules. As any person of culture knows, art is not governed by rules; what is immoral and vicious in one context may be admirable and worthy in another. The efforts of the placeholders to apply the yardstick of standards to kissings or tragedies, to clothes, manners, morals or problems, are therefore highly ludicrous. The differences of opinion among the several States as to whether to admit or reject plays, are equally irrational. We are not surprised to be told that Ohio likes "Mary's Ankle," whereas Pennsy is shocked by it; that the Penn State barred "The Cup of Fury," "Dangerous Hours," and "The Pallister Case," whereas Ohio admitted all of them. It doesn't mean at all that the Buckeyes are less Puritanical than the Keystones, but merely that the censors failed to "pick on" these four plays in the one State which they happened to "pick on" in the other.

An all-around composite standard to guide censorship seems impossible. Stupidity and ignorance would pillory as "immoral" or "inhuman" new doctrine that the very next generation establishes as its morality. There have been many striking illustrations of this in the history of English stage censorship, which for two and a half centuries has been astonishingly stupid to intellectual awakenings. The typical English censor represented little but the smug drawing-rooms of Philistia. He winked at all kinds of musical comedy nastiness, but he was up in arms the minute any dramatic writer questioned the accepted conventions of society.

One may be permitted to wonder whether the Miller censor board will represent the limitations of South Salina Street as the Lord Chamberlain's censor represented Hyde Park and Soho Square.

In spite of, or perhaps partly because of censorship, censored stage and censored films keep getting a little more sodden and "gooey" every year. The bureaucrat, however honest and well-meaning, couldn't help this if he wanted to. His role is in no sense constructive. His editing is a joke. He never replaces but merely subtracts. He is a parasite and helps maintain fellow parasites in other branches of bureaucracy thru his leeching of viewing-fees.

THE public has little sympathy with the film men over added time, labor and expense involved by dealing with the censor board. This is because the film men have so often tried to shock, startle and alarm—have so frequently told us that they were wickeder than they really were or occasionally have camouflaged nastiness and unmentionable topics as "moral" or "problem"—that we think they have pretty well got their deserved bit and curb in the New York Governor's law board. And particularly they have protested entirely too much—have promised over and over again to be "good boys" and when the State's back was turned have repeatedly committed some new piece of mischief. Some of them have offended not only by suggestive pictures, but also by coarse advertising. The offenders amongst them ought to have been jacked up long ago thru the regular police power which, by the way, should have been equally applied to ridding the vaudeville, burlesques and midnight rounder shows of their smut, indecency or vulgarity.

Official expurgation of the pictures before they can be publicly shown is a very different matter, however. As a writer for the films and a plain American citizen, I feel that this method of treatment is wrong. To me it savors entirely too much of the Index Expurgatorius, the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, the Convocation of Canterbury, the old inquisitions of Rome or Madrid, and other learned formularies and authorities that have undertaken to tell successive ages what they ought to look at or listen to. The State should hold the film to a stricter account under the ordinary statutes, but not attempt "editing minus" under the guise of licensed regulation.

*New York*

# The Independent

July 9, 1921


# Spot Lights and Curtain Calls

## A Glance Over the Worth-while Plays of the Past Season

### By Montrose J. Moses

NOW that the New York theaters are closing for the summer, and plans are being announced for the new season, I am wondering what will become of some of the plays I have found worth while—plays that, like so many others of years past, have served their purposes on Broadway, and possibly in a few of the large cities, and then are heard of no more, unless they find their way into the movies. For a business which is supposed to be so well organized as the theater, it seems bad policy for the managers to ignore, as they do, the country at large; to content themselves with a beaten track, when there are millions of people famished for entertainment, who read of actors and actresses, of playwrights and plays, and yet are never given the opportunity of *seeing* the spoken play and the live player. In the present demoralized condition of the theatrical "circuits," I do not know what the country would have done for amusement had it not been for the movies.

Yet the time must come when some managers will realize that a remunerative piece of property, like a successful play, has a right to live many seasons until all theater lovers are satisfied. Were I in the theater "game," I would seek to organize small "circuits" outside the sphere of the Broadway managers, and I would arrange to present year by year the cream of the plays which New York has found successful. I think there would be profit in it; I am sure there would be pleasure. Towns like Hartford, Conn., or Stamford, get an occasional flavor of good drama, for these are "try out" centers for the New York managers. But I have been to my native place, Montgomery, Ala., in mid-winter, and I blush to recall what the managers of the theatrical "circuits"—as now organized—allow my fellow citizens for their amusement. If, by chance, a musical comedy comes to them—flaunting the scareline of "a season in New York"—it is so cut in every respect, its cast is so deteriorated—to cut down the pay roll—that one scarcely recognizes where the original excellence is. Yet the box office prices are high.

I look on the minor cities of the country as being given a poor deal in all things pertaining to the theater. And such a condition must change. Stock companies, in towns the size of Northampton, Mass., and Indianapolis, Ind., partly overcome this theater poverty in the summer months, when men like Stuart Walker and George Foster Platt leave their New York undertakings and experiment with audiences that are so different from New York's sophisticated theater crowd. But they are not organized so as to exchange and interchange their successful wares. Yet my contention is that every city, of any decent size warranting the expense of travel, has a right to see a successful play.



Abbe

**"The Green Goddess," at the Booth Theater, the first play by William Archer, the English critic, is an excellent vehicle for one of George Arliss's suave and polished performances of delightful villainy**

Out of the season just past I pick at random a number of pieces which I wish you could see—sufficiently catholic in range of interest to please all tastes, and sufficiently popular to be profitable. I would like to share my enjoyment of Guitry's "Deburau," of Zona Gale's "Miss Lulu Bett," of Gilda Varesi's "Enter Madame," of Porter Emerson Brown's "The Bad Man," of Claire Kummer's "Rollo's Wild Oat," of William Archer's "The Green Goddess," of Barrie's "Mary Rose," of Miss Anglin's production of "The Trial of Joan of Arc," with the townspeople of Montgomery, Ala. But, as conditions are, I know they will never see these plays. I would like them to judge for themselves the effectiveness of Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones," of A. A. Milne's "Mr. Pim Passes By"—which is so vivacious as a slight comedy—of Franz Molnar's "Liliom."

It is one thing for me to say that New York has been fortunate in being witness to the excellent acting of Ben Ami, of Schildkraut, and of Miss Anglin; it is another thing for you, who live on the theatrical road, to test my judgment by watching the work they can do. When I say that the Theater Guild—an organization of theater




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reformers—is doing remarkable things for the theater with a yearly list of uncommon plays, you have to take what I say as the truth, and thirst without being slaked. This is all wrong.

Of course you are more fortunate now than you were ten years ago, when it was not the general custom to print plays. Today you may read "Mary Stuart," by John Drinkwater, and measure its fragmentary beauty for yourself; where you are wanting is in the fact that, since the play's withdrawal—merely because it was not a box-office success—you cannot see the remarkable work of Claire Eames—the niece of Madame Emma Eames—who, as the Scottish Queen, gave a lifelike portrait unexcelled and unexpected. Before this, Miss Eames had played a minor part. You can read "Deburau," but the wizardry of Belasco goes beyond the mere printed stage direction, and on the type page you are more prejudiced than the case warrants against the rhymed verse with which Mr. Granville Barker clothes in English transcription the French of Guitry. You have probably read the novel, "Miss Lulu Bett," by Zona Gale, but the lifelike charcoal sketch of old "maidenhood," as executed by Carrol McComas, must be imagined by you. The vivacity and artistic temperamentalism of "Enter Madame" may be guessed from the printed page, yet to Gilda Varesi belongs the credit of playing a part which, in finesse of of mood, raises the drama to a point of excellence scarcely evident in print. In other words, the theater is one thing, the book is quite another.



*White Studios*

**The beauty of Ethel Barrymore as the Queen was one of the two or three things that brought big audiences, more or less against their better judgment, to see "Clair de Lune," the play by John Barrymore's wife which ran for a few weeks at the Empire Theater**

The "road" is entitled to a glimpse of Charles Gilpin in O'Neill's "Emperor Jones," tho I wonder whether in the South they would be able to sit comfortably thru an evening with a negro actor as the chief entertainer. The "road" is even entitled to note the extremes to which the stage is going in point of scenery, as in Robert Edmund Jones's queer architectural symbols for Lionel Barrymore's production of "Macbeth." It would be an interesting experiment to get in touch with whatever art centers there are in the country and give them the rarely and queerly stimulating "Liliom," which has new elements of play construction about it, and which, in its way, is a second "Anatol" in its episodic character. But it would scarcely be the Molnar play unless it were taken on the road in exactly the manner conceived by the Theater Guild—scenery and Schildkraut and his associates. I feel that merely reading the play will leave everyone with a desire to see it, so novel is it.

There is a great variety in the plays I would like you to see. Take, for instance, William Archer's "The Green Goddess." We had expected so much from this London critic, who has been the arch-defender of the so-called "high-brow" play, and who was one of the first to make Ibsen familiar to English readers, that we were surprised to find what a good melodrama he could construct. This is an aeroplane, wireless thriller, in which some marooned flyers—two men and a woman—find themselves in the grip of an isolated Raja of India. You get considerable excitement from the way he treats his guests—with the aid of his English valet, supremely played by Ivan F. Simpson—and, if you will look deeper into the text, you will glean some side thrusts at English colonial policy in India. And the whole play affords a picturesque setting for the polished work of George Arliss who, since the days when he made such an impression in Belasco's "The Darling of the Gods," has mingled clean-cut precision with the spirit of craftiness in his work. He is not a romantic actor, tho romance hightens his opportunities. But he is one of our most pleasurable actors in arid days of acting.

Take "Deburau," the play around the central character of the great French pantomimist, who lived in the days of Marie Duplessis, the dainty bud who blossomed into the white passion of La Dame aux Camellias. I cannot say that Lionel Atwell compassed the role entirely, tho his work in it has warranted Belasco in announcing that some day he will present this actor in the rôle of Henry V. The value of this play is the movement and color of the times, so well embodied by the superb stage management of Mr. Belasco; there is a great deal of the old-time lavishness about it, reminiscent of the period when, in "Du Barry" and others, he used to lavish a whole fortune in stage accessories; but "Deburau" is done in splendid taste. This might be a drama too heavy in its scenery to take on the road, but it could be more simply dressed in the fashion of the Theater Guild's "Liliom," and be as effective as in the present form.

I would wish nothing better than that the entire country might witness Miss Anglin's "The Trial of Joan of Arc," a triumph of spiritual interpretation, of beautiful reading, and of historical pictures. Let us here pay tribute to this actress's endeavors to give better drama in the theater; she appears sometimes in plays unworthy her talents, but she always lifts her material into the realm of dramatic value by her superlative manner of [*Continued on page 12*

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# The Revival of Witchcraft

## By Edwin E. Slosson

THE new map of Europe, with its patchwork of isolated nationalities, will look more like the Europe of the Middle Ages than like the Europe of the nineteenth century, with its vast imperial aggregates and its commercial and cultural internationalism.

The medievalism of the modern map reflects the medievalism of the modern mind. In art, literature, religion and social forms we cannot fail to observe a decided reaction toward more primitive modes of thought. It is said that "revolutions never go backward." It would be quite as correct to say that wars always do.

However praiseworthy the main aim of the conflict and however complete its triumph, yet war is followed by a lassitude and lapse in which other gains of civilization may be temporarily lost.

The material losses of the Great War are not so serious as the moral and mental losses. The victorious nations seem to suffer as much as the defeated nations from such maladies of the mind. Our own country, tho less and later involved in the war, has not escaped the contagion.

The deterioration of current opinion is correctly mirrored in the current press. Compare the latest issues of a dozen popular magazines with copies of the same periodical from before the war and you will see in most cases that the proportion of fiction has greatly increased while the average quality has not improved; that much less space is given to serious subjects than there used to be; that the illustrations are of a more trivial character, and that there is a marked decline in moral tone and earnestness. Some of the magazines that in the later years of the nineteenth century were devoted to various social and political reforms are now mostly or entirely filled with trashy fiction. Periodicals that try to maintain the high aims of their founders and persist in the belief that life is more than romance are suffering for their refusal to conform to the taste of the times. The better they are the worse off they are.

That there has been in recent years a falling off in the character and quality of motion pictures is admitted by the producers themselves, so there is no need to argue this.

If a set of today's newspapers should by some unfortunate mischance be preserved to posterity the archeologist of two thousand years hence would form about the same sort of idea of our civilization as we have formed of the civilization of ancient Assyria from the cuneiform tablets. He would conclude from reading our papers that astrology was more in vogue than astronomy, that medicine was mostly magic, that the credulity of common people was boundless, that the practice of necromancy, divination and other forms of witchcraft provided popular and profitable professions.

Just as forgotten national names appear upon the latest maps so magical apparatus, used in the decadent days of Rome, reappears in the market. The magic wand is used to find water, gold and lost articles. The magic ball is employed to determine the sex of hen's eggs. The ouija board rivals the typewriter in the copious production of literature. Horoscopes are said to be cast for the guidance of the highest of our government officials and the leaders of finance. Certainly the state of our political and financial affairs would lead one to infer that they were ruled by planetary prognostications rather than by mundane intelligence.

More miracles and legends are recorded from the Great War than from any previous war in history. Three volumes of them have already been collected and published and the crop is still growing. Weeping images are reported from France and bleeding images from Ireland. Sir A. Conan Doyle, a doctor and a detective, exhibits photographs of fairies and gnomes to prove the existence of such supernatural creatures.

Witchcraft has been seriously brought forward as a defense in the courts of France and the United States. Witchcraft is a disease of the imagination, but it is not an imaginary disease. Quite the contrary, it is a serious malady and very difficult to cure, especially when it becomes epidemic. Church and state united to stamp it out four hundred years ago, but their most severe measures were unavailing. We must in justice to our ancestors remember that altho there never was really any such thing as witchcraft, there really were witches, that is, malignant old women and evil-minded men who believed that they had and were believed by the community to have supernatural power to persecute their neighbors. It therefore is not unnatural that the Government should impose upon such undesirable citizens the same penalty applied in those days to such minor misdemeanors as catching a hare or cutting down a tree on a private estate, namely, capital punishment. But altho not unnatural, this policy of suppression was obviously unwise, because the more witches were found guilty and executed the more people believed in witchcraft. A delusion cannot be extracted from the brain by forceps from without like a bullet. It has to be expelled from within by direct action of the patient himself. It is a case of autointoxication and the only remedy is auto-expurgation.

THE general atmosphere is becoming so foggy with superstition that we may expect a revival of witchcraft mania and persecution to break out at any time even in our own enlightened land. It may be thought that our proficiency in science and engineering will prevent any such recrudescence of superstition, but history does not give us hope of immunity. Magic flourished in Mesopotamia at the time the Babylonians were raising sky-scrapers that alarmed high heaven. The Romans consulted the entrails of animals when they laid the aqueducts and sewers of Rome. There are today more believers in magic, necromancy, divination and other forms of witchcraft than there ever were. They may not form so large a proportion of the population as they did in ancient Assyria, Rome or medieval Europe, but they are more numerous because the population is much greater.

Science rules in the laboratory and the machine shop. It does not yet hold sway over the mind of the people. The extension of science teaching in the public schools does not seem to have increased the liking and respect for science as much as was anticipated before it was introduced. "High

brow stuff does not go any longer," say the newspaper editors, and they are doubtless right in interpreting the popular taste, tho they may be wrong in yielding to it.

It is, however, hopeless to combat a widespread wave of superstition. Its causes are unknown and its course is incalculable. It is cosmic in its scope and no nation, perhaps no individual, can altogether escape its influence while the pendulum of the world's thought is on its backward swing. The best anyone can do is to give his own brain a thoro housecleaning, peering into every dark corner, wiping out the medieval dirt and burning up every rag of superstition that may serve to shelter and to spread the pandemic.

# The Red Tape Turnover

## By Franklin H. Giddings

WHATEVER is alive and effective gets rid of its worn out substance and makes place for new materials and energies. This is as true of industries, going commercial concerns, professional enterprizes, educational and religious organizations as it is of plant or animal organisms. In the jargon of business the getting rid of junk and the putting in of new stuff is called "the turnover." Capital considered as a fund of value accomplishes work only as it is invested in structures, machinery, vehicles and salable goods. Some of these wear out; some of them fail to function; some of them fail to please the buyer, and become dead stock. The business manager who understands his job keeps all of them moving on, day by day substituting that which is alive for that which is dead.

Since the beginning of history there have been three conspicuous realms in which turnover has been not only slow, but also opposed, by powerful interests. In these realms, therefore, progress has always been relatively slow; achievement has been expensive, and waste has been great.

One of these realms is that of ecclesiastical affairs, where religion has struggled to function for human well-being against the selfishness and inertia of a human nature not altogether regenerate. Another realm is that of educational activities. Generation after generation, intellectual vitality has struggled against traditions, not always harmful in themselves, often indeed of priceless value, but made use of for the economic advantage of men no longer intellectually alive. The third realm of obstruction and waste is the governmental, and here the loss of human energy and the squandering of wealth are on the big scale. There never yet has been a human government which has not carried many thousands of ineffective public servants and fed tens of thousands of grafters. There never has been a government that has not adhered to old and discredited methods long after private business has discarded them. And there never has been a government in which the beneficiaries of these wastes have not succeeded in bringing to bear upon monarchs, presidents, prime ministers and legislators such pressure to maintain tenure and routine that the task of effecting turnover has been too hard and discouraging for any but the most daring and politically powerful executives.

It was a keen sense of this fundamental truth of politics, no less than regard for individual freedom and initiative, that made Jefferson and the Jeffersonian democracy contend that the government is best which governs least. Their influence was not powerful enough, however, to prevail, and the American Federal Government has become notoriously one of the greatest assemblages of ineffective men, arrangements and procedures on earth. If Mr. Harding succeeds in his purpose to scrap a considerable part of the impedimenta, and introduce life and efficiency into the departments, his administration will be an outstanding achievement in our history.

Of two chief changes necessary to accomplish this undertaking the establishment of the executive budget is one, and after a long and hard struggle it has been effected. The other is a thoro-going rearrangement of departmental activities so as to get rid of divided responsibilities, duplication of functions and interferences of bureaus with one another. This is the harder thing to bring about, for it is precisely here that resistance by beneficiaries of the old and wasteful order is encountered. How tremendous it is, is revealed in Mr. Harding's warning to bureau heads that if they attempt to influence legislators against change, they will be dismissed. Notwithstanding this plain announcement of the President's purpose, Washington is in a turmoil of anger, plotting, and ingenious attack upon the politically powerful. Mr. Harding is destined to discover that his attempt to reform administration is as difficult and fatiguing a task as the handling of foreign policies.

Fundamentally the phenomenon of inefficiency in government is identical with the phenomenon of waste in industry. Everywhere and under all circumstances the lazy and ineffective element in the human race tries to save its face, to hold its place and to get its "living wage" by handicapping efficient competitors and by contriving arrangements whereby the efficient will contribute toward paying for the board and clothes of the inefficient. A camouflaged communism has to be reckoned with in every civilization, however anti-Bolshevik it may be in profession and in principle. If private business finds the reckoning difficult, government finds the difficulty greater.

These facts constitute a substantial reason for opposing unnecessary legislation and especially unnecessary multiplication of governmental interferences with private life. Unenforced law is an economic and a moral evil, but the enforcement of law means the multiplication of officials. It means providing places for men whose instincts and habits turn to bureaucratic activities and salaries rather than to individual adventure and enterprize. The multiplication of laws and official salaries does not work in the direction of a selection and survival of the fit.

At the present time there is no political party in the United States which is trying to formulate a sound policy of government and to work for its realization. How far the efforts of individuals like Mr. Harding will stimulate the intelligence and awaken the conscience of the people it will be interesting to observe. The President will have the backing of at least a strong and earnest minority of men and women who have been profoundly disturbed by the long and seemingly resistless drift of American democracy toward folly and waste.

## How Fashion Began

FIRST there was the Fall. Then Adam and Eve made themselves dresses of leaves.

With the process of the seasons the leaves changed colors. Ever since then Eve and her daughters demanded different colored frocks each spring and each autumn.

Then came the Rise—in the cost of living.

## A Referendum on War

THE American Federation of Labor has had placed before it for consideration the old proposal for ending wars by requiring a popular referendum on any declaration of war. No proposal could appeal more to the sympathy of every honest heart, for if ever the people should be consulted on a grave issue of policy it is when life and death hang on the decision. The only trouble with the proposal is that it is impossible. Modern science has made mobilization too speedy. Long before the ballots were cast and counted hostilities would have begun. Democracy cannot be combined with war, because the processes of democracy are slow and the decisions of war must be made on the jump.

# Small Townism

## By Preston Slosson

EVER since Sinclair Lewis started the topic people have been asking each other, "What is the matter with the small town?" After all, it is simply the modern version of the old query, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" Too frequently it is assumed that the matter with the small town is that it is not a big town. That delusion seems equally shared by the friends and the enemies of Gopher Prairie. Its enemies say: "Why, of course, you can't expect anything good to come out of a handful of wooden boxes set out in the middle of nowhere. It is in the metropolis that there can be a Latin quarter. The movies and the cheap magazines go everywhere, but the opera, the theater, the first-class orchestra, the art gallery, the little group of serious thinkers gathered from all over the map—these can be found only in the great centers of population." As the poet sings:

> What's the use
> Of this bragging up and down
> When three women and one goose
> Make a market in your town?

But curiously enough the champions of the small town have the same idea. By the railroad track a placard says:

WATCH GOPHER PRAIRIE GROW!

They form a Boosters' Club. They brag of the latest census returns. They inflate real estate values and map out city lots over the sage brush. They assume that all will be well when Gopher Prairie has the population of Chicago or New York, as tho Chicago were the Earthly Paradise and New York the New Jerusalem.

There are worse things than a worship of bigness. There is, for instance, a worship of backwardness and stagnation. Some European cities seem to be proud of the fact that they have fewer inhabitants than they did in 1360. They say: "Lo, we are not as others, even these Americans. We do not ride around in automobiles, we have no modern plumbing, we eschew the daily newspaper, we scorn chautauquas and high schools. Our homes were built hundreds of years ago—and look it. Our streets are most picturesquely dirty. Our peasantry are not sophisticated with reading and writing, but travel to market in donkey carts and retain all their charming old superstitions, while our townsfolk still weave by hand and fight the plague by lighting candles to the local saint. Unless you visit us you wouldn't believe how medieval we can be!"

But material aspiration, tho better than nothing, is not good enough. If in traveling around Greece in the age of Pericles we saw a sign in the agora, "Watch Athens Grow!" or "Boost for Attica!" we would think that the citizens had missed the point. Nothing in that slogan would distinguish Athens from Corinth or Antioch or Carthage. That Athens was, for its time, a big city was even then the least of its glories; today, with a hundred larger cities in existence, it would be no honor at all. The real thing worth knowing about Athens was that whether the body of Athens be counted big or little its soul was the most splendid and heroic in the world. If the Chamber of Commerce really wished to attract desirable newcomers to the town it would not be hard put to it to find a better boast than the census. "The City That Defeated the Persian Empire"; "Athens, the Eye of Greece"; "The Home of Civilization"; "The Freest Democracy in the World"; "If You Are Interested in Art, Literature, Science or Philosophy You Will Come to Us Eventually—Why Not Now?" These would be boasts worth while and would have the added advantage of being strictly true. The very name of Athens was a notice to the world that the city was consecrated to Athena, the goddess of wisdom.

There is a moral in all this for our Gopher Prairies. Instead of trying to imitate each other they should be striking out new trails. A city can grow a soul; it cannot borrow one. It is open to any city to find some distinctive excellence that lies within its capacity and develop that instead of simply puffing and swelling, like the frog in the fable that tried to make itself over into an ox.

One thing the United States can learn from Europe is to individualize its cities. Why should tourists cross the Atlantic? Our natural beauties are as great as those of Europe and we have much greater wealth, prosperity and solid comfort. Any average American town is superior in nine ways out of ten to an average European town. But the difficulty is that American towns are too much alike. Eliminate the skyline of Manhattan, a few New England coast towns, a few foreign-flavored squares in New Orleans and San Francisco, and what have you left? Big towns, middle-sized towns, little towns. Big parks and little parks. Brick courthouses and schools. Trolley lines and telegraph wires. State capitols, all imitated from the dome in Washington. Blocks of red brick tenements. Suburbs and country clubs. Dingy factories on the edge of town. A union railway station, with some hotels in the neighborhood. A Boss and a Ring. The fire company. The blue-coated police. The Republican daily. The Democratic daily. The wealthy social "set." The foreign (or negro) quarter. The vacant lot with its ashes and tin cans. The tree-shaded "drive." The churches—all with Gothic spires . . . Main Street. . . .

IN remembering European cities you cannot summarize them as belonging, even in the most general way, to the same type, except for some mushroom growths that have tried to ape the squares and boulevards and cafés of Paris. One Paris was a great achievement for the human race, but the French provincial towns should have tried to emulate rather than to imitate. Venice is not Rome. Its golden domes, black gondolas, Oriental palaces and grandiose paintings seem to belong to another civilization, almost to another world. So does Florence with its lowering stone palaces and solid but beautifully proportioned towers and churches, and its treasures of sixteenth century painting and sculpture. So does Milan with its many-spired cathedral set in a sea of red-tiled roofs. Italian towns know better than to be little Romes. German towns know better than to be little Berlins, Viennas or Dresdens. Jena is a thriving little manufacturing city (or was before the war came) and yet it manages to be as quaint and picturesque as if it were a mere relic of the past kept unchanged for the tourist trade. Switzerland is as bustling, practical and progressive as the United States, but there is more difference between one canton and its next door neighbor than there is between two American states a thousand miles apart. Not until the endless plains of Great Russia are reached does Europe show anything to approach the American monotony.

The trouble with Gopher Prairie is that it lacks the courage to be itself. Its prosaic-minded inhabitants are always trying to make it into Chicago or St. Louis, regardless of geography and economic forces. Its uplifters are trying to turn it into Boston or Paris or Greenwich Village. Let it rather grow from its own roots and develop its own traditions; and in time Main Street may be more famous than Fifth Avenue; Gopher Prairie may be more honored than Oberammergau, Stratford-on-Avon or Geneva; Minnesota may be a Holy Land like Palestine. The faith and work of the Puritans, exiles in a howling wilderness, created the culture of New England; the faith and work of their children will create a new culture in the Middle West.

# The Story of the Week

## The League of British Nations

THREE international leagues have been meeting during the last few days. The most inclusive is the Council of the League of Nations, meeting at Geneva. It has a definite constitution embodied in the Covenant, it represents practically the entire world with the exception of Russia, Germany, the United States and Mexico, and its jurisdiction extends to all sorts of international problems which may lead to war if unsolved. The Supreme Council of the Allies, transferred for the moment from London to Paris, is at once wider and narrower than the Council of the League; at once more important and less. It is wider in scope in that it includes the United States, but narrower in that small and neutral nations are not represented in it. It is more important in that it is at present dealing with the great issues arising directly out of the war, such as the establishment of peace in Silesia and in Turkey and the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles, which the Allied Premiers have been unwilling to hand over to the League of Nations. It is less important in that it is, after all, merely a series of old-fashioned diplomatic conferences among a group of military allies; it has no definite constitution or legal standing and its duties and powers will diminish year by year as Europe returns to a condition of stability and peace.

The third international league is sometimes called the British Empire. The Imperial Conference, which met in London on June 20, was attended by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and by native representatives of India. Like the Supreme Council of the Allies, the Imperial Conference is not a legislative or executive body with strictly defined powers, but rather an informal diplomatic conference. Its purpose is to reach agreement on questions of foreign and imperial policy. The British Dominions are, for all practical purposes, independent republics as regards their internal affairs, but they are bound in a permanent military alliance with the mother country and have hitherto had very little voice in foreign policy. Dominion representatives took part in the Paris Peace Conference, and during the latter part of the war they were invited to attend sessions of the British Cabinet, but in the various diplomatic steps which involved Great Britain in the war—such as the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality, the entente with France, the entente with Russia, the ultimatum to Germany, and so forth—the rulers of Great Britain had acted on behalf of the whole empire. In other words, the Dominions were involved in the greatest war in history, not against their will (for they took a magnificently enthusiastic part in the war) but without being consulted in advance. To avoid similar eventualities in the future, Premier Lloyd George has decided to take the Premiers of the Dominions into his full confidence on current international problems.

One of the questions is the renewal of the Japanese alliance. To this alliance some of the Dominions, Australia in particular, have raised objection unless the agreement is so worded that it contains nothing objectionable to the United States. In his opening speech Premier Lloyd George praised the loyalty of Japan during the Great War. He pointed out that Japanese warships had "escorted the transports which brought the Australian and New Zealand forces to Europe at the time when German cruisers were still at large in the Indian and Pacific oceans." He declared for the "open door" policy in China and for coöperation with Japan and the United States to maintain it. He objected to any discrimination against the Japanese on racial grounds, asserting that "No greater calamity could overtake the world than any further accentuation of the world's divisions upon the line of race. . . . Our foreign policy can never range itself in any sense upon differences of race and civilization between East and West."

Turning to the question of relations with the United States, Lloyd George offered to join with the United States in any limitation of armaments which might be proposed. He said:

> We desire to work with the great republic in all parts of the world. Like it, we want stability and peace on the basis of liberty and justice. Like it, we desire to avoid the growth of armaments, whether in the Pacific or elsewhere, and we rejoice that American opinion should be showing so much earnestness in that direction at the present time. We are ready to discuss with American statesmen any proposal for limitation of armaments which they may wish to set out, and we can undertake that no such overtures will find lack of willingness on our part to meet them.

## Ulster Parliament Meets

ON June 7 the Parliament of Northern Ireland held its first meeting. The Unionist members were duly sworn in, to the number of forty. The Sinn Feiners elected did not appear, as they do not recognize the authority of the Parliament or of the Home Rule Act under which it operates and only took part in the elections as a demonstration of their strength. Robert O'Neill was elected speaker of the Northern Ireland House of Commons, and the list of Senators, who constitute the upper house of the new Parliament, was unofficially announced. Sir James Craig assumed office as Premier and announced the composition of his Cabinet: Sir Dawson Bates as Home Secretary, H. M. Pollock as Minister of Finance, the Marquis of Londonderry as Minister of Education, J. M. Andrews as Minister of Labor and the Hon. E. A. Archdale as Minister of Agriculture. Viscount Fitz-Alan, the new Irish Viceroy, presided over the introductory ceremonies.

The present position of Ireland has that degree of political complexity which can only be found in the intricate institutions of the British Empire, wherein nothing is exactly what it seems to be. Ireland as a whole is still represented, in proportion to its population, in the British Parliament. Ireland also has two local Parliaments, each with a House of Commons and a Senate. One Parliament has jurisdiction over the local affairs of Ulster, or rather of those counties of Ulster which are mainly Protestant. The other Parliament has jurisdiction over all




*Spayth in Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*

**Great Britain takes his six votes out for an airing**

the rest of Ireland. Uniting these two local Parliaments there is a council for all Ireland consisting of twenty members, ten elected by each Parliament. This body starts with very few powers, but the two Parliaments may agree to transfer to it their own responsibilities, thus making a united Ireland again.

To add more significance to the tiny Ulster Parliament King George himself visited Belfast and addressed the assembled legislators on June 22. He appealed "to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of conciliation, to forgive and to forget, and to join in making for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment and good will." The royal visit to Ireland passed off without any violent or unpleasant incident.

The Parliament of southern Ireland has never met because its Sinn Fein members, who constitute its great majority, refuse to recognize any authority save that of President De Valera and the Dail Eireann. Premier Lloyd George has invited De Valera "as the chosen leader of a great majority in southern Ireland," to meet him in conference together with Sir James Craig, the Ulster Premier, "to explore to the utmost the possibility of a settlement." This invitation may lead to a fruitful conference in which the three interested parties in the Irish controversy, the Englishman, the Irish revolutionist and the Ulster loyalist, will be able to find a formula of agreement.

## An Arab Buffer State

WINSTON Churchill, the British Colonial Secretary, has announced that in accepting the mandate for Mesopotamia the British Government intended to administer it not as a colonial dependency but as an Arab kingdom with a very large measure of self-government. In October the British army in Mesopotamia would be reduced to twelve battalions and might later be withdrawn altogether. Kurdistan, to the north, would for the present remain under direct British administration, but would later be annexed to Mesopotamia unless the inhabitants objected.

The whole of the old Turkish Empire south of Asia Minor is occupied by a mainly Arab-speaking population. The Arabs desired to unite this great area into an independent Arabian empire, but the European Powers had a different plan. The southern and western desert area was to form an independent kingdom—the Hedjaz—under British protection. Palestine was to become a Jewish homeland under British control. Syria to the north of Palestine was to be held by France under mandate. Mesopotamia, with the rich valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the historic city of Bagdad and—last but by no means least—its oil wells, was to become British. The plan has not worked very well, partly because of the conflict of opinion between the French and English as to the proper frontiers of Syria, and partly because of the hostility of the Arabs to the whole plan of partition and mandate. Another difficulty was the discovery that it cost a great deal of money to administer these territories and to keep up an army of occupation to police them.

As regards Palestine the project of a British mandate still stands, tho the British have found it difficult to reconcile the interests of the Jewish colonists with those of the Mohammedan Arabs native to the country. The French have evacuated Cilicia altogether and have somewhat curbed their desire for expansion even in Syria. The British have abandoned the plan of treating Mesopotamia as a British colony and seem content to have it as a friendly Arab kingdom, a "buffer state" to ward off danger from the Empire of India. The new plan has the advantage of being cheaper and it need not interfere with the commercial development of the oil fields unless the country under Arab rule is very disorderly. Emir Feisal, the son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz and the representative of his kingdom at the Paris Peace Conference, is expected to be the ruler of Mesopotamia. He is a man of considerable diplomatic ability and a warm friend of the English; tho he is rather hostile to the French, and if he ascends the throne in Mesopotamia they must be watchful of their control in Syria.




*Columbus (O.) Dispatch*

**Advice from an Expert**

## Mexico Claims California Islands

THE Mexicans have a misplaced sense of humor. When confronted with a number of American claims, demands and requirements precedent to recognition, the Mexicans decided to repay in kind by a counterclaim to the possession of some islands off the California coast which had been in undisputed American occupation for many decades. A report by Señor Aguirre to President Obregon establishes the Mexican title to the islands of San Angel, Santa Rosa, Santa Vera Cruz, Anacapa, Santa Catalina, Santa Barbara, San Nicholas, San Clemente and the Farallones. It is alleged that these islands were not specifically included in the cession of California to the United States and that they still remain under Mexican sovereignty, undisturbed by the fact of American occupation since 1848. There is no thought of asking the United States to surrender the islands, but it is expected that a quit claim deed to them will be counted as an offset to part of the national debt. The United States will probably pay little attention to the demand, since from our point of view the islands in question have always been reckoned an integral part of the state of California.

## League Invites American Jurists

THE Council of the League of Nations has invited four distinguished Americans to aid in the organization of the Court of International Justice. They are Elihu Root, Judge George Gray of Delaware, John Bassett Moore and Oscar S. Straus; all four chosen in their capacity as members of the Hague Tribunal. They are asked to present in nomination four names, no more than two of whom shall be Americans, as candidates for the new International Court.

In September the Assembly and the Council of the League will select the judges of the court from among the nominees proposed by the members of the Hague Court. Candidates, in order to be elected, must be chosen by both the Assembly and the Council. American judges may be also named by foreign members of the Hague Court. The method of election is based largely on Mr. Root's own suggestions.

In addition to organizing the International Court, the Council of the League has many other problems on its agenda: the approval of the terms of mandates for colonial

and Turkish territories; the review of the report of the commission which studied the Aland Islands case (summarized in The Independent for May 28); the Vilna dispute between Poland and Lithuania; the status of the city of Danzig; the approval of the budget of the League Secretariat, and disputes relating to the Albanian frontier.

## A. F. L. Elects Gompers

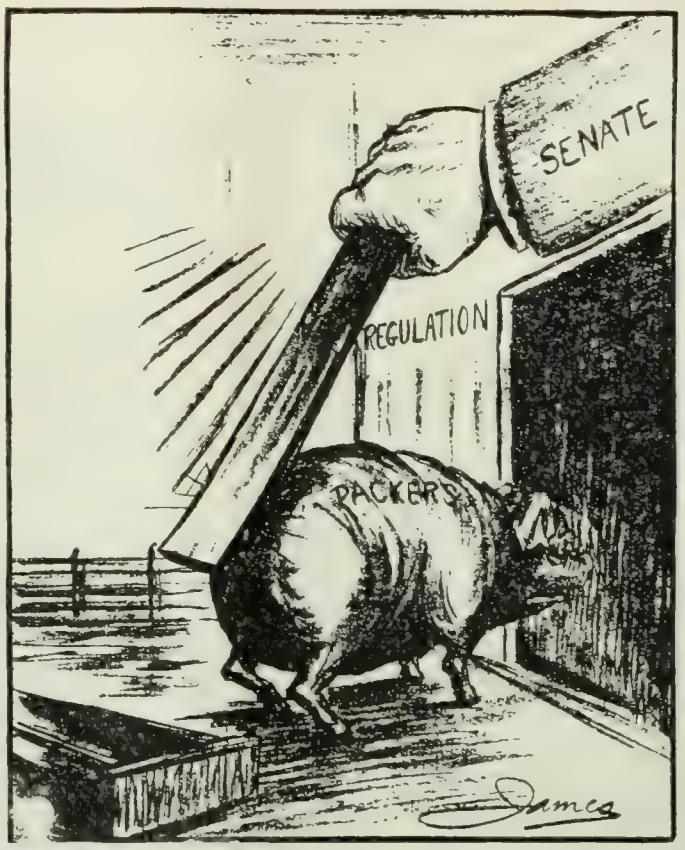
SAMUEL Gompers has been elected president of the American Federation of Labor for the fortieth time since organization was established. Only one year in the entire history of the Federation has he failed to secure the presidency. This year his election was strongly contested by opposition factions, some of them radicals who resented his unrelenting hostility to socialism and industrial unionism of the I. W. W. type, some of them Irish sympathizers who held that he had been inactive in urging the cause of Irish freedom, some of them ordinary moderate labor unionists who thought that Mr. Gompers had become old and set in his ways and should give way to newer leaders. Opposition delegates at the Denver convention of the Federation united in support of John L. Lewis, the able and respected head of the United Mine Workers. They secured a total of 12,324 votes for a change of personnel at the top; but Gompers won with 25,022 votes cast in his favor. President Gompers was much gratified at a two-to-one victory in a contest which threatened his defeat, but he declared that his greatest pleasure was in the defeat of the propaganda of the Hearst newspapers, which had opposed his reëlection on the ground that he was "pro-British."

The Federation passed a resolution of sympathy with Ireland, but refused to recommend a boycott of English goods as some extremists had suggested. Other resolutions denounced the "open shop" campaign, opposed Japanese immigration, favored government ownership of railroads, urged a modification of the Volstead act to permit the sale of beer, and advocatd disarmament. The convention refused to recommend the recognition of the Soviet régime in Russia, to advocate the nationalization of all big industries, or to approve the "one big union" plan for centralizing labor activities. On the whole, the American Federation of Labor showed itself to be a highly conservative and individualistic body, unmoved toward radicalism and socialism even by the present "hard times" with unemployment and lower wages. The membership of the Federation is placed at 3,906,528, a figure which shows the importance of the decisions reached by the national convention. There is, indeed, perhaps no such powerful private organization in the United States as the great labor combine captained by Mr. Gompers.

## Regulating the Meat Packer

ON June 17 the Senate passed the measure for regulating the meat packing industry, which had previously been approved by the House of Representatives, by forty-four votes to twenty-one. No regard was paid to party lines; twenty-six Republicans and eighteen Democrats supporting the proposed law; fifteen Republicans and six Democrats opposing it. As a few minor amendments had been made in the Senate the bill then went to conference for adjustment.

The bill makes it unlawful for any packer to make use of unfair and discriminatory practices, to create a monopoly or to manipulate prices. The enforcement of the law is entrusted to the Department of Agriculture. A somewhat more drastic substitute for the House bill, providing for the enforcement of the law by a livestock commissioner appointed by the President and independent of the Department of Agriculture, had been prepared by the Senate Committee on Agriculture. It was very nearly successful, obtaining a vote of 34 to 37 from a coalition of the Democratic Senators with a group of radical Republicans from the western states. After the Senate bill was defeated, Senator Sterling of South Dakota introduced another substitute measure which placed the enforcement of the law in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission. This also met defeat, and the advocates of strict regulation of the meat packers consoled themselves with the reflection that the House bill was better than nothing. Nearly all the advocates of the Senate committee bill and of the Sterling bill rallied finally to the support of the House bill, and were joined on the decisive vote by many others who considered the substitute measures too radical. A similar measure was introduced in the previous Congress but failed to secure final action in the overpress of work that caused so many measures to fall by the wayside before March 4.




*James in the St. Louis Star*

S-o-o-e-y!

## Socialists Condemn Bolshevism

THE Socialist party convention, meeting at Detroit, has refused to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow and thus has repudiated all connection with Russian Bolshevism. The intellectual leaders of the party, including Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Algernon Lee and many other delegates, denounced the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the overbearing methods of the Moscow Government. Hillquit declared the Third International "imperialism in disguise." J. Louis Engdahl, of Chicago, led the radical wing, who favored union with the Third International and submission to the terms dictated by the Russians as conditions of affiliation. But he was able to rally only four delegates to the support of Bolshevism, while thirty-five delegates voted against the communistic program.

The Socialist party has, it was asserted at the convention, only 17,000 dues daying members at the present time. It has lost heavily in two directions. The patriotic wing, including such leaders as Spargo, Russell and Walling, left the party because it condemned American participation in the Great War. The communistic wing left the party later on to form the Communist and Communist Labor parties, which are directly affiliated with the Moscow International. As the vote at the Detroit convention showed, very few sympathizers with Bolshevism are now left in what composes the old party.

What remains of the party is the Debs-Hillquit-Berger group, which was anti-national and yet at the same time anti-Bolshevist during and since the war; what in Europe would be called the "center" group, clipped of its "right" and "left" wings.

# A Number of Things

## By Edwin E. Slosson

These "days" for doing things that you ought to do any day are getting so numerous as to lead to curious ethical conflicts. A boy in Sabetha, Kansas, was taken to task for missing Sunday school one Sunday. "I wanted to come," he said, "but Sunday was Mothers' Day and mother wanted me to go fishing with her, so I went."

***

A principle is a petrified brainstorm.

***

When the little boy came home from his first day at school he was crying. His mother asked him what was the matter. He said: "Teacher thook me." "Why did she shake you?" inquired his mother. "Because I didn't know a wud. An' I didn't know the wud any more after thee thook me than I did before!"

***

The Germans must be the most surprized people on earth. This is what the Cologne *Times* (*Kölnische Zeitung*) published in September, 1914, said:

There will be no such country [as Great Britain at the end of the war] in existence. In its place we shall have Little Britain, a narrow strip of island territory peopled by loutish football-kickers, living on the crumbs that Germany will deign to throw to them. Whatever this war may bring in its train, certain it is that the laughable and childish military system of Britain will shortly fall to pieces. Then the once mighty Empire, with her naval strength represented by the few old tubs which Germany will have left her, will become the laughing-stock of the nations, the scarecrow at which children will point their fingers in disdainful glee.

***

The changes in the Rumanian cabinet have been so frequent that when the latest appointee to the War Department was presented to the Senate one of the Senators suggested that it would save time if the Government would run a movie of the ministry composed of portraits of the new members.

***

Germany is suffering for lack of small change for coins of copper, nickel and aluminum less than 50 pfennigs (normally 12½ cents) are worth more than their face value as mere metal, so are continually being withdrawn from circulation to be melted down. The mints are turning out iron coins, but cannot keep up with the demand. Paper is scarce and if it keeps on going up as it is in America it will become too expensive to serve as material for money. Some of the German shops are using "pin money" for change, an expedient that used to be employed in America if we may judge from the expression "not worth a row of pins." One Berlin grocer adopted soup-cubes as small coins; the substitution of bouillon for bullion, so to speak. Soon, it seems, the Germans will have to resort to stone money as in the Island of Yap, where disks the size of millstones serve for coins and have the advantage that they circulate with difficulty and never leave the country.





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# Here Are Books

## Wells Saves Civilization

Yes, he has done it again. *The Salvaging of Civilization*, by H. G. Wells, is that indomitable futurist's forty-'leventh attempt to find a way for the world out of the dark and pestilent swamps in which it struggles onto the firm earth of a stable and wholesome society. Sometimes he has sought the way out in one direction, sometimes in another; but it is better to praise him for the unwearied energy which he brings to the search than to taunt him with his frequent changes of direction in the past.

His present solution has much to commend it, also much that will cause debate. First of all he wants a World State. It will startle Americans to hear that he is opposed to the present League of Nations for exactly the opposite reason from that used by its opponents in this country. He attacks the Geneva League with bitter invective because it is *not* a Super-State. Mr. Wells wants a world commonwealth which will be to the existing nations what the United States is to Vermont or Georgia, and he cannot forgive Mr. Wilson because he didn't get all this at one fell swoop. Next, he wants a World Bible, a history of the world and a guide to life which would play the same part in our modern civilization that the Old Testament did in the life of the Jews or the New Testament to the Christians of a simpler age. We catch echoes of the "Book of the Samurai" from his earlier Utopian forecasts.

Finally, he would have a standardized world education. The movies and other mechanical aids should be introduced into the schools and all teachers should be trained by uniform "best methods" and equipped with textbooks of world circulation representing the highest pedagogical skill as well as the best scholarship. We fear that he somewhat overlooks the personal influence of the teacher on the taught in his enthusiastic description of the new standardized schools. He has the French bureaucratic ideal, summed up in that familiar anecdote of the Minister of Education, who could pull out his watch at any minute and by reference to it and the calendar tell exactly what verb every child in France was studying as the watch ticked. But it is only fair to say that for young men and women of the college years he would give a freedom of inquiry and discussion much more ample than now exists.

The average reader can find something to quarrel with on almost every page of Mr. Wells. But we are sorry for him if he quarrels with the spirit in which Mr. Wells writes. So genial, shrewd and witty a thinker, with such a fund of enthusiasm and earnest idealism, ought to be a prime favorite even with those who can least agree with his conclusions. Also, he can write. For flexible, subtle and adequate expression of the fine shades of an argument no one who uses the English language today can much surpass H. G. Wells.

*The Salvaging of Civilization*, by H. G. Wells. Macmillan Co.

## How to Do 'Em

Robert Wilson Neal in *Editorials and Editorial-Writing* has brought together numerous representative selections from the editorial pages of the nation's newspapers, grouped into such classes as the "news-editorial," the "editorial of survey and review," the "editorial of interpretation," the "controversial editorial," the "serious essay," the "casual essay," and the "human-interest editorial." There are introductory notes to each chapter and occasionally an illuminating word of comment at the end of the editorial cited. If you are ambitious to become an editorial writer one of the two best things you can do is to buy and read this book. (The other, we need hardly say, is to buy and read The Independent).

*Editorials and Editorial-Writing*, by Robert Wilson Neal. Home Correspondence School, Springfield, Mass.

## A Circuit Rider's Son

There are all sorts of ways of attacking the problem of the church today and Corra Harris's seems one of the best. You know her, of course, as the "Circuit Rider's Wife." Now she tells the story of *My Son*, who followed the paternal footsteps into the Methodist ministry but became a very different sort of pastor from his other-worldly, soul-saving father. Peter is efficient, executive, up-to-date and withal a very likable young man, but his mother feels there is something lacking in his ministry and in the congregation of his large and successful church. She ponders over questions of charity by committees, fund raising, advertising, spiritualism and many others that vex the thoughtful, church-loving man and woman today, and her ponderings are human, wise and interesting. She comes to pretty definite conclusions, too, and so, at last, does her son. Mrs. Harris has accomplished that often attempted, often failed-in feat: she has put a thesis into personal, story form. She has made the problems and their solution look as if they developed with the story instead of the story's being built up by force to fit them.

*My Son*, by Corra Harris. George H. Doran Co.

## From a Quiet Garden

Many readers of The Independent have in their scrap-books or their memories certain of the lyrics that Mrs. May Preston Slosson has contributed to its columns during the past twenty years. These together with part of the poems that she has published elsewhere have now been brought together in a volume entitled *From a Quiet Garden*, published by Brentanos,

New York. The title is taken from the prose idyl, "The Garden," which appeared originally in The Independent and has been extensively reprinted elsewhere. "Trove," a bit of friendship verse, is another favorite, which one of the popular actors of America has long been using as a recitation.

Some of the poetry included in this collection dates from the author's school days at Cornell, for she was the first woman to receive Ph. D. from that university. It may interest the family circle of Independent readers to know that Mrs. Slosson is the wife of Dr. Edwin E. Slosson, who for seventeen years was literary editor of The Independent, and is the mother of Dr. Preston Slosson, who now holds that position.

*From a Quiet Garden*, by May Preston Slosson. Brentanos, New York.

## Blind

In *Blind* Ernest Poole has tried to focus the war in its proper position in one man's life, to trace the lines that led up to it and to deduce something at least of the things that are to come. He has done it of course in a novel, an exceedingly interesting novel. There is New York, a good many of the different layers of New York, in the book; there is that country of which we have heard so little, Germany in 1915; there is a brief, unenlightening glimpse of Russia; there is a bit of France, and America again after the war. The people are real people, quite worth knowing. It is a serious novel, which does not mean that it is dull, and it comes to no very definite conclusion, but it has sane thinking along lines where much thought is needed.

*Blind*, by Ernest Poole. The Macmillan Co.

## Some More Stories

THE CRIMSON BLOTTER, by Isabel Ostrander (McBride Co.), is a detective story with plentiful suspicion showered on the wrong parties. Good hammock reading.

IN RED AND GOLD, by Samuel Merwin (Bobbs-Merrill). A somewhat disappointing novel. The story concerns the love of a cultured, high-born Chinese girl for a young American, who is in sympathy with the revolutionary movement for a New China.

HUMOROUS GHOST STORIES, selected by Dorothy Scarborough (G. P. Putnam's Sons). A score of the best short stories in which the leading character is a spook with a sense of humor; the authors range from Washington Irving to Ellis Parker Butler. Good material for reading aloud.

TERRY, A TALE OF THE HILL PEOPLE, by Charles Goff Thomson (Macmillan), celebrates the fine work done by American administrators in the backward and barbaric parts of the Philippines. An American equivalent to Kipling's short stories of British officialdom in India.

THE ENCHANTED CANYON, by Honoré Willsie (Stokes). An exciting tale of politics and the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. We are so little accustomed to looking at the workings of our Government in a romantic light that we should be duly grateful to any novelist who kindles one for us, even tho it be somewhat lurid; besides that, this is a first rate story of the Arizona country and what it can do to a man.

FLOOD TIDE, by Sara Ware Bassett (Little, Brown & Co.). That kind hearts are more than coronets is the main theme of this exceedingly wholesome Cape Cod story. The chief characters are Willie Spence, who was always being "kitched with an idee" and inventing something; Robert Morton, of Indianapolis and the Masachusetts Tech, and Delight, a beautiful young girl who was saved from a wreck and brought up by three retired sea captains.




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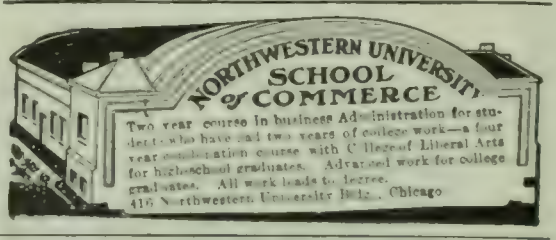
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# TRAVEL AND RESORTS

The Independent invites inquiries from its readers pertaining to Travel for pleasure, health or business; the best hotels, large and small; the best routes to reach them, and the cost; trips by land and sea; tours domestic and foreign. This Department is under the supervision of the BERTHA RUFFNER HOTEL BUREAU, widely and favorably known because of the personal knowledge possessed by its management regarding hotels everywhere. Address inquiries by mail to INFORMATION, The Independent, New York.




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## Spot Lights and Curtain Calls

(*Continued from page 2*)

treatment. "The Woman in Bronze" was trite except for her work. But her Joan is a memorable triumph; instead of attempting to compass all the familiar incidents in the career of the maid, her play deals with the incidents of the trial—dramatic in themselves and with cumulative intensity.

And can one pass by a Barrie play, even tho it fall short in many respects of what one would most desire? You will be able to read it shortly for yourselves, and you will not be irritated by the inadequate handling of the rôle of Mary Rose by Ruth Chatterton; she brought no imagination to bear on a part which is the mingling of mysticism and reality, the balancing of enchantment with profounder ideas of immortal youth—a touch of Shakespeare reduced to the sentimentalism of Barrie. On an island Mary Rose has, in years gone by, been whisked away by some unseen force—in response to a call within her which is miraculous. When she returns, she recalls nothing of what has passed; to her time has stood still. The play deals with the second time she disappears—after her marriage, and when she has a husband and child to leave, as well as her parents. For twenty odd years she is gone, and when she returns she is the same youthful Mary Rose, while those she knows and loves have grown twenty years older. She is more of the other world than of this; across the stretch of years she talks to her son who has just returned from the war, and, when she disappears the last time, one knows that it is the spirit of Mary Rose, which has nothing to do with enchantment, but everything to do with religious intensity, that answers the call of the Great Beyond. The philosophy is a little hazy, and theatergoers have been divided as to what Barrie was aiming at. But, as it is Barrie, one swallows it whole—a delicate morsel.

The Barrymore trio—Lionel, Ethel and John—have been dabbling here and there, in experimental mood, giving us costume plays—lavish costumes and romantic plays! John appeared last season in "Richard III" and surprized us with his art flashes in the midst of a general level of mediocrity. Then, suddenly, he dropped the rôle, and Arthur Hopkins, the manager, found himself with a heavy and expensive production on his hands. Lionel appeared lustily as Macbeth, and I do not quite know which killed Shakespeare—the well-intentioned oddity of Robert Jones's scenery or the beefiness of the Barrymore Thane. Then John and Ethel combined forces—charging five dollars a ticket for the venture—and appeared in a strange, unintelligible piece called "Clair de Lune," based on Victor Hugo's "L'Homme qui Rit." For this, John painted some of the scenery, and his wife (whose pen name is Michael Strange) not only wrote the play, but composed some of the music; while Ethel—always radiant—appeared in dress after dress, which

ravished the eye and made us dream what a beautiful Lady Teazle she would be. Why on earth don't these Barrymores, with their talents and their charm of personality, determine to do something for the stage and for the country at large.

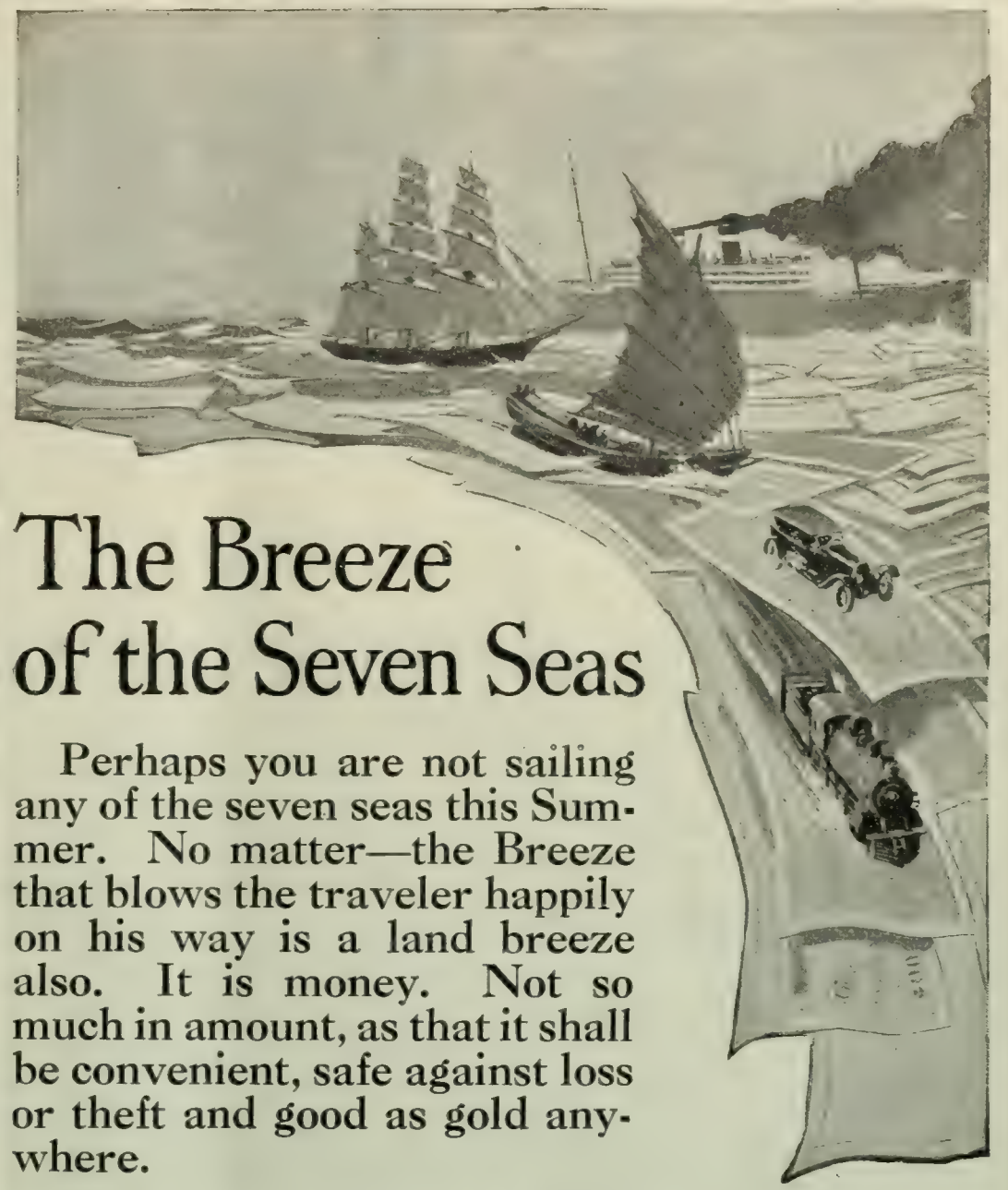
I am sure that Milne's "Mr. Pim Passes By" is just the play to send on the road, with its cheerful lightness and splendid comedy handling by Laura Hope Crews. And that my judgment is correct is shown by the announcement that a commercial manager has bought the production from the Theater Guild, and will send it out next season. But where on the road it will go depends on the cut and dried "circuit." Were I a manager in the middle west or in New England, or on the coast, I would see what could be done in the *unfrequented* territory. This is such a play as small towns would like. And so is Claire Kummer's "Rollo's Wild Oat"—the story of a young man, with plenty of money, whose one great ambition is to appear at the head of his own company in a production of "Hamlet." There is lots of fun in such a comedy conception. You see, I believe in fun as well as in high seriousness for the theater. I would not recommend "Clair de Lune" for all the Barrymores in it. But I would recommend "Mr. Pim"—for there is enough volatile snap in it to carry any actress, tho I wish you could see Miss Crews; and "Rollo's Wild Oat" has sufficient laugh in it to make "actor proof" the chief male rôle, tho I would that you could see Roland Young and a new actress, Lotus Robb, in it.

These, I think, are the bright spots out of New York's dramatic season I would like to share with you. For I believe that, with the increased interest in drama and in the theater which seems to be all thru the country, the managers are penny wise and pound foolish not to open up theatrical territory, rather than stick to overcrowded and sophisticated areas. If it were put to a vote, I believe that you who are in the theatrically parched sections of the country, would guarantee to support any good play. Now, wouldn't you?

*New Hartford, Connecticut*

## A Correction

We regret that in Miss Agnes C. Laut's article in the issue of June 18 on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, the use of the quotation from *The Wall Street Journal*, "the only solvent railroad on the North American continent," does not sufficiently allow for the importance of the context. The passage in *The Wall Street Journal* from which the quotation was taken is as follows: ". . . Unless it is to be said that the only solvent railroad on the North American continent is one which is only in the United States for a minor part of its system—the Canadian Pacific—railroad wages and labor conditions must be brought promptly into line with the facts of production, local cost of living and actual service rendered."

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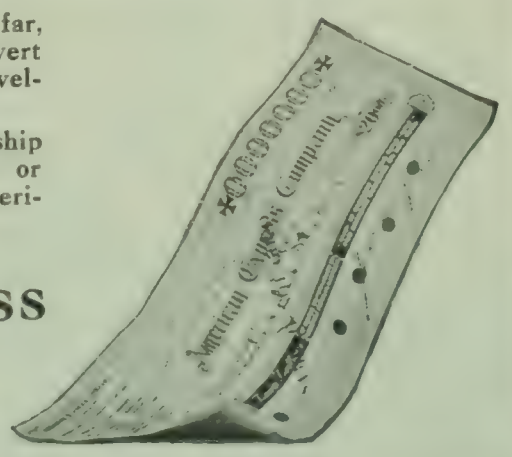
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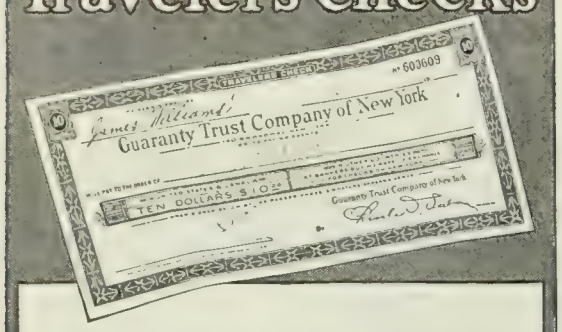
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Some of the four-legged tenants of a soldier's farm

# From Soldier to Settler

## By Agnes C. Laut

As Service sang in his "Red Cross Ballads," many a soldier boy, when he returned from life in the open on the firing line, refused to go back to "an office stool," or "chiffon counter." Canada was suddenly confronted with the problem of what to do with 400,000 returned men. Many were taken back in their old positions, or resumed university courses interrupted by the war; but many refused to go back to an indoor life. Bonuses up to $600, higher for disabled soldiers with families, were paid to the men; but for those electing an outdoor life the Dominion Government devised a farm scheme similar to the U. S. Federal Farm Loan, or the Jewish Agricultural Loan.

The men were not encouraged to go off and homestead remote free land, where they might fail to market their produce or lose courage before railroads built out to them. The Government bought lands — school lands and abandoned Indian reserves — in the thick of the best settlements, and areas of the best qualities at a third and half the market values, and resold this to the soldier boys at cost, loaning them on twenty-six year installments $4,500 for the land, $2,000 for horses, cows and machinery, $1,500 for improving house and barns. By locating close to market, creamery checks running from $18 up a week would keep the family floating till wheat and stock returns began to yield bigger annual revenues.

The scheme is now in its third year, and the percentage of failures is less than 2 per cent. and the most of them from such causes as death from wounds, family affairs, sickness. More than 25,000 men have been placed on land. Twenty thousand more have qualified to go on land this year, and some 65,000 have signified intentions of later taking land under the Soldier Settlement Board. Qualifications are, either experience as a farmer in the past, or training with a practical farmer for a year. As a guarantee the boy means to stick and not just resell soon as improvements send prices up, each applicant is required to lay down $400, which he can easily do, either from his bonus, his invalid allowance, or wages while he was learning to farm. If he can't raise the $400, the presumption is he would fail farming.

How has the scheme worked? So well that Canada is seriously considering whether her Soldier Settlement Scheme could not be enlarged to embrace some general plan of colonizing other vast vacant land areas. The railroads figure that every wheat farmer operating 320 acres of land in a normal year yields $700 in freights, and every manual worker at $3 a day is worth to the nation in annual production at least a minimum of $1,000 a year. So how does Canada stand on this land loan scheme? She gets back her principal with interest at 5 per cent. To date, she has expended on her Soldier Settlement Board, as it is now generally known, $80,000,000. If any of the boys fail, as 2 per cent. have, the land can be sold on the general market for more than it cost — in certain Indian reserves like the Bobtail and Humboldt, land sold the soldiers at $8 to $18 can be resold now at $40 to $60; so Canada can't lose on her principal. If each settler is worth in freights $700, then the 25,000 Soldier Settlers represent $17,500,000 in freight returns annually, while in wage turnover they stand good for at least $25,000,000—a total of $42,500,000 coming back annually for $80,000,000 capital expended in three years, and the capital coming back in yearly installments.

The Soldier Settler Board was devised by the Honorable Arthur Meighen, the Premier of Canada, a Western man; the Honorable James Calder, Minister of Colonization, also a Western man, and Dr. Black, formerly head of the Manitoba Agricultural College, a third Western man. If these three had done nothing more in their public careers, the Soldier Settlement Board would stand as one of the biggest pieces of constructive legislation put through by Canada during the war.

## A Census of the Seals

Each year, in the late summer and early fall, a census is taken by the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries of the fur seals on the islands of St. George and St. Paul in the middle of the Bering Sea. This census is necessary as a check upon "blind killing" of the animals, which would quickly result in their extinction. Last year's count showed 550,000.

When spring opens in the Far North the sleek and silken seals are to be seen moving toward the rocky, fog-

hung shores where they are born. They come back from their annual migration for renewed courtship and battle, love and hate, life and death, after the manner of their kind. After the census is taken and the Polar ice comes down they leave once more the Bering Sea. As to where they go for the winter after proceeding thru the passes of the Aleutian Island chain, that is a source of mystery that has never been solved. They move southward in a great arc, fattening on candle fish, following a compelling instinct. After putting to sea none of them hauls to land again until the following summer.

This great seal herd has grown from a few thousands of not so long ago to more than half a million in a few years under a pledge with England, Japan and Russia, whereby the United States must share fur profits with these countries in return for prohibited open sea-sealing.

The make-up of the herd ranges from breeding cows, surplus and idle bulls to males from one to six years, yearling cows and pups. While in 1912 there were only 81,984 breeding cows, there were in the 1919 census 142,015. The breeding bulls during the same number of years have increased from 1358 to 5344. The pups have increased in the same amount as the breeding cows, while the younger specimens now number many thousand more than they did eight years ago.



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**The mountain as it is today—with the top pretty well sliced off**

cart it away bodily. The work has been in progress for four years, during which time something like 5,000,000 cubic yards of material have been taken from the mountain and it is estimated that within the next twelve years the huge mass will have been entirely obliterated and passed thru the smelter or mill.

When this process is finished approximately 25,000,000 tons of copper ore will have been recovered and from this a billion pounds of copper will be extracted. At the present price of copper this represents a tidy sum, and the profit will be considerable even when the expense of razing the mountain and treating the ore is considered.

The mountain is being reduced by means of horizontal benches of sixty, forty-five and thirty-five feet respectively.

Connecting these benches and the waste dumps and concentrator are about sixteen miles of railroad on which are operated twenty small locomotives hauling trains of from three to six dump-cars each. The actual work of reducing the mountain is being carried on by a score of steam shovels which, when working at full capacity, scoop up approximately an average of 225,000 cubic yards of material per month.

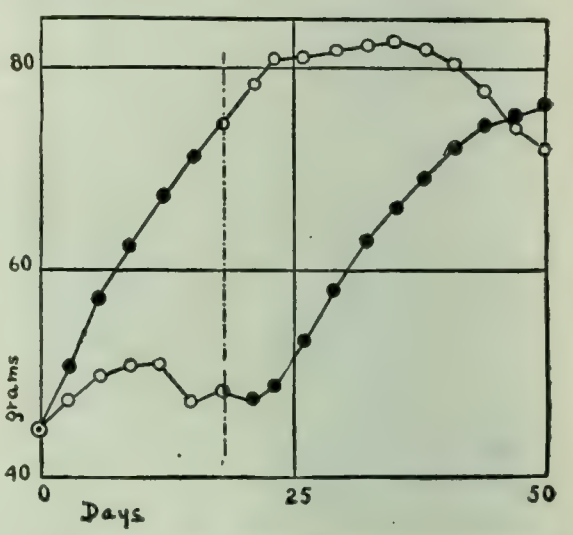
When the mountain has been wiped off the landscape there will be a lot more room for the future growth of Bisbee.

## The *X* in Food

Take some standard food, milk for instance, reduce it to its elements, extract all these elements—and you still have left "vitamines," without which life cannot endure. What are vitamines?—just that; the something that is left after everything has been removed. At least, so it seems to the layman.

In a sense, vitamines are a mystic quantity to the scientist as well. Their form and structure are not known. It is not known what function they perform that cannot be performed by any of the established food elements that can be isolated—protein, fat, carbohydrate, and mineral salts. It is only by an experimental process of elimination of all known food constituents that there is discovered to be a further constituent, indispensable for its food properties, to which has been given, more or less arbitrarily, the name "vitamines."

Dr. Benjamin Harrow of Columbia, in "Vitamines," recently published by E. P. Dutton, describes a famous experiment by Professor Hopkins of Cambridge. Professor Hopkins took two sets of rats at about the same stage of development, and for a space of eighteen days fed one set a composite food made up of all the isolated constituents of milk, with the substitution of lard for butter fat, and the other set with the same composition plus an infinitesimal quantity of fresh milk. Presumably the isolated constituents of milk, in proper quantities, and re-combined, should have had the same food value as milk itself. As a matter of fact, the first rats, fed in this way, began to lose weight and to show pathological symptoms, while the rats who were fed with the small addition of milk progressed steadily in weight and general health. At the end of eighteen days the food was dispensed the other way around; the rats who had been pining gained in weight and strength, and the other set sickened. There was something there that could not be got at, either to be taken out of the natural food or to be put into the concocted product.




**The lower line—as far as the eighteenth day, which is represented by the vertical dotted line—is the health curve of eight rats fed on a "synthetic" diet of protein, carbohydrate, lard and mineral salts. The upper line is the health curve of eight other rats taking in addition two five-hundredths of a pint of milk a day. On the eighteenth day the milk addition was changed from one group to the other. (*Bayliss: Principles of General Physiology*)**

This experiment and others furnishing the same testimony have established beyond question the existence of this indispensable if mysterious and elusive food element.

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## Pebbles

Customer—I want to see a goose.
Shop Lad—Certainly, Ma'am; I'll fetch Farver.—*Blighty.*

New Haven Judge—Were you intoxicated at the time, sir?
Prisoner—Do I look like a student?—*Princeton Tiger.*

Kutie—Poor Agnes slipped on her veranda last night.
Brutis—Well, well, did it fit her?—*Stanford Chaparral.*

Snickson—Why is an empty purse always the same, my boy?
Snackson—'Fraid I can't tell you!
Snickson—Why, because you never see any change in it!—*Boys Life.*

"Is there anything more exasperating than to have a wife who can cook but won't do it?" said one man to another.
"Yes, indeed," said the other; "to have one that can't cook and will do it."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

The One With the Pipe—I stopped smoking last night.
The One Without—The deuce you did.
The One With the Pipe—Sure. You don't suppose I took my pipe to bed with me, do you?—*Princeton Tiger.*

"I want you to walk more," said the doctor. "A good long walk will give you a fine appetite."
"That's just it," said the patient. "That's the reason I don't walk. I can't afford a fine appetite."—*Ladies Home Journal.*

"I say Stalker," he said, "you remember you told me you had hunted tigers in West Africa? Well, Captain Smith tells me there are no tigers there."
"Quite right, quite right," said Stalker, blandly. "I killed them all."—*London Opinion.*

A tree toad loved a she toad
That lived up in a tree;
She was a 3-toed tree toad
But a 2-toed toad was he.
The 2-toed tree toad tried to win
The she toad's friendly nod;
For the 2-toed tree toad loved the ground
That the 3-toed tree toad trod.
But vainly the 2-toad tree toad tried—
He couldn't please her whim;
In her tree toad bower,
With her V-toed power,
The she toad V-toed him.
—*Orange Peel.*

A lady decided to give a house party. She had recently bought a hat stand and she was showing this to one of the visitors when her little son came in.
So engrossed was the hostess in pointing out the good points of the hat stand that for a few moments she did not notice the arrival of the little boy, but when she did she saw to her disgust that he was still wearing his hat.
"Tommy," she said crossly, "what did I buy that hat stand for?"
"For $2," retorted Tommy; "but you said I wasn't to tell any one."—*New York Globe.*

## Remarkable Remarks

NORMAN HAPGOOD—Secretary Hughes is the puzzle of Washington.

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON—What's an eye more or less among friends?

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER—I have no aches or pains and I enjoy my food.

GEORGE HARRIS—It is fortunate for the minority of us that the majority of us are not Irish.

FRED SMITH—I would join anything or anybody who has a good scheme to avoid future wars.

DR. EDWARD A. STEINER—Freedom is not in new flags or repainted fences but in men's souls.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—The more points of interest between husband and wife the surer there will be happiness.

EX-PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT—Most Roman and Anglican churches are losing control over their young people.

PRESIDENT OBREGON—I would rather teach my people the use of the tooth brush and the bath tub than that of the 44 caliber gun.

ROY K. MOULTON—Forty per cent of the actresses would make excellent cooks. Sixty per cent of the cooks would make great actresses.

DR. JOHN DEWEY—It cannot be too often repeated that the real point of friction between the United States and Japan is not California but China.

WARREN G. HARDING—The English speaking peoples have been the instrument thru which civilization has been flung to the far corners of the world.

SECRETARY HUGHES—The tasks to be accomplished are too important to be left to inexperienced hands or the men chosen as a reward for political obligation.

J. B. CRANFILL—The late Dr. J. B. Gambrell once said, "When I see a woman with a dog in her arms, I always feel that the dog is entitled to a better mother than that."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN—I eat radishes for breakfast. I eat radishes for lunch. I eat radishes for dinner. I eat radishes between meals but I cannot understand how radishes are made. The element of mystery in life does not bother us in the dining room but it bothers us in the church.

## Opening Nights

*Tradition* and *The Twice Born Woman* are ordinary big pictures, highly moral in professed intention, highly crude in actual moral and dramatic effect. Good as technical productions. (The Hippodrome.)

Lord Dunsany's *A Night at an Inn*, given as a curtain raiser before the charming Harlequinade which the Neighborhood Players have brought uptown to the Punch and Judy, is a "thriller" in the most literal and breathless sense of the word, a good bit of a play remarkably well done. (Punch and Judy Theater.)



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The Independent
July 23, 1921

# Made in Italy

## The Story of What is Happening in the Largest Italian City in the World—New York

By Rollin Lynde Hartt

DOWN at Bellini's, the ristorante where I have dined with New York Italians more or less regularly for two years, my friend Antonio cries, "What was this country before the foreigners came? The foreigners made this country!" As he will add, 740,000 Italians, or children of Italians, are still making New York. With more Italians than Rome—more, even, than Naples—it is the world's greatest Italian city. Quoth President Wilson, "If you claim Fiume because Italians live there, why don't you claim New York?"

During the war every New York Italian cheered for America. Today every New York Italian has quit cheering. Because of Fiume, partly. "Fiume or death!" ("O Fiume o morte!") Antonio used to shout, and hoped that, in deference to Italian-American sentiment, if from no other motive, the President would yield. Now he thunders the shocking imprecation, "Al diavolo Wilson!" and rages volubly, "Basta! What injustice! Who discovered this country anyhow? Run up to Columbus Circle, take a look at the monument we erected, and refresh your memory!"

Then, too, he is indignant over "la Proibizione." In vain will Cousin Pietro excuse it as "a mere scheme of the liquor men to get more for their liquor." Antonio sees in "la Proibizione" a studied affront to Italians. Also he sees in "la Proibizione" a huge and roaring farce. Policemen drink wine openly in East Side restaurants. All the neighboring cellars are wine shops. "Uva, uva, uva secca!" (Grapes, grapes, dried grapes!") sings a perpetual advertisement. Another recommends a "colore rosso scuro" for reddening wine. Well may La Follia protest editorially, "There is too much moonshining. To permit this anarchical opposition to law is to undermine the morale of the public and to destroy the faith of all law-abiding citizens in the strength of their government." Yet what cares Antonio? To him, as to his cronies, it is a ridiculous government.

You notice at Bellini's the sudden popularity of a new game—the game, that is, of finding fault with America. "It let capitalists plunge us into war," growls an Italian veteran of the A. E. F. "See the profiteering it allowed," cries Bellini, "whereas Italy nipped profiteering in the bud." And you hear that "money can do anything in America—even get you out on bail. Italy has no bail system." If you speak of Americanization, these Italians ask, teasingly, "What is an American?"

For they judge by what they see. Although Antonio sometimes visits Coney Island, and although of late Cousin Pietro "wented to Rasbury Park," our New York Italians as a rule see only the polyglot East Side. There a majority of the men live and work. The women seldom leave their tenements. The *bambini* go only a block each way. One night I collared a little nineteen-year-old girl, who has adopted me in the capacity of an uncle, and took her up town. For the first time in her life she beheld Fifth Avenue, the Public Library, the great railway stations, the Times Tower, and the cavorting electric signs of Broadway.

Outwardly, these same Italians—or at all events the younger set—are nobly Americanized. They "speak American." They have discarded Italian dress. You would never have suspected that the charming girl on my arm was Yolanda Pinto, of Mulberry street. But what are these people inwardly?

In an attempt to answer that question, let us not be misled by mere survivals of Old World custom, tho astonishing enough those survivals often are. Because Aunt Teresa was "weak in the head," she purchased a wax head the other day and gave it to the saint, and so is no longer "weak in the head." At every East Side festa such marvels occur. Beneath arches of lights and amid showers of confetti, while bands play and Roman candles pop and paper balloons soar aloft, wondrous is the traffic in wax heads, wax hands, wax feet; and the saint, in his open-air shrine, never fails to cure. Well, what of it? Italians who read L'Asino (The Donkey) and learned to ridicule their saints have gained nothing. They have lost. And if there are Americans who regard conversion to Protestantism as an essential of Americanization, let them note that converts to Protestantism come, not from among free-thinking Italians, but from among devoutly Catholic Italians.

So with other Old World customs. Our Italians eat devilfish. They smoke the terrible Toscani which were the secret of their great victories over the Austrians; every time the wind blew toward the Austrians, lo, a great Italian victory! They sing Italian canzoni—"Il Sole Mio" and the rest. They shout "Bis! bis!" in their theaters when a company who have learned only the argument of a play and depend on a loud-whispering prompter for the lines nevertheless

**New York is:**
**The largest Negro city**
**The largest Jewish city**
**The largest Italian city**
**The largest Irish city**
**The third largest German city in the world.**

**Mr. Hartt has already sketched what this means in the cases of the Negroes and the Jews, in "I'd Like to Show You Harlem" in The Independent for April 2, and "New York and the Real Jew," June 25. This article on the Italians carries on the study of "The New Hyphenism," the after-war spirit of race exclusiveness that follows as a reaction from the war spirit of unity for a common cause.**

perform it with tremendous gusto. And recently, Ambassador Rolandi Ricci announced the establishment of a traveling scholarship to encourage Italians in the United States to remember their mother tongue—"la bella lingua Italiana." But reflect. We are not alarmed when our Scottish Americans put on their kilts and play at Scottish games, with bagpipes skirling. All we ask is that they love the land of their adoption.

Frankly the Italians in America have ceased to love America. Nor do they passionately love Italy. Few talk of returning. In the old days, thirty per cent. of them were birds of passage. The war stopped that. Peace has not renewed it. For one thing, the cost of ocean passage is high, and prices in Italy are high. For another, many of the old folks at home have died. So here our Italians remain—expatriated and at the same time indignant. Men without a country, you might call them.

And dangerous? Thus far, not in the least. When workmen in Italy took over the factories and defied the government and seemed in favor of Bolshevism, or near-Bolshevism, or some such folly, there were alarmists who said, "Wait! In course of time our own Italians will attempt something of the kind; all they need is an Arturo Giovannitti to lead them." But what happened? Nothing, tho here you have a picture (Prof. Foester's, not mine) of conditions in which the Italian laborers of New York City are compelled to live:

"Who that has strolled thru these colonies can forget them? Where East Houston, Mott, Prince, and Elizabeth streets come together, making one block fairly long but very narrow, dwell 3,500 people, 1,100 to the acre. It disputes with a few other blocks the dismal honor of being the most populous spot on earth. Its tenements rise four or five stories into the air, but each story bursts, as if the inward pressure were too great, into a balcony. The street below is at once a playground and a place of business; one threads one's way betwixt pushcarts and stands, past little children and quite as little old women, whose black eyes scintillate above their bronzed Sicilian cheeks. Here doctor and midwife might make a living while scarcely leaving the block. (One child in nine dies before the age of five.) On each floor, as a rule, are four 'flats,' often of two rooms; one room serving as kitchen, dining-room and general living room, the other as bedroom. 'There is not,' says a government report, 'a bath-tub in this solid block, unless there be some in the Children's Aid Society Building, and only one family has a hot-water range. In one of the buildings there are radiators in the hall, but the furnace has never been lighted in the recollection of the present tenants. All halls are cold and dirty the greater part of the time, and most of them are dark.' Neither bath-tub nor stove is an institution which these immigrants have known in Italy, but in America both climate and the perils of crowding make their omission costly."



An Italian postcard, which might be named (tho it isn't) "The spirit of Italy runs amuck thru Anglo-Saxon America"

Just so. In his admirable new book, "The Second Generation of Italians in New York," Mr. John H. Mariano declares that disease has taken a higher toll from the Italian than from any other racial stock in New York City.

This, he adds, "is due chiefly to ignorance and the extreme contrast presented in the passage, within the same generation, from an active outdoor life in an almost ideal climate to one of confinement, of squalor, of inadequate sanitation, of frequent overwork and improper food. Within the last ten years in New York City alone, rickets, tuberculosis and diphtheria have taken such a heavy toll that the Italian strain, with respect to these diseases, seem to have acquired what amounts to a heightened susceptibility." No wonder! Says Isabella Fiske Conant in "The Tenement":

> "Ye that have walled away the light
> Must marvel not if there be night,"

and Dr. Antonio Stella declares, "It can easily be seen that sickness, vice, and delinquency—so prevalent in the second generation—are not due to innate depravity of the people, but to the environment in which they are forced to live."

Time was—not so long ago, either—when Italians had a weakness for crimes of violence. The Maffia and the Black Hand spread terror far and wide, while the "Five Points" gang, according to Mariano, "was composed entirely of Italians, as was Jack Sirocco's gang, the 'Gophers,' and Monk Eastman's gang contained fifty per cent. of Americans of Italian blood, all testifying to a once prevalent type that is fast disappearing if not entirely gone." There has been great improvement. Criminality among the New York Italians no longer exceeds that of other races. Frequently tho I visit the Italian colonies, not once have I seen a row, and only once have I seen what resembled preliminaries to a row. That was when Antonio, Beppino, Alessan, and Giovanni held high argument, yelling at the top of their lungs and slicing the air with frightful gestures. I listened in. Behold, they were discussing—how to pronounce "sarsaparilla"!

Nevertheless, New York thinks these fellows a bloodthirsty lot, and they retort, "How about your cowboys out West?" as if that rejoinder, or indeed any, were necessary. They are sensitive. Other aliens call them "Dagoes" or "Guineas." At a movie the Italian next me had a girl with him. "Is the young lady Italian?" I asked. "No," said he, "Jewish, but she's just moved into the block and nobody knows her, so she'll go with a wop."

Ridicule and insult would cut less deep were the Italians able to vindicate their worth by pointing, somewhere in New York, to at least one nobly magnificent edifice erected by Italians. Except for memorials to Columbus, Verrazzano, Verdi, and Garibaldi, they have erected nothing permanent and splendid—or next to nothing. Altho superb Italian architecture abounds, Americans created the buildings and Italians created—the cellars! As for those incomparable Italian masterpieces, the subways, Italians figured in their construction only as diggers.

Patience! Beginning in the eighties, the wholesale Italian influx is of all huge migrations the newest, and for a long time Italians came merely as sojourners. They sent home money to the old folks. Intending soon to follow the money home, they had little motive to invest here or to plan impressive achievement here. Nevertheless, Italians own $100,000,000 worth of real estate in New York. An Italian bank in Spring street has deposits aggregating $7,766,000. That means thrift. It also means that Italians have taken root, and just now they are raising [*Continued on page 36*

# Sound Yourself!

## By Edward Earle Purinton

EVERY normal person wants to do, have or be something great. The divine peak of this human ambition should loom as the goal of every man's life.

Now a great man is only the balanced combination of great mental concepts, great moral purposes, and great material methods. The world leader is seldom a born genius. He is but the average man fully developed, carefully trained, thoroly organized. He has learned how to think, how to feel, how to perform. And he always follows this rule: Make your *thinking* broad, high and deep.

Great men surround themselves with practical incentives to clear, direct, powerful thinking. Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation, the world's largest business organization, keeps on the wall of his private office a motto that stands out and hits you with the force of this declaration:

| IT CAN BE DONE |
|---|

People fail not because they cannot do things, but because they will not do things in the right way. After studying thousands of examples of men and women beset by doubts, difficulties, problems, griefs or burdens, I have yet to find a case impossible of solution. The whole plan of creation is a demonstration of the principle and process: *It can be done.*

The law of success operates with a precision, a conclusion, like that of the law of gravity or the law of sound. We have but to work in line with the law. Probably ninety-five out of every 100 human beings are ignorant of the law of success, or indifferent to it. Hence they blunder, fail, worry, fret and grieve.

The reckless automobile driver who lets his machine crash down a precipice has himself to blame—not the machine or the law of gravity. The lazy musician who, for lack of study or practice, pours forth a jargon of crazy sounds, is alone responsible—the instrument is guiltless, the law of vibration faultless.

Every young person (less than fifty years old) should focalize, analyze and organize a great life ambition or purpose, the fulfilment of which would become the crowning boon or blessing of existence. Purpose generates power. You cannot do much until you think much, feel much, want much, *will* much.

The "human dynamo" is always charged with a superhuman dream. You can see what he does, but the enthusiasm which electrifies him and keeps him young and strong is a product of faith, purpose, imagination, self-reliance. Whoever fails either did not trust or did not train himself. What the world calls "impossible" is the natural output of a man fully developed. A man is matured only when he *must* do more than he "can" do.

In every human heart there is one supreme desire. To know it and follow it means to tread a clear path to a high destiny. The small, conventional, superficial desires handicap us and hold us back. The great, real, supreme desire, tested, lived, worked out, puts us on a par with the Almighty.

Genius is but the domination of a man's one supreme desire—the subordination of everything in life to that single purpose. Genius is not a superiority of mental gift, but rather a supremacy of moral force. You can do more than the typical "genius" does when you have harnessed your forces. A liberal estimate regards the average of human success about 40 per cent of what it could be and should be. Are you willing to allow 60 per cent of yourself to be either wasted or unused?

There are many reasons why a person feels that he cannot do what he wants to do. He may be in the wrong job. He may have to contend with poor health, or faulty heredity, or hateful surroundings, or depressing home influences. He may not know what he can do best. He may doubt his own true worth and ability. He may hinder himself by wrong habits of living, working, playing, thinking or feeling. He may cherish a vague longing to amount to something, yet leave the hope in the clouds with no plan or method on earth to get him anywhere. He may talk about his grand future instead of buckling down to his menial present. He may dodge the hard things. He may want to get too much and give too little. He may grumble that "he never had a chance," not knowing that he has to *make* his chance. He may follow the crowd, and so remain weak, futile, common. He may be out of touch with his Creator, and so have lost the plan for his life.

A man out of luck is always out of gear. And, worse, he is out of focus. A crippled engine on the track may soon be repaired, but the same engine off the track is quite another proposition. Thus with a man. The Cosmic Engineer lays an earthly track for every mortal. If you are on the firm, clean track of your life work, nothing much can delay you long. But if you are off the track, you are as dangerous as a wild engine, or as do-less as a dead one. Better be a hand-car speeding on the track than a high-power engine stalled in the mud.

When a young person wants to know how to

## *Unfailing Joy*

### *By Margaret Peckham*

*I followed my wayward feet,*
*Drifting thru the slippery grass,*
*And the hot sun beat*
*Down, while mass on mass*
*Of summer clouds piled up,*
*And sweet, hot smells came*
*From the daisy and the buttercup.*
*The grasses rippled like a blowing flame*
*And the red lure of strawberries stayed*
*My steps and left my fingers stained.*
*As careless as the wind I strayed*
*Until upon a ridge I gained*
*A view, and sprawled out in the birches' shade.*
*My hair, blown loose, smelt of the sun,*
*And strawberries and grass had made*
*A ruin of my dress.*
*And both my shoes were briar-torn,*
*But all these things were less*
*Than nothing in the scorn*
*I felt for those poor bores,*
*Whose willing servitude*
*To houses, clothes and laws*
*Has made them find my pleasures crude.*
*They have forever shut away the sound*
*Of the free, rapturous beat*
*Of nature's heart in the red ground,*
*And fear the sun's delicious heat,*
*And cannot hear the wind's strange whisperings.*
*They have exchanged the worship of bought things*
*For the unfailing joy that nature brings.*

realize a worthy ambition, we tell him first to analyze it. The following ten point test is universal in application. Whether you want better opportunity, finer education, sounder health, larger pay, wider popularity, or any other supremely desirable thing, you can measure the probability of attainment by this new test.

A comparative study of the records of accomplishment of many world leaders provided the basis for the test. We analyzed their individual purposes, dominant tho generally concealed during the ages from twenty to fifty. We found that, almost without exception, each ambition drew a mark of about 100 per cent on the test.

*1. Is it right?* Your conscience will tell you. Suppose you were in full possession of the big thing you want most and were enjoying it as you would like to do, would the pleasure mean pain, privation, dissatisfaction or injustice to anyone else? Furthermore, would you have had to sacrifice any principle of a strong, fine character in the gaining of your objective? Or would you be satisfied in heart and soul as much as in body, mind or purse? The heads of the world's largest, richest corporations have made *right* the ruling principle, because any wrong is not only bad ethics but also bad psychology, bad sociology, bad business. The highest thing you can aim for is the most practical, other things being favorable.

*2. Is it hard?* The easy thing is not worth doing except as it grows easy, having first been hard. You may well doubt any dream of your destiny [*Continued on page 40*

# Harding Plays the Game

## By Donald Wilhelm

PRESIDENT Harding is an ardent lover of the game of golf, ever ready, rain or shine, to tuck his bag of clubs under his arm and journey to the nearest links for a game. Golf has kept him fit and fine for the great labors incident to the war, for his Presidential campaign, and now it is the invaluable thing that gives him the relaxation and rest that a President needs.

Recently the great cares of his office and the mental burdens it imposed visibly affected the rather excellent game he plays. One of his close friends suggests that when the host of office seekers is disposed of he will play better—may even yet display his superiority over Senator Hale, his staunchest antagonist.

Those office seekers have worried him. It has taken about all of his energies to secure, in spite of them, the men he wants to man the important posts in the public service. That is why those who have during the past months piled out early in the morning to play with him on the municipal links on the banks of the beautiful Potomac or on the more fashionable and pretentious Chevy Chase course, feel, aside from the enjoyment of his splendid companionship, that they have been assisting him, in a sense, in the official work of government. And while doing that they observe one unbreakable rule—while they play they do not mention one word about public questions or problems.

He has played on links dotting a wide range of country. He has played on links near Washington most, of course, but also at Somerville and Bernardsville, New Jersey, with Senator Frelinghuysen, for instance; at Mansfield, Ohio; at Brownsville, Texas; in the Panama Canal Zone and on other courses, good, bad and indifferent, from St. Augustine to New England, and from Ohio back to Miami. He has played in twosomes and in foursomes, but you know something additional about the man when you learn that he likes a foursome best. And he has played without spectators and before huge galleries, with only caddies as spectators and with a couple of dozen moving picture machines and newspaper cameras levelled at him.

Crowds do not affect his playing. At Palm Beach, Florida, for instance, he played before a battery of a score of motion-picture cameras plus some five hundred spectators. Playing with him were Senator Frelinghuysen, Mr. Replogle, who during the war was in charge of the purchase of steel by the Government, and Finley Peter Dunne ("Mr. Dooley"). All of the players, except the President, were obviously impressed by the importance of the event. Mr. Dunne stepped to the tee, wiggled and wobbled ten or a dozen times and drove the ball about seven feet. Mr. Replogle confidently stepped forward and pressed his ball out in front some fifty feet. But whereas the President-elect had led off, after teeing his ball very carefully and taking a practice swing, and then made a long, high drive of fully 200 yards, even Senator Frelinghuysen, who has played golf for many years, fumbled—he stepped up, looked nervously at the clicking cameras, took one practice swing and sliced about 125 yards, sixty degrees to the left.

Someone ventured to ask the President how he managed to play so well when there was so much confusion. "Why," he said, "I think only of driving straight, look at the ball and hit it easily."



*Underwood & Underwood*

**"He observes scrupulously all the ethics of the game . . . He never takes advantage. If doing poorly he patiently fights it out in silence"**

The President has not a few of the marks of the professional golfer, even tho he sticks to the heavies more than professional golfers do. But he gets perhaps more fun from the game than they do, while remaining, in the true sense of the word, an amateur, that is, a lover of the game. He is, incidentally, a member of the executive committee of the United States Golf Association. In that respect, and in his devotion to the game, he is an exemplar to hundreds of podgy, high-living statesmen and business men who are, with every passing day, turning to the links in an effort to add years to their span of life, and inches, as it were, to their mental statures. To them and to all other devotees of the game it is a great satisfaction, in fact, that he meets them in spirit on common ground.

He observes scrupulously all the ethics of the game and is for that as well as other reasons what golfers call an ideal companion. He never takes advantage—which is more than all golfers can solemnly aver before their Maker. He is earnest. He forgets a poor shot as soon as it is made. He never loses his temper. If doing poorly he sticks to his driver and never takes an iron. If doing poorly he patiently fights it out in silence and does not, no matter what the event may be, swear or throw his clubs into the air as some players are wont to do. In other [*Continued on page 39*

# Progressing Backward

## By John Spargo

BY its rejection of the resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the right to declare war should be taken from Congress and vested in the electorate, and exercized through a popular referendum, the Convention of the American Federation of Labor rendered a distinct service to the cause of democracy. The vote and the discussion which preceded it manifested a realistic view of the problems involved, and a distinct distrust of romanticism and mere novelty, that cannot be too highly commended.

The proposal that war should only be decided upon by a popular referendum in which the whole electorate participates is thoroughly reactionary and dangerous. The fact that it has been supported and advocated mainly by the professional radicals must not be permitted to obscure its thoroly reactionary character. It is a remarkable fact that many of the practical proposals made by the radical groups in this country, honestly designed to frustrate and destroy militarism, are essentially retrogressive and not progressive, and their adoption would certainly deliver us over to the worst evils of militarism and secret diplomacy. That is especially true of the proposal under consideration.

When this measure was first advocated, shortly before the declaration of war against Germany, I pointed out that nothing could be more undemocratic, or more dangerous to a democracy, than to attempt to decide by popular referendum any matter concerning which the electorate could not be fully informed. To call upon the popular electorate to decide by referendum vote the merits of Einstein's theory of relativity, or the authenticity of a group of alleged cuneiform inscriptions, would only be in degree more absurd, and therefore more undemocratic, than to submit to a popular referendum vote for decision in such issues as commonly lead to war. The world being organized as it is, and human beings what they are, it is so utterly impossible as to be practically inconceivable that the mass of the electorate should be sufficiently informed upon the developments of the international situation in times of crisis, when these are subject to radical change from hour to hour, to vote intelligently upon an issue of such momentous importance as whether there shall be resort to the terrible arbitrament of war.

Let us suppose the Constitution of the United States to have been amended in the manner proposed, and that some foreign government or its agents commits certain hostile acts which the President and the Department of State regard as being serious enough to raise the issue of possible war. According to the Constitution, so amended, the issue must be determined by popular referendum. The question at once arises: How shall the question be submitted to the electorate to insure an intelligent understanding of the subject by the voters? In actual practice it is impossible to get into such a vote the qualifications and conditions which are possible in the vote of a deliberative representative assembly. It is quite evident that the outcome of the referendum could, in most instances, be materially and even decisively influenced by the formulation of the question to be submitted to the electorate. Actually, therefore, the factor of determining importance would be left in administrative hands, unless the formulation of the question to be submitted to the voters were specifically left to Congress, in which case this particular objection would lose much of its force. Even then, however, the practical value of the popular referendum, as such, would be largely destroyed, and to all intents and purposes the action of Congress, the manner in which it formulated the question for submission to the electorate, would determine the result.

I do not know how long it would take properly to submit a question of such importance to the electorate, to hold the referendum and tabulate its result. I believe that it was William Jennings Bryan who declared that all this could be accomplished in two months. While I doubt this as a practical matter, it is hardly worth while discussing it here and now. There are some much more serious matters to be discussed. Suppose that on the first day of September the simple question is submitted to the people of the United States to be voted upon, "Shall the Government of the United States declare war against the ——— Government?" Suppose, further, in order to consider the proposal at its strongest and best, that an entirely accurate and impartial statement of the controversy between the two governments is published and in some manner placed in the hands of every voter. The vote is to be counted and returned by, let us say, November 1. Before that time—certainly as early as the middle of October—the outcome will be certain and fairly well known, though not officially known. We have, therefore, a period of at least two weeks during which the decision of the country is generally well known. Let us assume, for the purposes of this discussion, that the result of the vote is in favor of the declaration of war. Does anybody in his right mind believe that the government of the foreign country concerned—and, in most cases, the people—would be unaware of that result? That, I take it, is practically impossible.

Very well, then. Suppose that in the enemy country, as a result of such information, and a general recognition of the perils of war, there is a reversal of policy. This might occur in any one of several ways: The existing government might recede from its position and be willing to accept a solution quite acceptable to us; or a parliamentary crisis might bring about the installation of a new government. Here are two easily possible changes in the situation. They are changed conditions which the voters could not have taken into consideration in casting their ballots. The result of referendum is determined already. It is an accomplished fact. When it is officially known it will be binding upon our Government to declare war. Yet in the meantime there has come from the offending government a new proposal acceptable to us, or it may be a proposal to submit the matter to arbitration. To declare war in such circumstances would be a crime against civilization. Of that there can be no doubt. Yet the obligation to do so would be placed upon our Government, and there would be no escape from it except by some arbitrary act on the part of the Administration, or of Congress, which would set aside the solemn decision of the electorate. In this case, again, the practical value of the referendum would be totally destroyed.

THERE is another objection to the proposed amendment to the Constitution, which I regard as of even greater importance. Assuming, as we must, the continued existence of the present order of things in the world, including the division of the world into nations with conflicting interests, varying degrees of enlightenment, different standards of morality, and the like, we must perforce face another grave danger. If the fundamental law of the land were to be so modified that war could only be declared by popular referendum, practically every great power in the world with whose interests our interests might possibly come into conflict, and especially those powers whose interests are most likely to conflict with our interests, would see to it that, as a matter of self-preservation, they permanently possessed and maintained in this country adequate agencies for influencing our public opinion in their favor whenever any dis-

pute might arise. In other words, we should be continually menaced by having influential organs molding our public opinion, which were secretly and powerfully subsidized by foreign governments. In such circumstances, it is not at all likely that we should be able or willing to do without similar protective devices in other countries. No one who is at all familiar with the evils of this sort of thing in the practice of certain European governments can possibly view their introduction into this country with equanimity.

I content myself here with a mere mention of the additional peril to which we should in the circumstances be exposed as a result of the imperfect assimilation of large masses of people of foreign birth and foreign extraction, whose sympathies would naturally be so largely on the side of the countries from which they or their parents came as to dangerously influence their judgment in such a referendum. Surely we had sufficient manifestation of the dangers of citizenship weakened by such ties in the recent war.

For these reasons, among many others, I regard the proposed amendment to the Constitution as an exceedingly vicious menace to American democracy, and a dangerous provocative of international disturbance. Fortunately, its adoption is not probable.

## Of Good Omen

THE recent victory of the Fusion judicial ticket in Chicago over the "machine" is a rainbow of hope to New York which is on the eve of its quadrennial anti-Tammany campaign for the mayoralty. We hope that 1921 will be a good year for reformers all over the map.

# Bonus, Budget and War Costs

### By Talcott Williams

PRESIDENT Harding has shown courage and prescience such as only the foremost of chief executives have displayed in attacking in a single fortnight the soldier bonus bill before the Senate, in turning the machinery created by the Federal Budget Law to the reduction of expenditure and in turning all his powers of negotiation with foreign governments to the world work of disarmament.

A year ago many men were doubting his fitness for President. No one can doubt this longer. He has struck home at three great evils. One is extravagance by the national legislature in seeking to gain votes by spending money for specious causes. The soldier bonus bill does this. It risks the solvency of the Federal treasury, increases taxation and postpones the return of business prosperity. It took courage to oppose it, but it is the courage that always wins the people at home, however it may fail in the Senate.

The budget law was expected to be only a cold-blooded plan to handle estimates. By putting Mr. Dawes of Chicago in charge, the President has turned the army of bureau heads, 800 strong, to reducing future expenditure. These heads are the source of Federal extravagance. They are permanent. They see only their own field. They magnify it. They give Cabinet officers proposals, plans and reasons for more expenditure, year by year. By them and thru them appropriations grow. By placing them directly under the Director of the Budget, the President, who can remove them, has forced them to consider reduction. The magnitude of this stroke can only be realized by those who know Washington.

These three bold acts go far to solving the problem of Federal finance. The defeat of the soldier bonus bill will save money. The new policy on the budget will prune and prevent extravagance, now rife. The international conference for the reduction of armaments will begin a new era for a war-weary world. This technical problem needs fully three months for the preparation permitted by pulling the conference Armistice day.

## Dawn or Conflagration?

THE best weather prediction we can make for Siberia is "cloudy and unsettled." If there is a genuine movement under way to overthrow Bolshevism and establish a democratic republic we wish it all possible good fortune. But the future is uncertain in two directions. The Bolsheviki may triumph again, as so often in the past, and leave nothing of the counter-revolution but the wastage of another civil war. Or the movement may fall into the hands of the reactionary monarchists or Cossack bandits of the Semenoff stripe, in which case even triumph would bring no luck to Russia or the world. The best that Americans can do is to watch, wait and reserve judgment until the Siberian counter-revolution takes more definite shape. It is a question that much concerns America, for the Far Eastern Republic is our nearest neighbor across the northern Pacific.

# The Conversion of Bernard Shaw

### By Preston Slosson

THOSE who have read "Man and Superman," "The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet" and the introduction to "Androcles and the Lion" will not be altogether surprized at the apparently sudden plunge of Europe's greatest jester into theology. He has felt religion "coming on" for some time; his plays have been, as it were, haunted by an underlying belief in the supernatural, and long ago his friend and enemy, G. K. Chesterton, pronounced him a Puritan at heart. Shaw did not come back to religion with the easy grace of his two cleverest contemporaries, Chesterton and H. G. Wells, because in early youth he had acquired a sort of Freudian anti-religious complex. Chesterton had, we are told, a sort of intellectual spree in his youth when he shook his fist at the heavens. But he was still a young man when he found that it was more fun to shake hands with the heavens than to shake fists. Since that time he has been aggressively on the side of the angels, altho, like Billy Sunday, he preaches orthodoxy in a shockingly unorthodox manner. Wells began with an ordinary hard materialist creed, but with no special grudge against religion. He easily acquired a mystical pantheistic outlook on the universe, and the emotional crisis of the Great War changed this to a definite belief in a personal and militant God, "the Invisible King."

But Bernard Shaw, as he explains at length in the introduction to his latest play, "Back to Methuselah" (Brentano), reacted with great violence against the Calvinism in which he was brought up. The eternal truths of religion (as he now believes them to be) were mingled with legends; not only the Biblical stories, but more modern legends of atheists struck dead for blasphemy, special providences and vindictive divine interventions. He tells of an incident in 1878 when he held out a watch for five minutes and challenged God to strike him dead:

> The effect was electrical. Neither sceptics nor devotees were prepared to abide the result of the experiment. In vain did I urge the pious to trust in the accuracy of their deity's aim with a thunderbolt, and the justice of his discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. In vain did I appeal to the sceptics to accept the logical outcome of their scepticism: it soon appeared that when thunderbolts were in question there were no sceptics.

A petty-minded deity could not satisfy him and he had not yet been introduced to any other kind of God, so he very naturally went into atheism.

The teachings of Charles Darwin were also being popularized about that time, and seemed to destroy the intellectual foundations of religion. Shaw points out, with much emphasis and reiteration, that "evolution" is not the same thing as "natural selection." Evolution was an idea familiar to Goethe, to Erasmus Darwin, to Lamarck and to many other pioneers of biological philosophy. It contains nothing

inconsistent with religion, as God is equally a maker whether he makes things all at once or in the course of a thousand ages. But natural selection seemed definitely irreligious because it showed the shaping tool of organic evolution to be a mere struggle for existence. As Shaw put it, the work of Nature "is to modify all things by blindly starving and murdering everything that is not lucky enough to survive in the universal struggle for hogwash." A God who operated in that way and that way only would be a very crude and cruel sort of deity; it was easier to believe that the struggle and the survival were matters of chance.

SHAW first found religion by way of biology. He found in organic nature an upward striving, a will to live, a creative energy which did not appear to be a mere result of elimination and chance survival. Like Bergson, he came to the conclusion that evolution could not be wholly explained on Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection; tho that theory was unquestionably true as far as it went and explained a great deal. Unlike Samuel Butler, who objected on the same ground to the theory of natural selection, Shaw has no quarrel with Darwin personally. As Shaw points out, Darwin "was not a Darwinian, but an honest naturalist working away at his job"; the mischief was done by his disciples who attempted to solve everything by the magic phrases "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest." It was not Darwin who banished mind from the universe, or proclaimed it the duty of strong nations to trample the weaker out of existence. But there were plenty of biologists to do the first, and plenty of imperialistic professors and journalists to do the second, and by and by Shaw discovered that he was getting into company that he didn't like.

So he established a religion of the "Life-Force" and wrote "Man and Superman." A few years later he discovered that, but for his old prejudices, he might as well call the Life-Force God, as other people did. (As Chesterton pointed out, no one will worship a hyphen!) Shaw's present creed is still far from orthodoxy, but it is very clear as far as it goes and certainly contains "the root of the matter." The creed consists in a belief that life is divine and purposeful, that there is a moral duty resting on everyone to help human evolution forward to better things, and that God is doing His best at the same task all the time. Shaw still fights shy of personal immortality, but he goes so far as to admit that "men do not live long enough: they are, for all the purposes of high civilization, mere children when they die." He wishes Life, and that more abundantly—a very Christian wish.

This brings us to the play. Its central idea is that will power, as it may be developed in future ages, can prolong human life indefinitely. Apart from this central thread the play has less unity than any other dramatic production in the history of human literature. It begins with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and ends with A. D. 31,920. It contains mysticism more bewildering than Maeterlinck's wildest moods; it contains also straight farce-comedy. Some general idea of the play might be given, if one were to imagine a dramatist producing a play on the following lines:

Act I—The Book of Job, translated into colloquial English by George M. Cohan.
Act II—The first act of Gogol's *The Inspector.*
Act III—The fourth act of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt.*
Act IV—Scene 1—A scene from William Archer's *The Green Goddess.* Scene 2—The Witch Scene from *Macbeth.*
Act V—The scene of the unborn children from Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird.*

What would you say of that dramatist? You could not deny the greatness of the individual scenes, but you well might wonder whether the author was one man or a committee; and if informed that one man alone did the work you might suspect him of a serious case of dissociation of the personality. Now that in no way exaggerates "Back to Methusaleh." The first act is a half mystical, half satirical version of the discovery of Death in the Garden of Eden. The second act is a pure satire on modern English politics, in which Asquith and Lloyd George appear under very thin disguises. Take as a sample the scene where Burge (Lloyd George) "defends" his old chief and present enemy:

> Nothing will induce me to say one word against the old man. I never have; and I never will. Lubin is old: he has never been a real statesman: he is as lazy as a cat on a hearthrug: you can't get him to attend to anything; he is good for nothing but getting up and making speeches with a peroration that goes down with the back benches. But I say nothing against him.

It is announced to Burge and Lubin that men can live to be three hundred years old; they see in the information only an election cry, "Back to Methuselah!" The third act takes us forward to A. D. 2170. England is ruled by a Chinese bureaucracy. A few individuals have begun to outlive the rest, but they keep it quiet because it would not do to seem "odd." In act four the long-lived folk of 3000 A. D. rule England. The "short-livers" with their youthful passions are scorned as barbarians by the calm "ancients." In the final act the whole human race have become ancients. People are hatched out of eggs, already adult, and they outgrow all human emotions and passions in a few years and then spend centuries in calm philosophic reflection worthy of a race of supermen. They are very much like Bulwer-Lytton's "Coming Race" and (to our way of thinking) equally cold-blooded and inhuman. In spite of Shaw we are not convinced that the superman when he comes will be an aloof and scornful creature without human affections. If people ever do live to be centuries old it seems to us more probable that they will remain young for a long time than that they will soon outgrow their youth.

But that is a side issue. The important fact to note is that Bernard Shaw has found his pulpit and his creed. He still has a few old feuds with the parsons, but they are as nothing to his quarrels with the professors!

## The Perils of Moderation

THEY used to say that the middle was the safest place, but we are not so sure. The moderate man is hammered by both radicals and reactionaries and he gets credit for moral courage from neither extreme.

# The Right Man in the Right Place

PREMIER Smuts of South Africa was wise to go to Ireland as an unofficial mediator between Great Britain and republican Ireland. If his tact and sympathy and wise counsels fail there is little hope from any quarter. No loyal adherent of the British Empire could be more welcome to the Irish, even to the extreme revolutionists. Was he not a Boer general who fought the British long and stubbornly in the cause of an independent Dutch republic in South Africa? And yet he is equally persona grata to the British, even to the most stalwart Tories and the most bigoted Orangemen. Was he not the South African general who did much to crush German power in Africa, who kept a distant colony loyal thru the most discouraging days of the Great War, who aided British statesmen at Paris to organize the League of Nations?

Yet tho Premier Smuts is beloved equally by the friends and the foes of the British Empire, he is no turncoat; his record is stainless, straightforward and honorable. He devoted his entire career to establishing the liberty of the South African Dutch. While it was possible to do so, he fought for this liberty against the British Empire, but when defeated he gave way neither to despair nor futile obstruction and conspiracy. With a statesman's foresight he worked to make all South Africa, British as well as Dutch, a free commonwealth within the British Empire. A

vanquished and conquered colony dominated by British soldiers was gradualy built up into a powerful federal dominion governed by a Boer general and virtually independent of London in all matters of government save foreign affairs. But this did not content him. He was resolved to make South Africa a power in foreign affairs as well, and so well did he labor that by the end of the Great War his name carried more weight in Europe than that of any British diplomat save Lloyd George alone.

What the Boers have done the Irish can do. Like the Boers, they lack the numbers and the military resources to win complete independence. But they can, if they will, attain practical independence as a self-governing dominion. Nor is the division of opinion between Ulster and southern Ireland a hopeless barrier. The British of Cape Colony and Natal and the Dutch of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were far more hopelessly estranged and embittered at the time of the Boer War than the Irish factions are today. They were divided by language as well as by sentiment, whereas in Ireland the majority of Sinn Feiners have a perfect mastery of English and use it more commonly than the old native tongue of the country. In Ireland there has been a simmering civil war, with raids on police barracks and midnight assassinations. But in South Africa there has been, more than once, open war with cavalry and cannon. In South Africa there were gold and diamond fields to quarrel over, whereas the riches of Ireland are not in the rocks but in the labor of the farmers. In South Africa there were millions of black men, creating a serious racial problem which has never existed in Ireland. In every way it was a far more difficult task to create a united South Africa than to settle the Irish question. All that is required is statesmanship of the quality shown by Botha and Smuts. If Ireland has such statesmen, the rest is easy.

## Daybreak on the Pacific

THE United States has once again taken her rightful position in the van of the nations. It must be a deep gratification to every patriotic American that the call for world disarmament came from Washington and that at Washington will be held a peace conference certain to take a place in history with the peace conference of Paris. When Nicholas II first suggested an international limitation of armaments he honored both himself and Russia and made possible the fruitful work of The Hague Court. But President Harding has a fairer chance of fame than the late Czar, for Russia continued to cherish imperialistic ambitions which were inconsistent with professions of peace, whereas the United States covets not a single acre of land beyond the present frontier. The autocrat urged disarmament in vain because there was no real good will between his Government and Russia's jealous or suspicious neighbors; but what autocratic Russia could not do democratic America well may.

And the time is ripe. The burden of armaments before the Great War was heavy, but it was patiently endured. The wealth of Europe, accumulated in decades of comparative peace, sufficed to offset the heavy taxes needed to prepare the nations for possible future war. It is not so today. Europe is a continent of paupers, and even the United States is grievously afflicted by the cost of humanity's greatest war. Year by year as the war continued the wealth of the world was dissipated and the demands of the war machine increased. To maintain adequate preparedness by land and sea and air on the standard which the last few months of the war showed would be necessary for any future conflict among the great Powers has passed beyond the utmost resources of national finance. The nations are being smothered by the weight of their armor and long passionately for a chance to throw it off.

A word of praise must also be extended to the Congress. Doubtless President Harding and Secretary Hughes have long had in mind a conference on disarmament and did not borrow the suggestion from Senator Borah. But the fact that Congress and the President were thinking independently in the same direction gives added credit to the initiative of Congress in adopting the Borah resolution. Too frequently Congress has acted in the sphere of foreign relations as a purely negative force; accepting the instructions of the President or opposing them as political expediency might suggest, but never venturing to contribute any thought of its own to international policy. The reduction in the army and the navy estimates and the adoption of the resolution for a conference on naval disarmament are the first signs of independent life and vitality shown by the present Congress.

IT was wise to link the question of disarmament with the problems of the Pacific and of the Far East. To the United States, at least, the questions are as one. Our army has already been reduced to the size of a moderate police force, but our navy is very nearly the strongest in the world and it is maintained at its present great strength largely on account of the uncertainty of Far Eastern affairs. Our overseas possessions are mainly in the Pacific and our commercial interests are growing rapidly in all parts of the Far East. We cannot afford to let Japan outbuild our navy, but we can gladly join in friendship with Japan for the common reduction of all navies. We cannot afford to let Japan absorb China, but we can readily come to an agreement with Japan and China on the basis of peace, national independence and the open door for all.

When we sit down at the table with England, France, Italy, Japan and China we will meet none but friends. The United States has no present enemies, and our recent enemies have already been disarmed by the treaties imposed upon them. In an atmosphere of good will all things are possible. Not only an adjustment of outstanding disputes in the Pacific, not only disarmament may be expected, but possibly even a renewal of effort toward a permanent international agency to prevent war.

For disarmament, tho good, is not enough. People do not fight because they have weapons, they make weapons because they intend to fight. With limitation of armaments will come a mighty relief to the overburdened taxpayer and probably also some lessening of the international tension which is caused by competitive armament. But new matters of dispute will arise in the future and the race of armaments will be once more renewed unless there is permanent provision for the settlement of international disputes by courts or diplomatic conferences. Sooner or later all roads to peace lead to a League of Nations.

## Can't Have It Two Ways

MANY Irish sympathizers are indignant at Admiral Sims for harping on the attitude of some Sinn Feiners during the war while neglecting to mention the loyal service of thousands of Irishmen and Irish-Americans who served gallantly in France. But if Ireland wants due credit for being on the side of America and the Allies against Germany, Irishmen must cease to applaud or excuse the "Easter week" insurrection of 1916, the activities of Casement and the pro-Germanism of politicians of the O'Leary stripe. Either the cause of America and the Allies in the Great War was right or it was wrong. If it was right, Irishmen should be proud of their men who fell in Flanders and ashamed of those who fell in Dublin. If it was wrong, Irishmen should be proud of those who fell in Dublin and ashamed of those who fell in Flanders. But Sinn Fein, with a total disregard of logic, seems to want credit both for fighting gallantly against Germany and for helping Germany by fighting against England while England was fighting Germany.

# The Story of the Week

## America Leads World Disarmament

PRESIDENT Harding has invited the principal military powers of the world to an international conference on disarmament. The official statement issued by the Department of State declares that:

The President, in view of the far-reaching importance of the question of limitation of armament, has approached with informal but definite inquiries the group of powers heretofore known as the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, that is, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to them to take part in a conference on this subject, to be held in Washington at a time to be mutually agreed upon. If the proposal is found to be acceptable, formal invitations for such a conference will be issued.

It is manifest that the question of limitation of armament has a close relation to Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and the President has suggested that the powers especially interested in these problems should undertake in connection with this conference the consideration of all matters bearing upon their solution with a view to reaching a common understanding with respect to principles and policies in the Far East. This has been communicated to the powers concerned, and China has also been invited to take part in the discussion relating to Far Eastern problems.

This announcement is the response of the executive branch of the Administration to the initiative of Congress in passing the Borah amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill. Senator Borah of Idaho persuaded the Senate to adopt unanimously an amendment calling for a conference on naval disarmament of the three leading naval powers of the Pacific, the United States, Great Britain and Japan. For a long time the House of Representatives failed to follow suit, fearing that the Borah resolution might not be in line with the policy of President Harding. But the President set doubts at rest by a letter to Representative Mondell, the majority leader, in which he stated that he would welcome a resolution in favor of disarmament and that he would not quarrel with the form in which it was expressed. The House thereupon adopted the Borah amendment by 330 votes to 4.

The present announcement of the policy of the Administration goes beyond the Borah resolution in two respects. In the first place it includes France and Italy among the naval powers invited to join with the United States to limit armament. In the second place the Washington conference is to discuss not only disarmament but also the political problems of the Far East and of the Pacific. There are numerous reasons why disarmament and Far Eastern affairs are to be considered together, as the naval rivalry of the United States, Great Britain and Japan has for its background such questions as the Shantung settlement, the Yap mandate, the Japanese occupation of parts of Siberia and the projected renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The defensive alliance of Japan and the British Empire is about to terminate by lapse of time and the question of its renewal is now under consideration by the British Government and the British Dominions. The purpose of the alliance was in a general way to ensure the peace of the Far East and in particular to maintain "the territorial rights of the high contracting parties (Britain and Japan) in the regions of eastern Asia and of India and the defense of their special interests in said regions." It was very useful to Great Britain during the war with Germany, as it enabled the British to abandon their interests in the Pacific to Japanese guardianship while the British naval effort was concentrated directly against Germany in European waters. But many have felt that with the end of the war the usefulness of the alliance had passed. Germany and Russia were no longer to be feared, and a continuance of the alliance might be misinterpreted by China or by the United States as an imperialistic rather than a defensive policy. It is possible that the coming Washington conference on Pacific and Far Eastern Affairs may replace the special Anglo-Japanese alliance by a general friendly agreement of all the interested nations.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*

The Thinker (after Rodin)

## Business at Washington

THESE are busy days for Congress, and even the hardest-hearted constituency may pity its Representative or Senator when reflecting how much work remains to be done during the hot summer months. Peace with Germany has been made and emergency measures respecting immigration and the tariff rushed to completion, but the permanent tariff has but just emerged from committee and the whole thorny problem of taxation remains to be tackled. The question of a soldiers' bonus is also a vexing one. To pass the bill which Senator McCumber has brought before the Senate would put to flight all hopes of reducing the budget; whatever economies could be effected in other directions would be more than eclipsed by the new expenditures. But, on the other hand, to go on record against a soldiers' bonus would make a Congressman feel churlish and ungrateful if not absolutely unpatriotic, and he fears that many of his constituents would be of the same opinion.

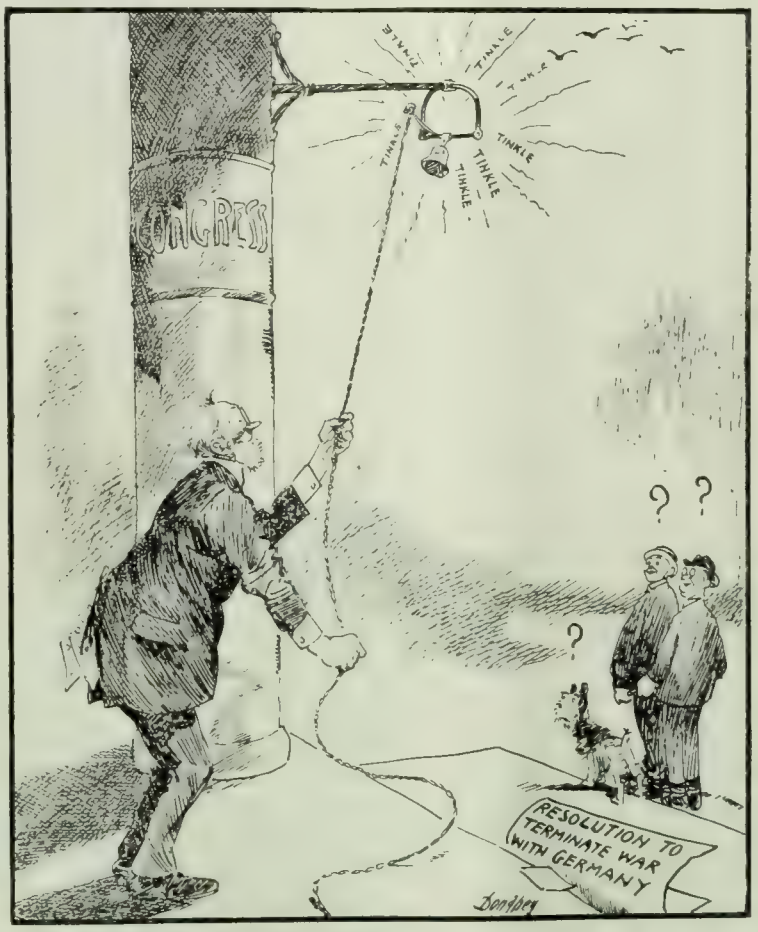
Secretary Mellon of the Treasury has urged Congress to postpone the bonus question on the ground that it would throw a "load upon the whole people in the form of increased interest charges, increased taxes and increased cost of living" and that it would plunge into chaos the national finances, since "The Government has to face early maturities of public debt amounting to about $7,500,000,000,

of which about $5,000,000,000 fall in the same fiscal year in which it is proposed to begin cash payments under the bill." President Harding has sent a special message to Congress requesting that the bonus question be postponed since the whole question of Federal taxation still awaits consideration.

The spirit of economy and retrenchment showed itself notably in the reduction of the army to 150,000 men in the army appropriation bill. President Harding signed the measure, but at the same time he warned Congress that the Government owed a moral obligation to men who enlisted for a definite term of service and that it might be necessary to face a deficit to meet the just claims of men whose service had not expired and who could not be rightfully discharged merely to cut expenses. The House of Representatives has insisted also on cutting down naval appropriations below the estimates favored in the Senate. The forthcoming disarmament conference may ultimately result in a total cessation of battleship building.

On June 27 by a vote of 250 to 93 the Willis-Campbell bill to prevent the sale of beer passed the House of Representatives. The design of the measure was to overrule by positive law the administrative ruling of former Attorney-General Palmer when he decided that the Volstead Act did not restrict the sale of beer as "medicine." Advocates of temperance feared that the result of the Palmer decision would be to open a door to the manufacture and sale of beer as a beverage, since, unlike some alcoholic preparations, it has no standing as a recognized "drug."

The Treasury Department has before it a lively tussle to persuade Congress to grant the necessary authority for refunding the debts of foreign nations to the United States. The proposed bill, introduced by Senator Penrose, provides that "The Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized from time to time to refund or convert, and to extend the time of payment of the principal or interest, or both, of any obligation of any foreign Government" owed to the United States. As the Allied indebtedness to this country amounts to over $10,000,000,000 some Senators, with traditional jealousy of the "usurpations of the executive," are reluctant to entrust the Treasury with so wide a measure of discretion. Others fear that the United States may be expected to take a share of the German indemnity debt in place of the presumably better security of the Allied nations. But it is probable that if ever we accept German reparations bonds they will have to be guaranteed by the Allies, so the security would really be the same.




*Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer*

**Watch out for Peace! Watch out for Peace!**

In consequence of the adoption of the budget system by Congress, President Harding has appointed Charles G. Dawes of Chicago as Director of the Budget. Director Dawes was Controller of the Currency under President McKinley. During the war he was a Brigadier-General and acted on behalf of the army as general purchasing agent in France. He defended the American army against charges of maladministration of funds before a Congressional investigation committee, and later he was appointed by President Harding to investigate the activities of the Government dealing with wounded veterans of the war. His first act as Director of the Budget was to call together a general mass meeting of Washington officials and urge upon them the need of stringent economy.

## Peace with Germany

AFTER many weeks of rather futile bickering and hair-splitting the House of Representatives and the Senate were able to agree upon the wording of the peace resolution and our war with Germany came to a formal end. By this resolution the state of war existing between the United States and Germany since April 6, 1917, and also the state of war existing between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government since December 7, 1917, are alike terminated; but there is no formal repeal of the declarations of war as provided in the original Knox resolutions. This leaves the ground free for a commercial treaty with Germany and her allies or for a revised version of the peace treaties negotiated at Paris. Which course the Administration will pursue is still uncertain. Pending the ratification of the old treaties or the negotiation of new ones the peace resolution reserves all American rights and property claims as against enemy countries.

On June 30 the House of Representatives approved the amended peace resolution by 263 votes to 59. Forty Democrats voted with the Republican majority for an immediate and separate peace; one Republican voted with the minority. On July 1 the Senate gave a majority of 38 to 19 for the peace resolution. The vote followed party lines save for three anti-League Democrats who voted with the Republicans. On July 2 President Harding made the peace resolution effective by his signature. The United States thus made peace after being at war for nearly fifty-one months. Nineteen of these months were spent in actual fighting; not quite eight months in making the peace treaty, and over twenty-four months in political quarrels in the United States as to the ratification of the treaty and the manner of making peace!

## And Lo the Tariff!

THE chief tasks assigned to the present Congress by the incoming Administration and by public opinion at large were tax revision and tariff revision. The new plan of taxation is still under consideration, but the tariff has been reported out of committee and onto the floor of the House of Representatives. Representative Fordney introduced the tariff bill to the House.

The Fordney tariff follows in its main lines the Payne-Aldrich tariff which produced so much debate during the Taft administration; the theory of the Republican Representatives being that the country had become tired of living under a Democratic tariff and was ready to return to the principle of protection. It is claimed on behalf of the new tariff that it will raise revenues amounting to $700,000,000 a year. The schedules are very comprehensive and cover thousands of items; it is not possible, therefore, to make a detailed comparison with existing and former tariffs

within a reasonable space, but in general higher rates are established on nearly all commodities.

Agricultural machinery, leather, boots and shoes, wood pulp, and various crude raw materials, such as India rubber and iron ore, remain on the free list. Wool is made subject to duty; unmixed wools paying 28 per cent up to seven cents a pound. Cattle, sheep, goats, swine; beef, mutton, pork, bacon, ham and lard are all taken from the free list and made dutiable. Milk also goes off the free list. Fish are made dutiable. A rate of 25 cents a bushel is imposed on wheat and 50 cents a hundred pounds on wheat flour. Existing rates on dairy and poultry farm products, on grains and cereals of all sorts, on fruits and nuts and on vegetables are generally increased and in some instances more than doubled. Flax and hemp are made dutiable. Tobacco pays a slightly higher rate. Sugar rates are somewhat increased and classifications altered.

Crude petroleum is dutiable at 35 cents a barrel. Coal tar dyes are protected by a duty of 30 to 35 per cent ad valorem and 7 cents a pound. Iron and steel and solid bars or "pigs" of various metals used in industry are protected. Earthenware and glassware goods have higher rates.

The actual schedules established by the bill follow familiar and expected lines. More discussion has been aroused by the changed system of valuation. Instead of taking as a basis of value the purchase price in the country of manufacture or production the new bill provides that

> Except as otherwise provided by law, the word "value" wherever used . . . shall mean the price on the date of exportation of the imported merchandise at which comparable and competitive products of the United States were ordinarily sold or freely offered for sale in the usual wholesale quantities . . . or when such value cannot be ascertained to the satisfaction of the appraising officer shall mean the value of the imported merchandise on said date for sale . . . for consumption or use in the United States.

The effect of this new system of valuation is uncertain, but it is bound to be very considerable owing to the difference in the price level between European countries and the United States and the fluctuations of money exchange.

President Harding has protested against one item in the new tariff; the oil schedule. He wrote to Chairman Fordney of the House Ways and Means Committee:

> I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that your committee will take note of the foreign policy to which we are already committed, under which the Government is doing every consistent thing to encourage the participation of American citizens in the development of oil resources in many foreign lands. . . . To levy a protective tariff on crude petroleum now would be at variance with all that has been done to safeguard our foreign interest.




*Harding in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**Why certainly—of course—come right in**

## The Tiger Hunt Starts

THE municipal campaign against Tammany Hall has begun in New York City.

The Citizens' Union, which is a non-partizan reform organization of old standing, has made public attack all along the line on the administration of Mayor Hylan and his Tammany colleags. It advocates fusion of the Republicans with the independents and anti-Tammany Democrats because victory can be obtained "only by a union of all elements opposed to Hylan, to Tammany Hall, which is chiefly responsible for him, and to Hearst, his publicity mentor and platform creator." The counts of the indictment are that after promising economy the Hylan administration increased the budget by 45 per cent and increased the tax rate to the highest point in city history; that the transportation system has degenerated and is threatened with bankruptcy; that the schools are "filthy firetraps"; that instead of building the needed new courthouse the city administration was victimized by the Brindell builders' conspiracy and the mayor made himself the tool of Brindell's colleag Hettrick and undertook wasteful and dishonest contracts; that "the present police administration is on a lower plane than it has been at any time in two decades"; that "the mayor tried to block the agreement with New Jersey for port development," and that the civil service has been demoralized to a degree "that has made efficiency a joke and economy an impossibility."

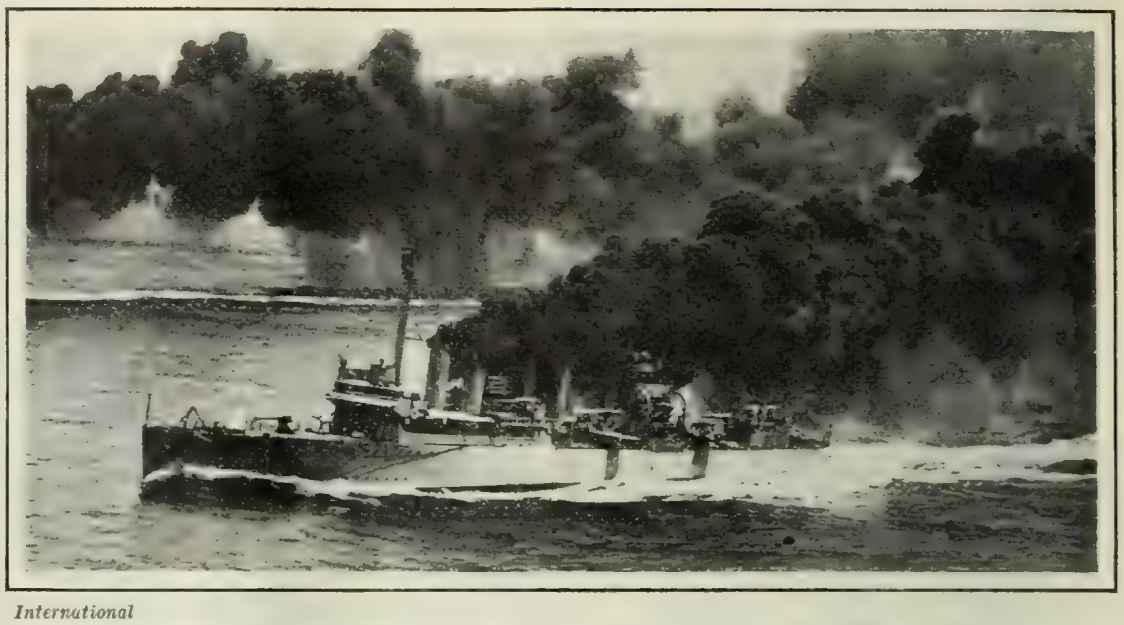
To this indictment the Director of the Public Education Association adds that the city is in default by $27,000,000 on needed school expenditures and that "It is doubtful whether the school authorities will be able even to operate the schools fully in their present condition, let alone to put them into proper physical shape." Mayor Hylan claims, on the other hand, that he spent more money in school building than previous administrations had done and that the present outcry came from "the old Gary school crowd" who wanted schools condemned in order to decrease seating facilities and "accomplish their purpose of fitting the child solely for the mill and factory"!

No nominations have yet been made for the fall elections. Hylan will be renominated by Tammany Hall, but the opposition elements have not yet decided whether to risk a straight Republican ticket—in a normally Democratic city—or to adopt the fusion policy and appeal to the public on non-partizan grounds. A coalition committee is now at work to bring about a fusion ticket. The chief advantage of Tammany in the present fight is Mayor Hylan's spectacular stand for maintaining a five cent fare on the subway and other municipal traction lines. Governor Miller having appointed a state commission to settle the traction question, fare and all, it is no longer a matter for the municipal authorities to settle, but Tammany hopes to capitalize the popular opposition to Governor Miller's policy and roll up a protest vote against the Republicans and all their works. Tammany hopes that popular resentment at any graft which may be uncovered will be forgotten in the fear of a seven or eight cent fare.

## Chief Justice Taft

ONE of President Harding's most important appointments was his selection of William Howard Taft as successor to the late Chief Justice White. The Senate ratified the appointment enthusiastically, but not unanimously.

For three Republican insurgents and one ex-Populist Democrat voted in opposition: Senators Johnson of California, Borah of Idaho, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Watson of Georgia. On the other hand, several Democratic Senators applauded the appointment on the ground that as President, Mr. Taft had always been fair to the South and had chosen a southern Democrat as Chief Justice during his administration. The appointment of Mr. Taft had been generally expected ever since the death of Justice White, but as no public announcement of President Harding's choice was made until the name actually went before the Senate there were many rumors to the effect that the ex-President might not get the Chief Justiceship after all.



*International*

**A smoke screen, one of the defenses offered by the destroyer fleet in the recent sham battle between destroyers and dreadnaughts off the Pacific Coast, in which the destroyers had the victory. The wall of smoke shut down like night around the speeding ship**

Chief Justice Taft, as we must now learn to call him, has for many years cherished the ambition of sitting on the Supreme Court. Even the Presidency was for him but a "second best." He was educated in the law, admitted to the Ohio bar and practised law in Cincinnati for several years.

In 1890 he became Solicitor General of the United States and two years later a Federal Circuit Judge. Until 1900 it appeared that his entire career would be devoted to the legal profession and that he might reasonably hope, on account of his widely recognized ability and his standing with the chiefs of the Republican party, to crown that career as a Justice of the Supreme Court. But President McKinley drafted him into executive service as head of the Philippine Commission and later he was Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands. As a colonial administrator he was such a success that President Roosevelt saw in him Cabinet timber and made him Secretary of War.

The rest of his career is familiar to everyone. Chosen in 1908 as President of the United States by a large popular and electoral majority he worked strenuously for efficient and economical administration during his four years of office. But his ability as a jurist and as an administrator surpassed his skill as a political leader, and he was outvoted in 1912 not only by the Democratic candidate, but also by the new-born Progressive party under the captaincy of ex-President Roosevelt. Taking his heavy defeat good-naturedly Mr. Taft retired from active politics and accepted a law professorship in his old Alma Mater of Yale. He took particular interest in the world peace movement and was president of the League to Enforce Peace. Even apart from his Yale professorship he still kept his old interest in legal affairs, and at the time he was notified of his appointment to the Supreme Court he was acting as arbitrator in a case involving the Grand Trunk Railroad.

## Santo Domingo to Walk Alone

AT the direction of Secretary Hughes, Rear Admiral Robison has issued a proclamation to the Republic of Santo Domingo providing for the gradual withdrawal of American forces from the country and the gradual relinquishment of American control over the administrative affairs of the nation. In Santo Domingo, as in the neighboring republic of Haiti, the United States has for several years been acting under treaty agreements as "big brother." The two turbulent republics have been pacified and, in the case of Santo Domingo, American supervision has restored law and order to such an extent that it seems possible for the native authorities to resume their duties.

The proclamation, dated June 14, provides that within one month elections will be held under American supervision. The local electoral colleges, chosen by the people in accordance with the Dominican constitution, will then choose the Senators and Deputies and judges. Admiral Robison, the Military Governor, will thereupon appoint a commission to negotiate the details of the agreement for American evacuation. The acts of the American military provisional government must be confirmed, and a loan "required in order to complete the public works which are now in actual course of construction" approved. Customs revenues are to be pledged as security for this loan. In order that peace and good order may continue under native administration a National Guard, both urban and rural, will be organized under American auspices.

The Dominican Congress will be called into special session to confirm the evacuation agreement. Then a President of the republic will be elected and installed in office. The transition from American to native rule having thus been completed by stages "the Military Governor will transfer to the duly elected President of the republic all of his powers, and the military government will cease; and thereupon the forces of the United States will be at once withdrawn." In Santo Domingo, as formerly in Cuba, the United States has intervened not as a conqueror, seeking an excuse to turn a temporary occupation into a permanent annexation, but simply to set things in order and then turn the administration over to the people in the hope that they would make a better job of their self-government than they had done before we stepped in.

## Italian Ministry Upset

PREMIER Giolitti, the veteran "boss" of Italian politics, has resigned. Altho the last election left a group of parties supporting his administration with a majority of the Chamber of Deputies, he found this majority to be too narrow and insecure for safety. On June 26 a resolution was introduced condemning in general terms the foreign policy of the Government. This was a shrewd device to catch the conservative and imperialistic parties, especially the "Fascisti" Deputies, who had been counted among Giolitti's supporters. They would vote against Giolitti as a condemnation of his moderation and compromize in making the Treaty of Rapallo with the Yugoslavs; whereas the Socialists, who cared little for foreign affairs and nothing for imperialism, would vote for any general resolution condemning any "bourgeois" government. By combining all hostile elements a vote of 200 was registered against the Giolitti administration. It is true that this was a minority, 234 Deputies having rallied to the defense of the assailed Cabinet.

Many politicians in Giolitti's place would have felt

justified in clinging to office, but not so the shrewd statesman against whom the hostile coalition was directed. He resigned the next day and gladly turned over the cares of office to any one who might be rash enough to try to govern with a Parliament so split up into parties and factions.

By July 4 a new Cabinet had been constituted, with Signor Bonomi as Premier and the Marquis della Torreta as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The new Cabinet will have to rely on much the same party coalitions as Giolitti made use of; there has not been a shifting of power from one party to another, but simply from one individual to another. In countries like France and Italy a Cabinet shake-up rarely means a change of policy; it signifies little more than the failure of the man at the top to control a particular situation and his willingness to let some one else try his hand. But, even so, it is surprizing that the Giolitti ministry should have fallen so soon after a general election had seemingly confirmed its power.

## British Coal Strike Ends

THE three months' coal strike which brought British industry almost to a standstill and cost miners, owners and business men as much as a medium-sized war is at an end. The first great blow to the continuance of the strike took place when the railwaymen and transport workers refused to go out on a sympathetic strike and thus broke up the "Triple Alliance" of the three great unions. But the miners remained out for many weeks and fought their own battle without allies. They demanded a nationalization of the mines or, failing that, a pooling of wages and profits, so that miners would not have their income lowered below the minimum standard of living by the fact that they worked on unprofitable mines. These demands were all defeated. But in other respects the settlement is extremely favorable to the miners, so that they may claim the result of the strike as a victory, or at least they might do so had not the strike itself cost them so heavily.

A Government grant of ten million pounds (at normal exchange $50,000,000) is extended as a temporary aid to uphold wages in districts where they would otherwise fall below the stipulated minimum. In other words the taxpayers are to pay this sum to keep up wages in the coal industry; a step which would have shocked old fashioned economists. Even more novel is the proposal that wages should bear a fixed relation to profits; which virtually makes the British coal mines a profit-sharing industry. The minimum wage is fixed at 20 per cent above the standard rates of 1914. Neither side may break the arranged compromize without a three months' notice. In view of all these concessions the representatives of the miners agreed to abandon their demand for a national wages pool of the whole coal industry.




*Morris, for George Matthew Adams Service*




*James in the St. Louis Star*

**The next stop**

## Peace in Erin

ON Thursday, July 16, a conference between representatives of the British Government, of Ulster and of southern Ireland opened in London under the direction of Premier Lloyd George. President De Valera of the Irish Republic and Arthur Griffith, organizer of Sinn Fein, were among the delegates of the revolutionary party. Such a meeting has few parallels in history and illustrates very well the readiness of the English, and especially of Lloyd George, to disregard logic and consistency in seeking a practical solution for a difficult situation. From the point of view of Sinn Fein all is simple; the diplomatic representatives of independent Ireland are negotiating with the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain. But from the British point of view men who a few days earlier had no legal standing and were considered simply as criminals, rebels and outlaws are now suddenly invested with the dignity of diplomats and asked to negotiate with the Government to which they owe allegiance. Even stranger is the fact that a formal "truce" was agreed on between the British forces in Ireland and the revolutionary army, in spite of the fact that the Sinn Feiners have never before been granted "belligerent rights" and that in theory the British army in Ireland is simply acting as a police force against individual lawbreakers and not engaging in any national war. Some British Tories and rigid Ulstermen are vexed and embarrassed at the sudden shift in the situation, but the bulk of the British press welcomed jubilantly the prospect of ending the age-old controversy between Britain and Ireland. Even the Ulster Government has consented, tho without much enthusiasm, to take part in the negotiations.

On the very eve of the truce there were serious riots in Ulster. In Belfast fifteen persons were killed and about one hundred wounded. A number of houses were burned and both Orangemen and Sinn Feiners took part in street fighting. It is not definitely established which party was the first to begin the firing, but the party spirit of both sides was inflamed by the approach of the Orangemen's holiday, July 12, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, which established Protestant supremacy in Ireland.

Premier Smuts of South Africa has taken a leading part in urging the British Government and the Sinn Feiners to meet in conference. He is believed to favor a compromise on the basis of "Dominion Home Rule"; that is, granting to Ireland the same political status enjoyed by Canada, Australia and South Africa.

# A Little of Everything



## Getting Ahead of the Weather

### By C. F. Talman

"Phenology" is a word that the printer is pretty sure to spell "phrenology" unless he is cautioned not to. It is the name of a science that has hitherto led a rather precarious existence, probably because it has been regarded as a sort of "no man's land" between the territories pertaining to meteorology on the one hand and to various branches of biology on the other. The Encyclopedia Britannica ignores it; notwithstanding the fact that English lovers of nature, ever since Gilbert White set the example, have generally been students of phenology, and a large corps of regular phenological observers has flourished for many years in the British Isles.

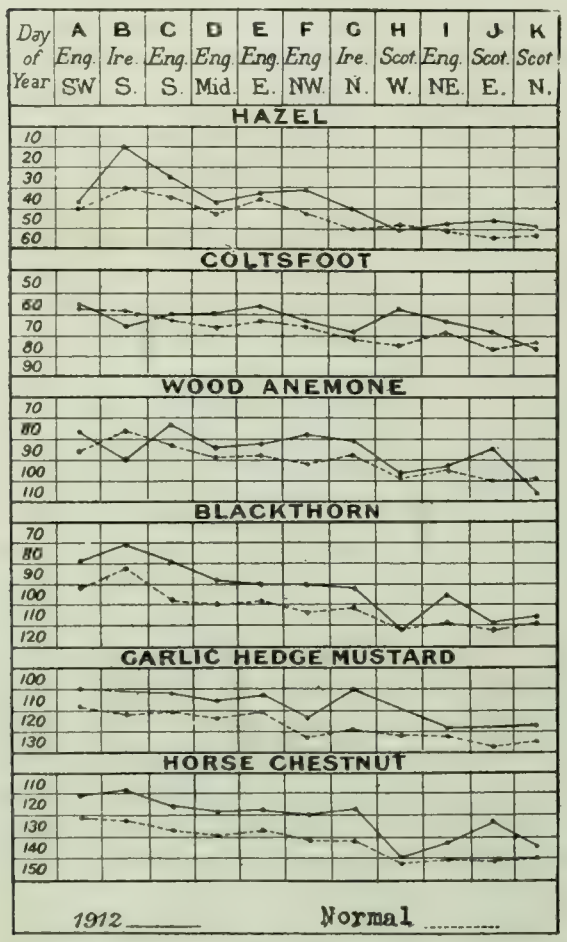
Phenology is the study of the relations between weather and the recurrent events in the lives of plants and animals. Such events include the leafing, flowering and fruiting of plants, the fall of the leaves in the autumn, the migrations and first songs of birds, and various other occurrences of a biological character that depend upon the seasons. The phenologist selects certain species for observation, and then records year after year the dates on which these species pass thru the different stages above mentioned. When the record is long enough to provide satisfactory averages, it is possible to express the normal march of the seasons, for the locality where the data were gathered, in terms of plant and animal life; in short, to draw up a biological calendar. Then, in any particular year, one can determine whether the season is early or late, and how much, by comparing the dates of actual events with those of the calendar.

By collecting the phenological records for different places we can ascertain the normal progress of the seasons over the country. It is by means of such statistics that Dr. A. D. Hopkins, of the United States Bureau of Entomology has worked out a useful rule known as the "bioclimatic law," according to which the periodical events of plant and animal life advance over the United States at the rate of one degree of latitude, five degrees of longitude, and 400 feet of altitude every four days—northward, eastward and upward in spring, and southward, westward and downward in autumn. By applying this rule, when the date of any phenological occurrence is known for one locality it may be approximately determined for any other. To cite but one of many possible uses of the rule: the Department of Agriculture has applied it in preparing maps and calendars for the different wheat-growing regions of the country, showing the dates in spring and fall when the Hessian fly may be expected to be prevalent, as a guide to the dates when winter wheat should be planted in order to escape the ravages of this insect.

In the Old World phenological observations are collected systematically in several countries and have already made possible the production of some very instructive phenological charts. Thus Dr. E. Ihne, of Darmstadt, Germany, has published a chart showing the progress of spring weather over the former Grand Duchy of Hesse in an average season, as indicated by the average blossoming dates of a number of native plants. A chart of this character furnishes a valuable guide in the selection of early or late varieties of fruits or agricultural crops for planting, in accordance with the requirements of any particular locality.

Such are some of the practical aspects of phenology. On the philosophical side of the subject a great deal of work has been done with a view to determining mathematical relations between the sequence of biological events and the fluctuations of temperature, rainfall and other weather conditions.

Phenology was extensively cultivated in the United States in the middle of the last century. After a long period of neglect, a marked revival of interest began about a decade ago, and it is now a subject of rapidly increasing prominence.




**Phenology is an old science in Great Britain, perhaps because there is so much weather there to study. This chart describes the spring of 1912 in the British Isles, showing it to be a forward season. The numbers indicate the days of the year, the broken lines the normal times of blossoming, and the solid line the dates for 1912**

## Hunting Made Easy

Some of us bloodthirsty stay-at-homes, who get our adventure by reading about it—and so, the worse the better—will be disappointed to hear that much big game hunting in the jungle is just a matter of setting a net or a trap and then sitting on the front porch while the beast gets himself tangled up. "It's just routine work, involving but little excitement," says Charles Mayer, in "The Sea Tragedy of the



**In the Phenological Park at the Royal Observatory of Belgium, near Brussels, about forty kinds of trees, shrubs and herbs are kept under observation and the dates of their leafing, blossoming and fruiting recorded year after year. The various pavilions and screens indicate the presence of meteorological instruments, the records of which provide data for studying the relations between weather and the growth of the plants**

Jungle" in the *Asia Magazine* for May. However, as a matter of fact, this does not mean hunting proper and for its own sake, but collecting animals alive to bring back for study and exhibition. Netting is one of the best methods of collecting. The net is easily concealed, and when the animal is once in his own struggles fasten him there securely. Then the men who are keeping watch carry him comfortably back to camp strung between poles.

It is perhaps surprising that the cat family—tigers, leopards and the rest—supposed to be a crafty lot, are in reality the most easily caught of all animals, either by net or by trap. A box trap with a spring door is baited; the animal goes in after the bait, the door shuts behind him; the animal eats the bait and is kept from starving until the hunters get around to transferring it to the cage in which it is to be shipped.

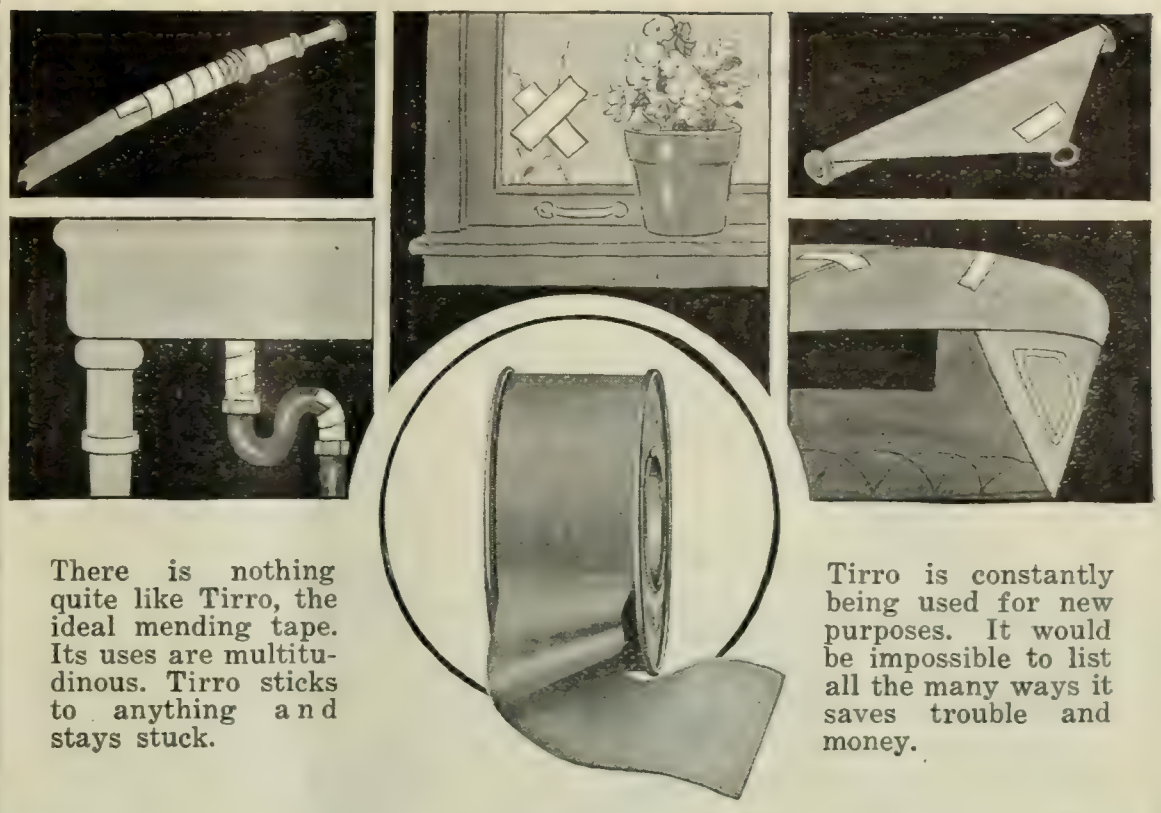
## The Low Cost of High Living

Plants play an important part in the domestic economy of the Eskimos, especially those who live on Smith Sound —this according to an account by a Danish explorer, Peter Freuchen, appearing in a recent number of the Journal of the Royal Danish Geographical Society. The meal most enjoyed consists of raw walrus or seal meat, but if these cannot be obtained, recourse may be had to plant food.

The commonest of all plant food used is the mass of slightly digested vegetable pulp in the paunch of the musk-ox and caribou, and this—called *neruvkarsuit* by the Eskimos—is considered a great delicacy among them. Especially is it highly prized when it is accompanied by *akutak*—a mixture of equal parts of water, narwhal oil that has melted out of the blubber in the sunshine, and musk-ox or caribou tallow, stirred together cold until it forms a light mass resembling beaten white of egg.

Plants used directly for food are ten or fifteen in number. The first flower which appears in the spring in Greenland is the purple saxifrage (*Saxifraga oppositifolia*). As soon as the snow melts down, this dainty little flower begins blooming, and in the course of a few days after the snow has left a bit of ground the plot is purple with blossoms. It is no uncommon sight to see the Eskimo women and children go out with their little sealskin cups and collect the flowers, which they eat much as children here eat red clover. Occasionally they mix the flowers with seal blubber; and the mixture is considered very good indeed.

The Arctic willow is used as food in several ways. Its newly opened green leaves are laid upon boiled meat, much as we use cress; also it is used in *iseqavik*, which is a mixture of half-rotted blubber, called *pujak*, with the willow down from the ripened willow catkins. The resulting mass is more like chewing gum than anything else, and the Eskimos use it as if it were.

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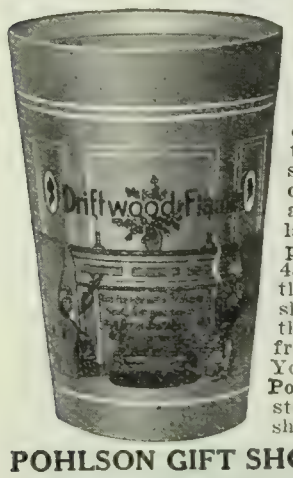
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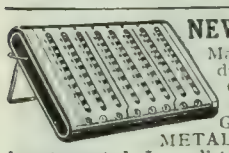
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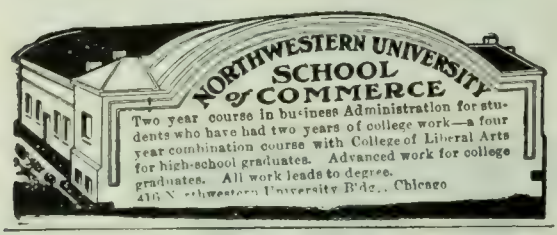
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One of the daintiest plants found in all North Greenland is *Silene acaulis*, a delicate little pink flower which grows in low round mats. Of this plant the Eskimos eat the root, which sometimes becomes as thick as a person's finger, tho more often only as thick as a lead pencil. Cooked carefully, it tastes somewhat like carrots, and made into soup, especially with whale blubber, it is very good.

The plant most used by the Eskimos is *Oxyria digyna*, a plant which tastes very much like sorrel. It grows almost everywhere in the North, and its red leaves and flower stems are visible for long distances. It tastes strongly of oxalic acid and because of its spicy sourness is particularly prized by the Eskimos as a dressing for meat.

Apparently there are no poisonous mushrooms in Greenland, because the Eskimos do not hesitate to eat all species which they find. Likewise in times of stress they eat seaweed, both *Laminaria* and *Fucus*, boiling them down to a sort of jelly. The lichens, especially the big black *Gyrophora*, "tripe de roche," are also used in times of starvation.

## The Birds' Moving Day

A German professor, Dr. Thienemann, has recently raised the interesting question as to whether birds which change their place of abode in spring and fall prepare themselves previously for long journeys. Such a preparation might conceivably consist of two kinds. It might, on the one hand, include the swallowing of a definite amount of food, and, on the other hand, it might consist of some modification in the character of the plumage. In other words, do the birds fly with full crops from which to obtain the necessary energy for their muscular effort, or do they, on the other hand, fly with empty crop and stomach in order to lessen their weight? Furthermore, is there any difference in plumage observable just before the start?

In order to solve the first question the learned professor first experimented with caged birds in order to see how much time they required after the taking of food for the crop and stomach to become entirely empty. He found that after feeding plentifully, in the majority of cases no trace of food was left at the end of four hours, in a smaller number eight hours was required.

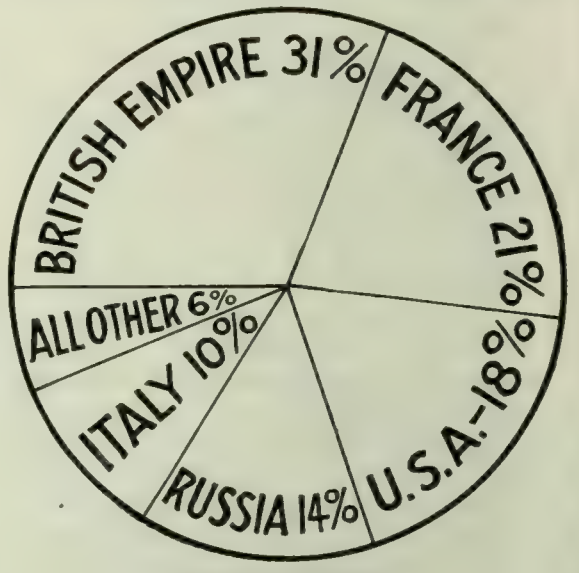
He then examined birds captured in the act of migration. In these he found that out of 183 individuals 18 per cent had the crop and stomach full, 40 per cent had it empty and 42 per cent had it moderately filled. The majority, therefore, appeared to endeavor not to overload the stomach. The migratory instinct prevails in general over the hunger instinct.

As to the second question—whether migratory birds take any special care to keep their plumage in good condition—he believes that the birds will not refrain from migrating because of injury to the plumage or disorder in it.

His observations seem to prove that the dominant instinct in migrating birds is the attempt to proceed. The stimulus which causes them to seek food is practically excluded during the time of the strongest migratory impulse, so that at times the birds appear almost entirely indifferent even to their favorite delicacies; thus the falcon migrates close beside the dove without injury to the latter.

## Who Won the War?

A silly question, of course. At least six nations were indispensable, and the other seventeen Allied and Associated




COST IN MONEY




COST IN LIVES




TOTAL SACRIFICE

countries came in "mighty handy." Had Belgium not resisted the first German advance Paris would have been taken; had Russia not held the eastern front for three years Germany

could have poured overwhelming forces on the French lines in the west; had Italy not intervened on the right side the Austro-Hungarian armies would have been united with the German after the fall of Serbia and Russia; had Great Britain not commanded the seas there would have been no blockade of Germany; had France not been the backbone of resistance on land Germany would have overrun the whole continent of Europe as Napoleon did in his time; had the United States kept out the war would have dragged on to a stalemate. To say "who won the war?" is to say "which link makes the chain?"

None the less, it is possible to make a rude sort of estimate of *quantitative* contributions (we say nothing about quality, mind you) to the war effort on the part of the various nations engaged. Two things are essential in war, besides morale of course: materials and men. Material effort may be measured in dollars spent, not including foreign loans or purely domestic expenditures, by each nation during the war period. The extent to which man-power was put into the actual fighting may be measured by the battle-losses in lives. The Federal Government of the United States has published a statistical survey of the war ("The War With Germany," by Colonel Leonard P. Ayres) giving comparative tables of war losses and expenditures. In the following charts we have reduced these tables to percentages of the total.

## Half-Tones

Over 4,250,000 telephone calls are made in New York daily.

***

In a recent English by-election a farm laborer succeeded his old landlord to a seat in Parliament.

***

A tribe of Indians in Labrador has been discovered which has no gods or idols and no form of religious worship.

***

A new telephone is installed on the average once a minute in New York City. And yet there is a long waiting list.

***

In the early twentieth century it is said that women still had ears. They disappeared about the time of the Great War.

***

Spain has been importing minnows of the species Gumbusia Affinis from Georgia to kill malaria-carrying mosquitoes.

***

Thieves have taken to covering their fingers with collodion during business hours, so as to leave no tell-tale prints.

***

A member of the German Reichstag who died recently served a continuous term of forty-four years without making a single speech.

***

The Kubus of southern Sumatra, one of the lowest of the savage races, are said to "grow old at twenty, and seldom reach the age of thirty."

***

It has been estimated that the number of people annually making use of the Forty-second Street stations on the New York subway exceeds the total population of the United States.




# Add This Beauty

## to your features—whiter teeth

Millions of people have learned a way to whiter, cleaner, safer teeth. A ten-day test will prove it, and that test is free.

This is to urge that you try the method. Watch how your teeth improve. See what beauty whiter teeth can add.

### A dingy film

Teeth become coated with a dingy film. At first it is viscous—you can feel it with your tongue. It clings to teeth, enters crevices and stays.

That film is what discolors, not the teeth. It dims the natural luster. But it also is the cause of most tooth troubles.

Film is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea.

### Must combat it

The ordinary tooth paste does not effectively combat film. So the tooth brush has left much of it intact. As a result, the best-brushed teeth will often discolor and decay. Very few people have escaped the troubles caused by film.

Dental science has now found effective film combatants. Authorities have amply proved them. Now leading dentists everywhere advise their daily use.

The methods are embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And other factors, now considered essential, are included with them.

### The five effects

Pepsodent attacks the film in two effective ways. It keeps the teeth so highly polished that film less easily adheres.

It stimulates the salivary flow—Nature's great tooth-protecting agent. It multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva, to digest starch deposits that cling. It multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva to neutralize the acids which cause tooth decay.

So every use brings five effects which authorities desire.

### Watch it act

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the viscous film. See how teeth whiten as the film-coats disappear. Watch the other good effects.

Ten days will show you how much this method means to you and yours. The facts are most important. Cut out the coupon now.

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**Write Personally for full particulars to**

ALVAN E. DUERR, HEAD MASTER


## Made in Italy

(*Continued from page 20*)

funds for a magnificent Italian hospital, which in its turn means self-respect and unwillingness to become a burden. Recently an investigator found that out of every 28,000 Italians there was only one in the almshouse on Blackwell's Island during a representative year, while out of every 28,000 Irish there were 140. What a showing, when you recall that 85 per cent. of New York's Italians are laborers!

Without Italian labor New York would come to a standstill. And we are beginning, albeit tardily, to recognize a more distinguished usefulness in our Italians. Mr. Celestino Piva, the silk merchant, shines among philanthropists. Mr. Pizzara is superintendent of the S. P. C. C. Mr. La Guardia presides over the Board of Aldermen. Three learned Italian—Freschi, Valenti, and Mancuso—wear the ermine. Dr. Imperatore, surgeon at Bellevue, held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the A. E. F. Dr. Felice Ferrero is admired everywhere by sociologists. Mr. Biasi edits an excellent illustrated monthly, *Il Carroccio*. In daily journalism Mr. Barsotti directs *Il Progresso* (circulation 113,600) and Mr. Frugone directs *Il Bolletino*. At Columbia and the City College young Italians take high honors. Dr. Henry Suzzalo, formerly of New York, is President of the University of Washington. Of the fifteen artists who collaborated in designing the short-lived Victory Arch, eight were Italians. The Piccirilli brothers contributed its surmounting quadriga. Raphael Memoni shaped its general composition. Tonilli, Ricci, Tosti and Martini modeled decorative details.

At Bellini's restaurant—of which I am, if not the discoverer, then at any rate the Dr. Cook—I meet charming Italians, gentlemen all. In Alessan's case you might expect it; he is an actor. Perhaps you would in Giovanni's; Giovanni set up as a merchant last year, and a few years hence he may be selling Florentine objets d'art uptown, as many an Italian does. But the rest—ecco! without exception they are garment-makers, drudging in sweat shops. Whence come their beautiful manners? What explains their refinement, their responsiveness to beauty, their admiration for the poets, the artists, the musicians who have shed renown upon modern as well as ancient or mediaeval Italy? This is "Dante year." My friends at Bellini's know it. An Italian, General di Cesnola, once directed the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They have not forgotten. And their newspapers remind them daily that Caruso, Tetrazzini, and Galli-Curci reign supreme at the Metropolitan Opera House. That delights them. They adore grand opera. In short, they have culture, or the makings of it.

It is not only because a fairly notable proportion of them are sons or grandsons of Italians once reasonably well-to-do in Italy. To a far greater extent it is because Italian blood, even among laborers, is itself a synonym for refine-

ment. Visit their Bowery theatres. Italians with subway mud still clinging to their boots demand entertainment which, by its dignity and charm and artistic grace, compels your respect.

Respect, one may add, is the chief thing Italians ask of America. They will forget Fiume. They may even come to tolerate "la Proibizione." But they find it hard to forgive Americans who call them "Guineas," "wops," and "Dagoes." Until that sort of outrage stops, the Circolo and the Italy-America Society and all the innumerable organizations now endeavoring to teach Italians to love America will encounter tremendous obstacles. Moreover, Italians want sympathy. Given sympathy, plus respect, they are yours. In Little Italy on the upper East Side, and again in Second Avenue and East Houston street, and still again in the Italian quarter on the lower West Side, you see Italians actually drawn into Protestant churches and made over into Protestants. Little or nothing in the Protestant service attracts them. What attracts is sympathy, plus respect—the implication, everywhere, "Your worth is warrant for your welcome." Which, by the way, deserves to be posted up conspicuously on Ellis Island.

*Scotland, Connecticut*

## The Industrial Court—Why?

Philosophically, and in general, the foremost concern of the Industrial Court is to protect the rights and lives of the public, including employers and employees. It goes back to first American principles. It guides away from the path pointed out by Lenin. It resists the deep, philosophical motive of Bolshevism, which is the theory of economic force. It restores to the majority something that seems to be drifting away. That something is just as much a part of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as anything for which the fathers fought. That something is the great prize of industrial peace and industrial justice, which affect the public just as much as they affect capital and labor.

Strikes, lockouts, and other oppressive caveman measures can no longer be considered mere private disputes under our finely organized society. The world is getting too crowded and its activities are becoming too scientific. Watches cannot be repaired with monkey wrenches and crowbars. There is no valid reason why industrial disputes should not be settled by the government of the people than there is a reason for settling debts by the use of fists or clubs. There is no valid reason why the majority should submit to tremendous hardship because of quarrels between members of a minority, when such quarrels can be settled justly by the majority thru law. Courts are not perfect, but they stand between savagery and civilization. If criminal and civil courts can be trusted, industrial courts can be trusted. "Let the safety of the public be the supreme law."

From *"The Party of the Third Part,"* by Henry J. Allen, published by Harper & Brothers. Pg. 142.


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# Some More Best People

## A Community Servant
### By Minnie Ainsworth Wilson

*A tribute to the "best man" of Jefferson, Iowa, by one who knows—his wife.*



A "best man" who can bear the test of service

Any tourist on the Lincoln Highway will see in Jefferson a fine bronze statue of Lincoln. A modest plate on one side reads, "The gift of E. B. Wilson to Greene County and the Lincoln Highway." This introduces my subject, the man all people in the community would agree on as the "best" man, if modest, faithful, useful service—rare service—were to be the measurement of the man.

For over twenty-five years Mr. Wilson has practiced law in the city and gained for himself an enviable reputation as a successful attorney in Central Iowa. Many young men starting in their work are heard to say, "I want to make Mr. Wilson my ideal in business."

Why do I say this man is the "best" in our community? Because he stands for good living and right thinking in more ways in our community than any other individual. He is democratic, modest, big-hearted and full of the spirit of "Let me live in a house by the side of the road and be a friend to man." When prosperity came to this man, instead of lavishing money on himself he lived in a modest, picturesque bungalow, and gave to others. Many are the young people who have been assisted in their education by him; for over thirty years he has been a teacher in a Sunday school, an elder of the church and given very generously to all its work; he has been a member of the library board since the organization of the city library; the playground apparatus on the public school grounds came from his kindness; he has been a faithful worker and helper in promoting one of the best Chautauquas in the county; in various kinds of organizations—Farmers' Community Clubs, patriotic drives, educational meetings, Mr. Wilson is a faithful helper and highly appreciated speaker.

Last year he left his law office and went to France to work in the A. E. F. for the Y. M. C. A. Blessed with tact, willingness to work and a deep love for the boys he helped to establish and make Menton, in southern France, one of the most popular Leave Areas in France. One soldier in writing of Mr. Wilson's work said, "He will have boys in nearly every state in the Union who will be his friends for the true kindness he showed them in France."

And here is another reason why this man is the "best man" in my town. In his home he is the soul of kindness, to the young and careless, to the aged and infirm, to his household in every way, he is the spirit of helpfulness and inspiration. Of too many fine men it is said, "They are angels in public, but something else in the home."

After knowing this man in the home for over twenty-seven years, the best thing I can say of him is "He is even better in his home than in public."

## An Unpolitical Mayor
### By Mrs. H. E. Grayton

*The story of a "reform mayor" who really reformed something, and whom a fellow-citizen is willing to vouch for as "the best man" in the town.*




Back on the job after a little jaunt into politics

In 1911, when Lima, Ohio, was in need of a good mayor, conditions having become about as bad as they could well be, so that many good men refused to accept the responsibility of trying to make things better, a man, Corbin N. Shook, without political ambitions, was, without his knowledge or consent, nominated for mayor by the Socialist party. Tho a native of Lima, he was unknown in local politics. Of a quiet and retiring nature, he had no aspiration to office.

He entered upon the campaign with the determination to put up a clean fight, and made no preelection promises save that he would, if elected, faithfully enforce the laws. His campaign ex-

penses, as reported, were about $2.50 for cards announcing his candidacy. No one thought he had a ghost of a chance, but when returns came in a genuine surprize awaited friends and foes.

Another surprize came when his official family was announced—not a single politician among them. No man was appointed because he was a "good fellow,' or to pay a pre-election pledge. He chose each man with one thought in view; that of his ability to do the work required, rather than for personal or political affiliations. In consequence the officials were efficient, and a business-like atmosphere pervaded the city offices.

Naturally this caused much comment, especially among the members of the party which had nominated him, and they gave him as much trouble as did the law-breaking element, but having had a vision he was steadily true to it despite ridicule and threats. Quietly and modestly our mayor held to his duty as he saw it.

Of course he was misrepresented and maligned. From Maine to California he was attacked, especially in papers representing the interests of vice.

In 1912 there were 2234 arrests brought to his court for trial. Of these, 1982—or nearly 89 per cent—were traceable to drink. In 1913 out of 2392 arrests, 2152, or 89½ per cent, were due to the same cause and were so stated by the mayor. Lima, like most cities, had the problems of the saloon and the red light district. From the first, Mr. Shook's policemen were given instructions to see that the laws were obeyed, without exceptions.

Perhaps at the end of his term of office Mr. Shook showed his caliber as much as at any time. The day his successor took the office this man, who for two years had earnestly and honestly done his part to put Lima on the map as a clean and decent city, was to be found at his printing office, quietly and modestly doing business as before.

## Harding Plays the Game

(*Continued from page 22*)

words, if self-control is a virtue, he certainly has that virtue. He generally drives well and he handles his mashie like a pro. He does not play a mid-iron well, and a bunker for him is the death knell of a hole. His putting depends largely on the success of his game.

Also, he praises a good shot, of foe as well as of partner. He never sulks when beaten, but he is distinctly elated when he wins. He does not take lessons, he does not practise—every one seems agreed that he would play a game far better than that of the average golfer if he did. He is reluctant to accept the privilege of going thru ahead of other players, as, by tradition, they want a President to do. He does not exactly like to leave Senators who are playing with him to come on later. He is quite democratic, you see. In fact he is even non-partizan—he likes to play with Democrats as well as with Republicans!

*Washington, D. C.*


DIVIDENDS

DIVIDEND NOTICE OF

**American Light & Traction Co.**

The Board of Directors of the above Company at a meeting held July 5th, 1921, declared a CASH dividend of 1½ per cent. on the Preferred Stock, and CASH dividend of 1 per cent. on the Common Stock, and a dividend at the rate of one share of Common Stock on every One Hundred (100) shares of Common Stock outstanding, all payable August 1st, 1921.

The Transfer Books will close at 3 o'clock P. M. on July 14th, 1921, and will reopen at 10 o'clock A. M. on July 29th, 1921.

C. N. JELLIFFE, Secretary.

**THE ELECTRIC STORAGE BATTERY CO.**

Allegheny Avenue and 19th Street
Philadelphia, Pa., July 6th, 1921.

At a special meeting held this day, the Board of Directors declared a dividend of three dollars ($3.00) per share from the accumulated surplus of the company, on both common and preferred stocks, payable October 1st, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on September 12th, 1921. Checks will be mailed.

WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

Seven Year Six Per Cent. Convertible Gold Bonds
Due August 1, 1925

Coupons from these Bonds, payable by their terms on August 1, 1921, at the office or agency of the Company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street, or in Boston at The Merchants National Bank.

H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

Five Year Six Per Cent. Gold Notes
Due February 1, 1924

Coupons from these Notes, payable by their terms on August 1, 1921, at the office or agency of the Company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street, or in Boston at The Merchants National Bank.

H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

**WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING COMPANY.**

A Dividend of two per cent. ($1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company, for the quarter ending June 30, 1921, will be paid July 30, 1921, to stockholders of record as of June 30, 1921. H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.

New York, June 18, 1921.

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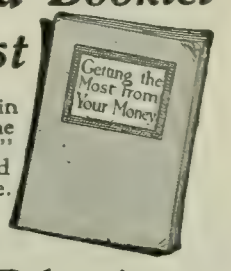
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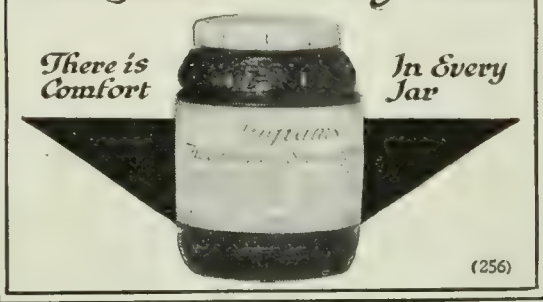
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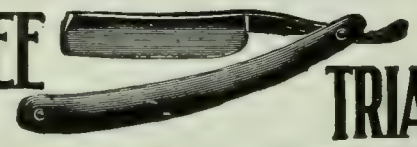
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Of all the investment opportunities offered there are few indeed not open to criticism. Absolute safety is the first requisite and adequate and uniform return equally important, and these seem incompatible. Aside from government bonds, the return under which is small, there is nothing more sure and certain than an annuity with the **METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY**, by which the income guaranteed for a certain lifetime is larger by far than would be earned on an equal amount deposited in an institution for savings, or invested in securities giving reasonable safety. Thus a payment of $5,000 by a man aged 67 would provide an annual income of $623.60 absolutely beyond question of doubt. The Annuity Department, **METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY**, New York, will give advice as to the return at any age, male or female.

## MANUSCRIPT

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# Sound Yourself!

(*Continued from page 22*)

that permits you to be lazy, careless, self-indulgent. A real man goes for the hardest thing in sight. He scorns the easy thing, as unworthy of his mettle. You aren't a real man till you are up against a trial or task so hard that you can't sleep nights, for thinking of it and wrestling with it.

*3. Is it original?* A career, no matter how fine, should never be copied or imitated. The true function of work is to express the worker. As no two people are exactly alike, nobody's work or success should be taken as a pattern for anybody else. Here is where most young people err. They envy or idolize a popular favorite, and wish to follow his or her profession. Actors, writers and singers, even firemen, policemen and politicians, are eternally pestered with foolish pleas of admirers for a chance to enter the same career. Often parents or teachers or friends destroy a life of usefulness and happiness by insisting that a young person do something for a living that he never can do well, and so hates to do at all. Every man must evolve his career out of his inner consciousness.

*4. Is it vocational?* The one sure way to good luck of any kind is thru work. Fortune beckons only to the man who is on the job. Success lies in doing most of what you can do best. Anything worth having must be earned by joint exercise of brain, heart and body. The choice of vocation is of utmost importance. There are more than one thousand popular vocations—and perhaps 950 of them are the ones for you not to select. Few mortals possess a range of talent covering more than 5 per cent of the world's vocations. How are you going to find one chance out of twenty to make good? No system of vocational guidance should be held infallible, yet most systems are likely to be helpful.

*5. Is it definite?* A vague longing for wealth, health, freedom, fame or power is not an asset but a liability. You are apt to waste hours, dollars, nerves and emotions in hankering when you should be hustling. Dreams and hopes undirected may become the worst form of dissipation. I know of people who lost their reason wishing for things that could never be. Itemize your purpose. Get the whole thing down on paper, then figure it out as you would a mathematical problem.

*6. Is it conformable?* The greatest men have had to change their plans most often. The arrow is fixed—the bow flexible. Your purpose must be fixed—your plan flexible. Do not despair when your business goes to pieces, your friend turns traitor, your people misunderstand your motives, your best work fails, your enemies exult, or your happiness dies out. Providence merely warns you that your method needs improving. Hold to your aim, but try another avenue. And don't limit God by a foreordained conclusion as to times and seasons. It may take you one year, or twenty years to succeed. No matter.

*7. Is it essential?* Does it fill a popular need in a popular way? Will the public want to buy, largely and regularly, the products or services you may have to offer when your life work is finally established? The same career balances reasons and results. The reasons for choosing and evolving it are personal, they must satisfy you; but the results of your thought and labor must belong to the general public, and satisfy wholly the people you serve. The born artist (I use the word in a broad sense) thinks too much of his own feeling; while the born tradesman thinks too much of popular demand. The ideal is to create something as nearly perfect as you can make it, for the sheer delight of self expression thru a noble masterpiece; then to find a market for your work that will yield money corresponding to its real value.

*8. Is it productive?* When you have reached the height of your business, trade or profession, what income should be yours? How does the average, also the maximum, that members of your vocation earn compare with that received by workers in other fields? Are there side lines of profit you could take up without damage to the main line of endeavor? While money should not tempt a man to sacrifice principles and ideals worth more than money, the elemental instinct of self-preservation and the subliminal desire to accomplish large good that only money makes possible should unite to force every man, sooner or later, to be financially independent and thus morally free.

*9. Is it coöperative?* Are you planning to work alone—or with a body of experts who will piece you out and back you up? The day of one-man power is over. Ambition climbs now thru organization. Perhaps the main reason why business attracts the keenest, brightest youths of America is that only business can, till now, furnish the organization that means to the worker both education and promotion by a method guaranteeing results.

*10. Is it devotional?* Is your work as much religion to you as your worship? Do you base your whole scheme of life on a mission you have to perform? Is the service you are to render bigger and finer than the sale of it would call for? Would you patiently and cheerfully go through any amount of hardship, to reach your goal and enact your purpose? Is your labor, even the drudgery, lightened and strengthened by your love?

*New York*

# The Independent

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## Pebbles

"Could'nt you find any eggs, dear?" a woman asked her little city niece who was visiting her on her farm.

"No, auntie," said the child, "the hens were scratching all around as hard as they could, but they hadn't found a single egg."—*Boston Transcript.*

"Strange," said the first tramp meditatively, "how few of our youthful dreams ever come true!"

"Oh, I dunno," said his companion; "I remember when I used to dream about wearin' long trousers, and now I guess I wear 'em longer than any one else in the country."—*London Opinion.*

"What's the matter, little girl," asked a stranger of a child he found weeping bitterly.

"I can't find my mamma."

"When you're out with your mother you should hang on to her skirts. Then you wouldn't get lost."

"I'm too little. I can't reach them."—*American Legion Weekly.*

A little slum child was enjoying his first glimpse of a pastoral life. The setting sun was gilding the grass and roses of the old-fashioned garden, and on a little stool he sat beside the farmer's wife, who was plucking a chicken.

He watched the operation gravely for some time. Then he spoke:

"Do yer take off their clothes every night, lidy?"—*Blighty.*

An emigrant ship was wrecked and many survivors landed on the Falkland Islands. When the news reached home the minister of a church to which some of the emigrants had belonged included in the service a prayer for the victims of the wreck.

Being a very cautious man, he worded his prayer in this way:

"Be with our brethren stranded in the Falkland Islands which are situated in the South Atlantic Ocean."—*Exchange.*

On Johnny's first day at school he was given a registration card on which his mother was to write his birth record. The following day he arrived without the registration slip. "Johnny," said the teacher, "you must bring an excuse for being tardy and don't forget the slip about when you were born." All out of breath the next day Johnny rushed in, holding a note from his mother. "Teacher," he gasped, "I brought the excuse for being tardy, but I forgot the one for being born."—*New York Globe.*

A young dandy was walking down a street, when he was overtaken by a dog that began to snap at his heels. Its mistress made no effort to call it off, so he turned and gave the dog an admonitory kick.

"Brute!" cried the woman. "kick a little defenseless animal! That little creature is a pet, and is not accustomed to such treatment."

"I beg your pardon, madam. I did not mean to hurt your dog. But you should have called it off."

"It would not have hurt you; it is a pet."

"I did not care to be bitten by it, nevertheless, madam. I am somewhat of a favorite at home myself."—*Scientific Natureopath.*

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## Remarkable Remarks

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GEORGE W. TRUETT—The home is woman's contribution to the world.

GLEN BUCK—Too many men park their brains on the wrong side of the street.

LORD ASHFIELD—One of the greatest allies Bolshevism has today is decayed teeth.

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER—The security of France is the basis of the world's peace.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—Any man is foolish who lets his heart run away with his head in selecting a wife.

LADY DUFF-GORDON—Only a woman with features of Venus-like regularity can safely essay the straight-brimmed hat.

ROY K. MOULTON—A diplomat is a man who tells something that isn't exactly so to some other man who doesn't believe it.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN—The great sin of this generation is mind worship. They are turning out agnostics in our universities.

B. BAER—Kaiser will not be very present at peace choir rehearsal. Which is gross slight to man who made conference possible.

HENRY JONES FORD—Hard things have been said of our Congress but it has never been rated quite so low in character as a nominating convention.

MADAME CURIE—It is absurd to divide intelligence into male and female. There are intelligent people, and there are people who are not so intelligent.

DR. A. H. WARNER, of New York—Given a sound constitution and a clean record, there is no reason why a man or woman should not reach 150 years.

MARY AUSTIN—What women have learned thru the correlation of honors and incomes is that high place is not so much a question of sex as it is of personality.

AGNES REPPLIER—The British navvy who killed his wife because she forgot to feed the bulldog was the legitimate, but too highly specialized, product of humane societies.

EDWIN MARKHAM—The social problem is how to so organize the world that everyone from the least to the greatest who renders honest service shall receive what is necessary for complete life—bread, beauty, and brotherhood.

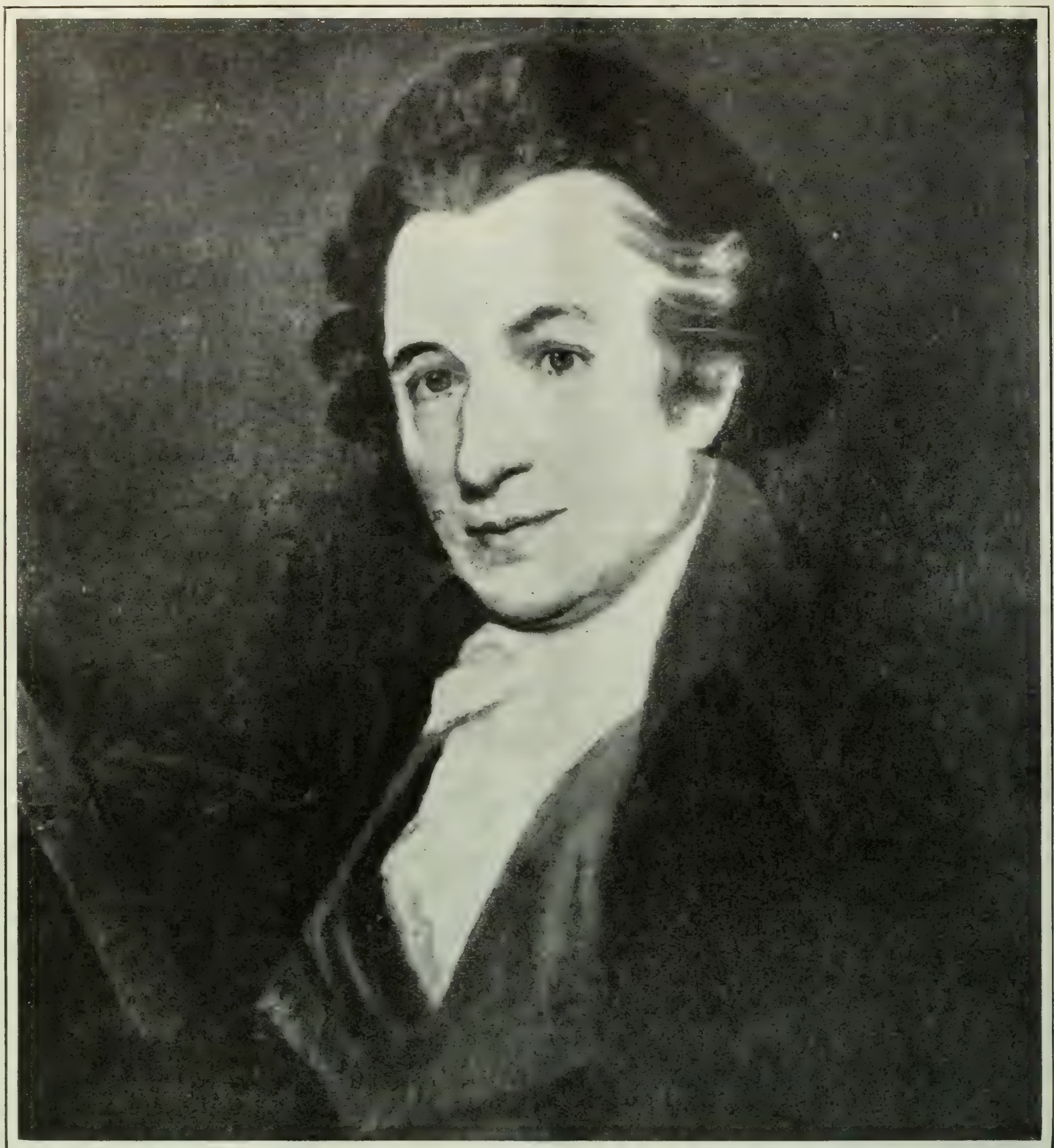
## Opening Nights

*Snapshots of 1921* offered the always popular De Wolf Hopper and Lew Fields a happy medium for the display of their monkeyshines. Fair musical revue. (Selwyn Theater.)

*The Skylark*, by Thomas P. Robertson, is an American comedy dealing with the problem of marriage; fairly entertaining, with good dialog in parts, but not compelling'y interesting. (Belmont Theater.)



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*Van der Weyde*

## The First Time It Was Ever Said

**"Nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as a declaration for independence. . . . 'The United States of America' will sound as pompously in the world and in history as 'the kingdom of Great Britain.'"—Thomas Paine, 1737-1809.**

If George Washington was the Father of his Country, Thomas Paine, whatever may or may not have been his religious beliefs and his general way of life, may be called the Father of the Declaration of Independence. At a time when the colonies were worrying along with supplications and petitions to the King, and when George Washington himself was still a loyal British subject, Thomas Paine, the son of some unobtrusive English Quakers, launched the heresy of his "Common Sense," a pamphlet setting forth in unmistakable terms the arguments for and the need of American independence. The Declaration of Independence as it now stands goes straight back to "Common Sense" as its source. George Washington was not slow in saying, from his sober standpoint, that Paine had set down "sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning."

Thruout his life Paine's path was marked by controversy and agitation. He was a born controversialist, a born disturber of the established order; he had a lively and versatile originality. "Common Sense" was his first bomb; his next was "The Rights of Man," published, amidst furious excitement, in answer to Burke's calmly British point of view expressed in "Reflections on the Revolution in France." His last great stroke was "The Age of Reason," a passionate statement of eighteenth century religious heresy and unbelief. This, more than any other thing, darkened his reputation in history for generations to come; to this day, if people know nothing else about Thomas Paine, they can say readily that he was an "atheist"—whereas his religious unorthodoxy was only one expression of the restless and radical mind that planted the seed of our independence.

The Independent

August 6, 1921

*"The future belongs to the nation that owns the most oil."—Premier Briand*

# This Changing World

## By Edwin E. Slosson

## VII—Fluid Fuel

SINCE man took to using fuel to do his hard work he has progressed toward lighter and more mobile material. The first steam engines were fed with solid wood or coal and most of them still are. But petroleum has been found superior to solid fuel and now steamers and locomotives are using it wherever they can. In 1876 came a discovery that ranks next to the discovery of the steam engine, that is, the discovery of how to do without the steam engine. Instead of burning coal or oil to make steam in a big boiler and then turn this steam into a cylinder to push the piston, Dr. N. A. Otto invented an engine in which an inflammable gas is mixed with air in the cylinder itself and ignited there, so making the gaseous products of combustion, raised to high temperature by the explosion, do the pushing. This means a gain in efficiency of 300 or 400 per cent and a much greater gain in convenience and compactness. The fuel of an internal combustion engine may be natural or artificial gas, vaporized gasoline as in the ordinary automobile engine, or sprayed petroleum as in the Diesel engine.

The next step ahead is to do away with fuel of any sort and use sun power directly, but nobody knows how to do this economically except the green leaves and they will not tell us.

The successive stages, therefore, in the rarefaction of our fuel may be put down in this fashion:

| Solid | Liquid | Gaseous | Immaterial |
|---|---|---|---|
| coal | oil | gas | light |

A correspondent complains that in enumerating all possible sources of power I have not included electricity in the list. The reason why I left it out is because electricity is not a source of power, but merely a means for transmitting power. We would not say that the machinery in a factory is "run by leather" when a leather belt connects the machinery to the power shaft of the engine. So if the manufacturer takes out the belting and instead connects each machine with a wire carrying an electric current, he may have gained in economy and convenience, but he has not added to his power for the same steam engine or water wheel must drive the dynamo to provide the current as used to run the shaft and belting. The electric dynamo and motor, tho among the latest of man's inventions, are the most nearly perfect. Within a few years after their invention they had reached nearly the limit of their theoretical capacity. A good dynamo will convert 96 per cent of the energy of a drive wheel into the energy of an electric current and a good motor will reverse this transformation with the same efficiency. These machines are then practically perfect and there is almost no improvement possible in them except in size, weight, appearance, etc. Compare the dynamo which wastes less than 5 per cent of the energy fed into it with the steam engine, a hundred years older, that still wastes 85 per cent.

But however superior a transformer of energy the dynamo may be, it is no more an originator of energy than the steam engine. You can never get out of a machine more than you put into it and, in the case of the steam engine, not nearly so much. So whether we install a dynamo run by a water-wheel or a steam engine run by coal or a gas engine run by petroleum, we must look up to the sun as the source of the power. Yet when we discuss the question of what is to be done after our oil and coal runs low we often hear folks say complacently "Never mind, we will use electricity then and that's much nicer."

It would indeed be a gain in convenience and economy if all the railroads and power plants east of the Alleghenies were brought into one system of electrification as has been already planned, but that would not solve the problem of

**Comparative Efficiency of Steam and Internal Combustion Engines**

| | RANGE | | EFFICIENCY | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Temperature of steam at entrance or gases after ignition. | Temperature of exhaust steam or gases. | Theoretical. | Practical. |
| Steam engine reciprocating ordinary | 330° F. | 212° F. | 13.4% | 10% |
| Steam engine reciprocating with super-heater and condenser | 650° F. | 100° F. | 28% | 14% |
| Steam turbine | 650° F. | 100° F. | 28% | 17% |
| Gas engine | (5000° F.) | (800° F.) | 50% | 29% |
| Diesel engine | .... | .... | 50% | 36% |

primary motive power. Even if we harnessed all the water falls there would still be need for coal. There is much exaggerated expectation in the popular mind of what may be expected from water power. Steinmetz has calculated the extreme limits of "America's Energy Supply" in the *General Electrical Review* for July, 1918. By taking the total yearly rainfall of the continent of North America between the latitudes of 30 and 50 degrees and multiplying by the average hight of the land above the sea he finds that the total energy derived from running down all this water to the sea-level would be about one billion kilo-watt-years. But part of this water has to go to the crops or we should have nothing to eat. We must have a little to drink and we ought to take a bath occasionally. There will be a lot lost by evaporation and we cannot count on our water motors turning more than 60 per cent of the fall into driving power. Making deductions for all these we have left 230,000,000 kilo-watt-years as the total theoretical maximum energy derivable from the precipitation of water on the whole of our country.

And what a country this would be turned into one big power plant. No Niagara for bridal couples. Nowhere a babbling brook or free flowing river. Nothing but reservoirs, dams and tunnels with turbines whirling down in the dark and purring dynamos at the tops. Every raindrop made to give up every bit of energy it possessed before being allowed to escape to the open sea. No spray permitted to leap in glory and make rainbows, for this would be a waste of energy. A world all work and no play.

But note that even if this quite impossible and very undesirable state of affairs should come to pass and all the water be set to work, it would *no more than equal our present consumption of energy*, from steam and water together. That is, if we had to depend upon our national water power and could use every foot-pound of it, we would now have reached the limit of our civilization. No more progress. No more population. No more wealth.

But on the other hand, suppose the dream that I sketched in an earlier article should come true and an engine be invented that would catch the sun's rays and fix their energy as does the green leaf, then we could get from our arid lands alone 13,000,000,000 kilo-watt-years.

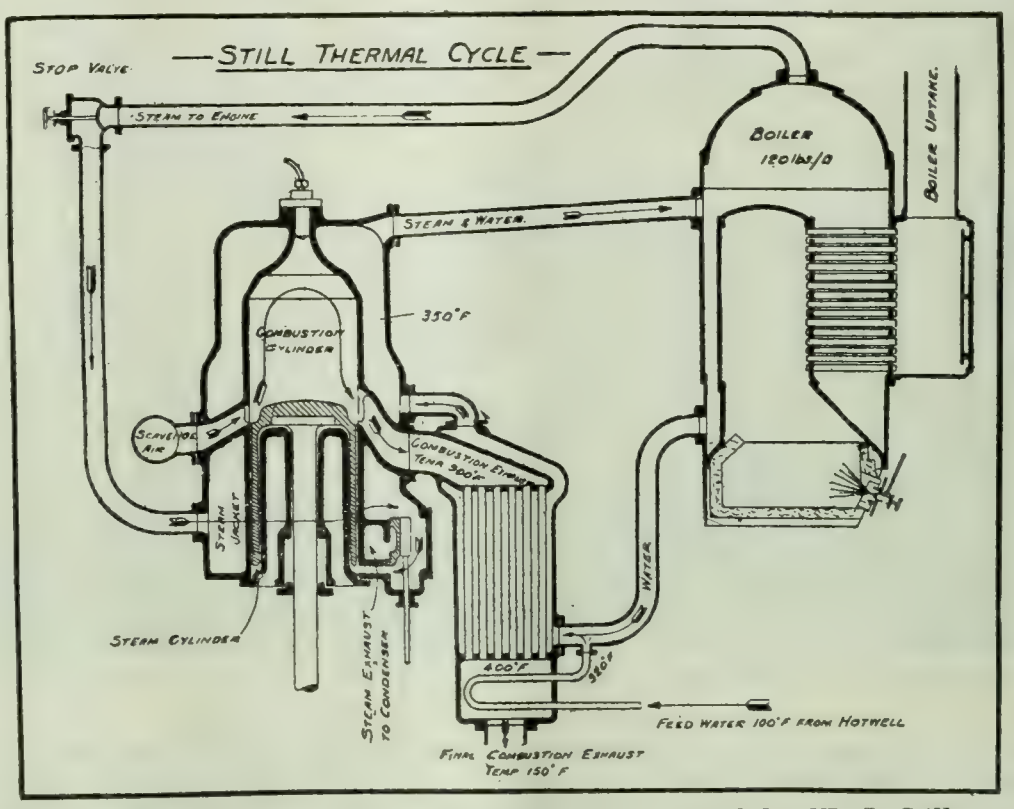
This is allowing that the supposed solar engine has an efficiency of only 10 per cent, and yet it would mean that our power, which is our wealth, would be fifty times as great as that we are now enjoying. So Steinmetz concluded: "Here would be the great source of energy for the future."

But until that happy day comes when solar rays can be turned directly into active work, the best we can do is to feed internal combustion engines with gasified fuel. The late Sir William Ramsay, Professor of Chemistry in the University of London, proposed to save the expense, not merely of the transportation of coal, but also of the mining of it, by turning the coal-bed itself into a vast producer of water-gas. Instead of digging a shaft and tunnels he would have small drill holes put down to the coal. Thru some of these a mixture of air and steam could be sent down and thru others the resulting gases, carbon monoxide and hydrogen, would come up and be used in gas engines on the spot while the power was conveyed by electric wires to wherever it was wanted. Thus coal left in the mines as pillars and seams too thin to work could be utilized.

This scheme of underground combustion of coal may be chimerical, but the British are seriously considering the distillation of coal at the shaft-head as a measure for the economizing of fuel and the saving of the by-products, such as ammonia for fertilizer, coal-tar for dyes and benzol for automobiles. Admiral Dumas, secretary of the Royal Commission on Oil Fuel, said last year: "I would like to see a government official hanged on every lamp-post where gas is burned because benzol goes up with the flame," for he predicted that "there will be such a shortage of motor fuel in 1922 that the great majority of private users will have to put away their cars."

Foreseeing such a shortage the British Government and British capitalists have been active of late in securing control of all available oil fields. A few years ago Great Britain, possessing a fifth of the land of the world and all "the subject main," held less than 5 per cent of the world's oil supply. Now Sir E. Mackay Edgar claims in the London *Times* that British capitalists control all known and probable oil fields outside the United States except some in Mexico and Central America, and he concludes:

> I estimate that if their present curve of production, especially of high-grade products, is maintained, Americans in ten years will be under the necessity of importing 500,000,000 barrels of oil yearly at $2 a barrel, a very low figure, and that means an annual payment of $1,000,000,000 per annum, most if not all of which will find its way into British pockets.




**This combined Diesel and steam engine was invented by W. J. Still to utilize the waste heat of the Diesel engine. The hot gases of combustion are carried by pipes through water and the water further heated by being jacketed around the combustion cylinder where the oil and air are burning. The steam so produced is used in a steam engine.**

The reason why world power in commerce or war has come to depend upon the possession of petroleum is the invention of the Diesel engine by which crude petroleum can be consumed inside the cylinder as gasoline is in the ordinary internal combustion engine. The piston first compresses the air to some 500 pounds per square inch which raises its temperature over a thousand degrees Fahrenheit. Then the oil is injected and takes fire. The Diesel engine is three or four times as efficient as a steam engine and requires no boilers or bunkers, no stokers or shovelers. The elaborate system of coaling stations, which England has established around the world at the cost of much money and fighting, is no longer sufficient to maintain her supremacy of sea, for a vessel with Diesel engines can go round the world with what oil she can carry or can replenish her supply in the open ocean from a friendly tanker. The Diesel ship seems likely to supersede the steamship for swift sailing and the British shipyards are going in for their manufacture on a large scale.

Before the war the largest [*Continued on page 63*

# Stranded

## A True Sea-Yarn of "Granny Knots" and Contraband

### By James H. Williams, Able Seaman

THE actual reason for the mysterious stranding of the American steam freighter "Aleusia" on Alacran Reef off the east coast of Mexico on the night of September 24, 1919, has never been officially determined, because so far as her crew are aware the incidents of the disaster have never been investigated.

Ever since the stranding, refloating and rebuilding of the "Aleusia" the members of her deck crew have always felt themselves passively guilty of involuntary complicity in a deliberate crime. It is at the earnest and repeated request of certain of my ex-shipmates that I have consented to narrate for publication the principal incidents of this otherwise mysterious event, to relieve their minds of any lingering doubts of personal culpability.

One day during the first week in September, 1919, I ran afoul of my old friend and fellow seaman, Martin Strand, on South Street in the port of New York. At that time Martin was serving as bosun on the steamship "Aleusia," and was ashore on the lookout for competent seamen to complete her deck crew. After an exchange of salutations, Martin proposed that I should ship with him for an autumn cruise to Mexico and return via the West Indies. Later the same day Martin convoyed me on board in company with an old West Coast sailor whom he had somehow enticed, and with us two completed his deck crew, which he had been a week in selecting.

When we arrived on board we were greeted by the loud call of a rough and ready bunch of reckless old shellbacks whom I had not seen or heard of in so many years I had long since ceased to spin yarns about them.

This vociferous reception was a genuine surprise to me. I had expected on boarding the "Aleusia" to find the usual collection of training ship recruits, but to be greeted by such a wild bunch of irrepressible old windjammers was certainly exhilarating as well as reassuring, and I mentally concluded that come what might, the "Aleusia" was not to be rated as a schoolship, and that our prospective voyage was not to be a yachting cruise nor a Quaker Sunday School excursion for the benefit of seasick "sailors."

At the time we signed she was under charter to the Mexico and Caribbean Steamship Co. for a voyage to Mexico and return via one or more ports in the West Indies.

The class of ships of which the "Aleusia" was a fairly representative type were originally designed for the vast lumber trade, which is a special traffic on the Great Lakes. Owing to their shallow form of construction they can skim around wherever the ground is a little bit damp and float off with as much cargo on a ten or fifteen foot draught as a deep keel ship of the ordinary type drawing twenty-five or thirty feet. Of course, owing to their broad beam, bluff bows and flat bottoms they are rather low in speed, but not more so than the ordinary tramp.

The "Aleusia" was equipped with two pole masts and the usual complement of derricks and deck winches also for handling heavy freight. She was an oil firer, and was equipped with electric lights and signals thruout; she also carried a complete wireless outfit, but strange to say no operator. The first thing that struck me as peculiar about this particular ship was the unusual care exercized in the selection of her crew. "Old timers are what we want here," Martin Strand, the bos'n, explained. "We wouldn't carry them young paper sailors for ballast." The master had given Martin his own time and a free hand in selecting a crew among his acquaintances, men of known reputation on the water front.

At that period there was one item of contraband traffic more desirable from the point of view of certain unscrupulous shipmongers than legitimate trade; and that was smuggling arms into Mexico.

A short time previous, it will be recalled, the exportation of ammunition and arms from the United States into Mexico had been prohibited by Presidential decree. The border had been closed as effectually as possible against smugglers and gun-runners, but it was not so easy to close the seaports.

While our cargo was being loaded at New York, a persistent rumor gained currency along the waterfront that the "Aleusia" was a gun-runner. We paid but little attention at the time, but subsequent events amply convinced us that they had been founded on a basis of fact.

When the "Aleusia" swung out of her berth in the East River she was loaded to capacity with a heavy cargo, including machinery, boilers, shafting, structural iron plates, oil piping, automobiles, pianos, hardware, furniture, dry goods, foodstuffs, and miscellaneous freight of many sorts for beam filling. In addition to all this we carried a partial deckload of roller tanks and large casks all bearing mysterious private and undecipherable symbols which none but the initiated could read.

The "Aleusia" left New York on September 17, 1919. We departed under the most favorable weather conditions and confidently looked forward to the end of a speedy and prosperous voyage within two months.

Our skipper, Cap'n Shoals, was a smooth, ruddy-faced, thick-set old Englishman. He was low in the hoist and broad in the beam, and bluff in the bilge, and squat in his floor timbers; and looked like a rural deacon away from home.

THE "Aleusia" was rated an eight-knot ship, but, being badly out of condition, could make scarcely seven. As Long Barney expressed it, "she could go a long ways in a long, long time." But fine weather favored us day after day without change, and we plodded sturdily along, making reasonably good time, until our voyage was suddenly and unaccountably interrupted by the mysterious stranding of our ship on Alacran Reef, sixty miles off the coast of Mexico, at forty-seven minutes past 8 o'clock on the evening of September 24.

To the majority of the crew, who were below at the time, the shock of disaster came as sudden and unexpectedly as a black squall from a blue sky.

That the stranding of the ship was not due either to the presence of obscuring mist or heavy weather is absolutely certain. That it was not accidental is proven by the fact that the watch on deck were all wide awake at the time, and by the still more convincing fact that the captain himself had mounted the bridge just ten minutes before the disaster and was in personal command, and directing the course when the ship struck.

We had enjoyed perfect weather conditions thruout the now interrupted passage from New York. Morning and afternoon sights as well as mid-day observations of the sun had been taken regularly every day for a week. The patent log had been read regularly and corrected for errors every two hours since leaving Sandy Hook. We carried all the latest and most approved navigating instruments, and a locker full of the latest charts. [*Continued on page 60*



*Courtesy American Friends Service Committee*

**One of the waiting lines before a food distributing station furnishes ample material for study of Polish types. Compare, for instance, the serious pretty little girl looking straight out of the picture with any one of the usual bad little boys**

# The Light of Common Day

## By Edward A. Steiner

CARL Emil Francois called the countries east of Germany, "Half Asia." To him the line between the two continents was not geographic but cultural, for he noticed the change from order and cleanliness to rutted roadways, poorly tilled farms, dilapidated villages, slovenly cities and wretched hotels.

The saying "When West met East the West began to scratch" is not elegant but alas, true, as every traveler knows, who has ventured far east of Berlin.

Whatever one may say of the German rule in the east, the fact remains that it has pushed "Half Asia" a good many hundreds of miles back, and there have been good roads, well-tilled fields, neat villages, decent hotels and no vermin. By the peace of Versailles the former province of Posen has gone to Poland, a decision with which one cannot quarrel; nevertheless "Half Asia" is creeping westward and makes itself painfully apparent three hours after Berlin is left behind on a train which does not exert itself to leave Germany.

**This is the fifth of a series of articles on the New Europe which Dr. Steiner prepared for The Independent as he travelled about visiting the European relief stations of the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia. The first of the articles, "The Story of the Steerage," appeared in the issue of May 14, "Patches of Peace," May 21, "Nothing to Lose but Chains," June 4, and "Shifting Clouds," June 18**

The German border ends at Stench, and I should remember it even if it were not so unpleasant a name, for it was midnight when, with bag and baggage, I had to leave a fairly comfortable corner in my car and stand waiting two hours, before the customs house formalities were over. The Germans performed the task courteously but thoroughly and if it was unpleasant and fatiguing, it served one right for leaving so good a country for Poland.

Thirty minutes after I had struggled back to my comfortable seat in the car, we arived at Bench, where the Polish customs office is located. Stench and Bench rhyme, but nothing about them does; therefore it seemed wise to put many kilometers between German and Polish customs house officers. The difference between Stench and Bench is, that at the latter, one has to walk a full quarter of a mile to the customs house, that the officers are a little less thorough in examining one's baggage, and that they are infinitely more careful about scanning one's passport. Fortunately mine was in order, but how awful had it not been, for I should have had to spend the night at either Bench or Stench.

Now I really was in free and united Poland; I knew it because Polish soldiers were crowding the train and my cozy corner was occupied by a Polish officer. When the sky began to grow gray I looked out upon a typical Polish landscape, made more pathetic and miserable by the war. Here was the Eastern Front.

In Belgium and France one sees at least noble ruins, and posterity will have its thrill in looking upon damaged cathedrals and demolished castles; the latter indeed often gaining in beauty by having been shot to pieces.

There are no ruins on the Eastern Front, only devastation. There is nothing for the eye of pleasure or pleasurable pain. Here and there new thatches, to show that life has begun again its normal round, a group of crosses with German names inscribed where men have fallen, or died in their tracks; swamps claiming untilled fields, a few miserable villages sunk in the mud, peasants and Jews riding in wretched carts to market. Then the tracks multiply; there are low houses, high chimneys and church steeples; and we pull into Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

Ten years ago I looked down upon this same square. The Russian Church with its bulbous bell tower had just been completed and the sun shone [*Continued on page 58*

# An Open Letter to "The Thirty-one"

Ray Lyman Wilbur
W. W. Willoughby
George W. Wickersham
William Allen White
Isaac M. Ullman
Henry W. Taft
Oscar S. Straus
Henry L. Stimson
Jacob Gould Schurman
Elihu Root
Charles A. Richmond
Henry S. Pritchett
George A. Plimpton
Samuel Mather
John Henry MacCracken
A. Lawrence Lowell,
Samuel McCune Lindsay
William Lawrence
Ernest M. Hopkins
Alexander C. Humphreys
Charles Evans Hughes
Herbert Hoover
John Grier Hibben
Warren Gregory
Frank J. Goodnow
William H. P. Faunce
Charles W. Dabney
Paul D. Cravath
Robert S. Brookings
Nicholas Murray Butler
Lyman Abbott

## By Hamilton Holt

GENTLEMEN:

On October 14, 1920, two weeks before the presidential election, you signed your names to a manifesto to the American people. In that manifesto you urged the voters to elect Mr. Harding on the assurance that he would bring the United States into the existing League of Nations. You did not say that you hoped or believed Mr. Harding would do this. You gave an explicit guarantee. You declared:

> The question between the candidates is not whether our country shall join in such an association. It is whether we shall join under an agreement containing the exact provisions negotiated by President Wilson at Paris, or under an agreement which omits or modifies some of those provisions that are very objectionable to great numbers of the American people.

And again:

> We have reached the conclusion that the true course to bring America into an effective league to preserve peace is not by insisting with Mr. Cox upon the acceptance of such a provision as Article X, thus prolonging the unfortunate situation created by Mr. Wilson's insistence upon that article, but by frankly calling upon the other nations to agree to changes in the proposed agreement which will obviate this vital objection and other objections less the subject of dispute.

And finally, and most conclusively:

> The conditions of Europe make it essential that the stabilizing effect of the treaty already made between the European powers shall not be lost by them and that the necessary changes be made by changing the terms of that treaty rather than by beginning entirely anew.
>
> That course Mr. Harding is willing to follow.

It is now over a year since Mr. Harding was nominated for the Presidency. It is nine months since he was elected. It is five months since he assumed office. The United States is still outside the existing League of Nations and not one step has been taken, so far as the American public is informed, to formulate the changes and amendments in the League of Nations Covenant which this Government considers as essential conditions of its adherence.

On the contrary, President Harding has repudiated the entire Covenant of the League of Nations without regard to any possible changes or amendments. In his address to Congress on April 12, 1921, he declared:

> In the existing League of Nations, world governing with its super-powers, this republic will have no part. There can be no misinterpretation, and there will be no betrayal of the deliberate expression of the American people in the recent election; and, settled in our decision for ourselves, it is only fair to say to the world in general, and to our associates in war in particular, that the League Covenant can have no sanction by us.

Ambassador Harvey, the chosen spokesman of the Administration on the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers, has stated without contradiction in the name of the President:

> The present Government could not, without betrayal of its creators and masters, and will not, I can assure you, have anything whatsoever to do with the League or any commission or committee appointed by it or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively.

But at the same time that President Harding repudiated the existing League of Nations he promised the establishment of a new "Association" of nations. In his address to Congress he said:

> With the super-governing League definitely rejected, and with the world so informed, and with that status of peace proclaimed at home, we may proceed to negotiate the covenanted relationships so essential to the recognition of all the rights everywhere of our own nation and play our full part in joining the peoples of the world in the pursuits of peace once more.

The American public has waited patiently for many weeks. It is still uninformed as to the nature of these "covenanted relationships." So far as is known not a single practical step has yet been taken to establish this new "association" of nations, unless possibly the forthcoming disarmament conference is intended to be the germ of the Harding Association.

In view of the record of the Administration many have come to suspect that you and those who accepted your assurance that the Republican Administration was not hostile to the principle of the League of Nations have been betrayed and repudiated; that the "bitter enders" are in control at Washington; and that the United States will not be permitted to enter any effective league or association of nations during the lifetime of the present Administration.

The American people still look to you to see to it that the assurances you made to them last October are realized. With leadership goes responsibility. I, therefore, respectfully ask you collectively or severally to give the public explicit answers to the following three questions:

> First—Do you still maintain that President Harding will bring the United States into the existing League of Nations? If so (a) when and (b) on what conditions?
>
> Second—If not, are you urging President Harding to organize a new association of Nations? Will he do so? If so (a) when do you think the American people should be informed of its nature, (b) what reason have you to believe that the new plan will be effective and acceptable at home and abroad, and (c) do you consider that the forthcoming disarmament conference at Washington is intended to be the basis of the promised "association?"
>
> Third—If no plan either for entering the existing League or organizing an acceptable substitute is undertaken within a reasonable time will you participate in the organization of an active movement to elect friends of the League of Nations at the next Congressional and Presidential elections?

## International Bad Manners

THE jingo is objectionable not only because he stirs up strife between nations, but because he disgraces his own country by his pettiness, petulance and lack of dignity. A serious menace, if one exists, should be met serious fashion. When Germany plunged England into war by invading Belgium the Rudyard Kiplings, Leo Maxses, Horatio Bottomleys and other men who had been preaching panic for a decade assumed that events had justified them. Their foresight had indeed been vindicated, but not their music hall jingoism, their reckless slandering of all foreign nations, even

those destined to be friends and allies in the hour of crisis, their hoarse bellowing for a needless surplus of battleships ("We want Eight, and we won't wait!"), and their mania for seeing German spies in every German waiter. They actually did harm to the cause of preparedness by making it seem ridiculous in the eyes of the pacific, easy-going, unalarmed majority of the British public.

In the same way, even if the yellow peril were a reality instead of a nightmare, and Japanese armies actually did land on the Pacific Coast, the United States would owe little to the Hearsts and Hobsons, whose conception of preparedness is not to "walk softly and carry a big stick," but to raise such a continual clangor and clamor of false alarms that it becomes impossible to distinguish real from imaginary dangers. Their ideal of Uncle Sam as a rowdy bully, trampling on the toes of other nations, shoving them off the sidewalk and spitting insults at them, is one which offends the majority of the American people and tends to bring about a reaction toward excessive pacifism. It may sometimes be right to shake a mailed fist at your neighbor. It can never be right or wise to stick out your tongue at him

# Russia's Need

THE famine in Russia comes at a bad time. There were famines before the war, but western Europe and America sent aid to check them. Today the rest of Europe can send no aid to Russia as the United States is the only great nation to survive the war with any surplus wealth. The burden of saving Russia thus falls on this country, at a time when even we are suffering from hard times and after the purses of many generous Americans have been drained dry by incessant appeals from central Europe, the Near East and China. There is only too much danger that if the American Relief Administration needs new funds to extend its work in Russia on a large scale the first reaction of the public will be "What! Another drive?"

But the very fact that the American public has been so generous in the past creates in us a moral obligation. We have established a standard of generosity that we dare not fall below. Noblesse oblige. It is just because there are millions of Austrians, Poles, Armenians and Chinese alive today who would have starved without American aid that the unhappy peasants of southern Russia are justified in looking to the United States for aid. The appeal has not come yet; it awaits the result of negotiations between Mr. Hoover and the Soviet authorities. But when it comes let us hope that every American financially able will uphold the honor of the best-hearted nation in the world.

Nor let any thought that the Russians are not worthy of relief halt any generous impulse. The poor peasants of Russia are not responsible for the cruel tyranny which has been imposed upon them. Isolated, ignorant and traditionally submissive, they have not yet seen a way to overthrow the despotism of the Bolsheviki by their own strength and they have very naturally feared to coöperate with Czarist generals and reactionaries of the old régime. But they are not partizans of the Bolshevist rule; they are its victims. And now that they have come under the yet crueler despotism of King Hunger they deserve a double pity.

## Mexico and the War Cloud

PRESIDENT Obregon seems to have some of the late President Carranza's stubbornness in a wrong cause when it comes to confirming by formal treaty or constitutional amendment the undoubted rights of American property holders in Mexico. Nevertheless, so long as he respects those rights and keeps a decent minimum of order and liberty in that harried country there should be no talk of intervention on the mere ground that his Spanish pride or his fear of jingo public opinion keeps him from changing the Mexican constitution at our bidding. Obregon seems to desire peace along the Rio Grande; do we desire it less?

# A Red Dictionary

## By Preston Slosson

SO numerous and complex have been the reforms and revolutions of the last century and a half that it is small wonder that many become confused and lump together a thousand incompatible doctrines as "red" or "radical." It is no uncommon thing to hear even an educated man speak of "these anarchists and Socialists" as if they formed different wings of a single party, or to speak of "Bolshevism in the schools" if a professor is detected in the act of advocating a municipal market. Of course, a stout conservative may contend that all radicals are crazy together, and he may be right (that is not here in question), but even so it is practically important to distinguish the different kinds of insanity from each other. No doctor would content himself with declaring a man "sick" without finding out whether he had sunstroke or frostbite; no alienist would simply diagnose a case as "lunacy" without inquiring whether the patient were a harmless imbecile or a raving maniac; no Roman Catholic theologian would fail to discriminate between the materialistic heresy that mind is wholly dependent on matter and the Christian Scientist heresy that matter is but a delusion of mind.

There is very great need for clearing up the red end of the spectrum, so that crimson will no longer be confused with pink or scarlet with orange. A dictionary of terms used by or about the various radical parties which would fix definite meanings to each word and prevent the present slippery confusion of epithets would be a great help to intelligent statesmanship. Even a few casual definitions of some words in common use may serve to help the cause of intellectual clarity.

FIRST, let us take the more general words. A *reform* is any change which is believed to be an improvement; a *revolution* is a very sudden and complete change in any human institution. A revolution is not necessarily violent and bloody; thus we speak of the sudden development of machine power in manufacture as "the industrial revolution." A *progressive* or *reformer* is a very general term for anyone who thinks that changes are required. Somewhat more definite is *liberal*, which can be correctly applied only to those who cherish an ideal of freedom and individual rights. A *radical* is any person who believes in "root" changes, and is not content with the more moderate measures which a progressive of another type might favor; the word radical has been well defined as "a progressive in a hurry." Another common phrase for radicalism is "the *left*," a phrase derived from the fact that in most European parliaments the more radical members sit on the left side of the chamber. This tradition dates from the first French revolution. On the same principle "the right" is often used as a short label for the conservative or reactionary parties and "the center" for those of moderate or undefined opinions.

*Collectivism* is the most general word for a belief in collective ownership of the principal means of production and distribution, such as the land, the mines, the railways and the factories. *Socialism* has a similar meaning, but is more especially associated with a particular movement and a definite political party which in most countries is called *Socialist* or *Social Democratic*. *Marxian Socialism* is based on the economic doctrines of Karl Marx, and emphasizes the *class struggle* between the *bourgeoisie* and the *proletariat*. The "bourgeoisie" are the property-owning class which developed out of the merchant or "middle" class of feudal society; the "proletariat" are the laborers, especially propertyless laborers who have no income except wages.

The Socialist Party has had many factions and divisions. *State Socialism* advocates ownership of large scale industry by the Government; *Gild Socialism* and *Syndicalism*

prefer to vest the control of socialized industry in associations of workingmen. Communism has been used in the sense of collective ownership of all property and a coöperative method of life. Thus under Socialism you would work in a Government piano factory, but when you bought a piano with your pay it would be absolutely your own; under Communism the piano would belong to the community and at most you might claim the use of it. But *Communism* has been used in another sense, as the designation of those Socialist parties which accept Bolshevist principles. Thus in the United States there are Communist and Communist Labor parties, quite distinct from the orthodox Socialist party. The Paris *Commune* of 1871 must be distinguished from both; it was a revolutionary movement to put political power in the hands of the local towns or "communes" instead of the central Parliament. *Revisionist* or *reformist* Socialists are those who have abandoned some of the economic doctrines of Karl Marx and who expect better results from step-at-a-time reforms than from revolution. The *Fabian* Socialists in England are of this type.

THE *Bolsheviki* were originally a purely Russian party, or rather a faction of the Russian Socialists. A party controversy divided the Socialists into opposing groups, the Bolsheviki, or majority, and the *Mensheviki*, or minority. The Mensheviki and the *Social Revolutionaries*, a Socialist group which represented mainly the peasants, supported Kerensky after the first Russian revolution. They were overthrown by the Bolsheviki, who favored in foreign affairs the conclusion of an immediate peace with Germany and in domestic affairs advocated the policy of "all power to the Soviets." The word *soviet* meant simply "committee" or "council"; it came to be applied in a special sense to the councils of workingmen, peasants and soldiers which assumed power during the revolution. The political principle of the Bolsheviki was the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, a phrase implying that during the period of revolution all the "bourgeoisie" or men of property would be excluded from political life. The Bolshevist program was accepted by some Socialist groups in other countries, which thereupon took the name Communist and entered the international Bolshevist association known as the *Third International* (to distinguish it from earlier international Socialist organizations). In Germany the Bolsheviki were for a time known as *Spartacists*, from the Roman Spartacus who led an insurrection of slaves.

Since the Russian Bolsheviki have persecuted not only aristocrats and "bourgeoisie" but even Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries, and since in nearly every country in the world there is a sharp split between the Socialist and Communist parties, it is evident how unjust those are who call all Socialism Bolshevism. Still more absurd is it to label Bolshevist reformers who are not even Socialists. Properly used, "Bolshevist" is a word which should be applied only to those who advocate the dictatorship of the working class and favor a constitution similar in a general way to the institutions now established in Russia.

In many countries, such as England and Australia, there is a *Labor Party* which represents the voting power of the trades unions. The Labor Party of England is socialistically inclined, but it is more concerned with immediate and practical problems of legislation than with the ultimate socialization of industry. In the United States the labor unions do not form a political party or support one, tho individual trade unionists may happen to be Socialists also. Two different types of labor unionism are represented by the *American Federation of Labor*, in which each special branch or "craft" is separately organized, and the *Industrial Workers of the World* (or I. W. W.), who believe that all persons working in the same industry should be united in a single association. The I. W. W. and other radical labor unions, like the syndicalists of Europe, tend to advocate *direct action* to bring about reforms and revolution instead of *political action*. Direct action includes such tactics as the *general strike*, the paralyzing of industry by a strike of all workers, and *sabotage*, or injury done to property or the interests of the employer while continuing to work on the job.

*Anarchism* is a disbelief in the usefulness of the political state. It is therefore the exact opposite of State Socialism, which would increase the powers and duties of the Government. Some anarchists, such as the Russians Tolstoy and Kropotkin, have believed that a state of *anarchist communism*, in which neither government nor private property exists, could be brought about by peaceful evolution; but other anarchists place their faith in direct action and in assassination, the so-called "propaganda by deed." Altho most anarchists are also communists, some extreme individualists, such as Herbert Spencer, have believed that while the institution of private property should be maintained the powers of the State could be reduced almost to zero. The general tendency of radicals in recent years has been to desert anarchism for some one of the many varieties of Socialism. Both Socialist and anarchist groups have at times used as their emblem the red flag; for which reason radicals have been commonly known as *reds*.

## Two Little Welshmen

ONE of them lived in England. He revolutionized British finance, wrecked the political power of the House of Lords, established a system of national insurance, became Prime Minister of the world's biggest Empire at the hour of its greatest peril, organized the means of victory in the Great War, helped write the treaties of peace, wrecked the Liberal and Conservative parties and formed a new coalition party, settled the biggest coal strike of his generation, and started negotiations to end a thousand years of strife between England and Ireland.

The other lived in the United States. He reformed the insurance companies, became Governor of the most populous state, smashed the party machine, established the direct primary, became a Justice of the Supreme Court, became the Republican nominee for President, was appointed Secretary of State, and worked out a plan for international disarmament.

Keep your eye on the Welsh!

## Morals and the Elderly Mind

VARIOUS elderly-minded people, old, young and middle-aged, are making the old, old blunder of confusing changes in conventions with changes in morals.

Morals as to sex have been improving for a century past and longer, are improving and will improve. No one doubts this who has given the subject patient inquiry and long observation. The world is a cleaner place to live in than it once was.

Publicity has done much. Education has done more. Youth has done most of all. Was ever youth finer? More exercize, more baths, more freedom, more frankness, more knowledge, more responsibility. If you doubt this, ask doctors and learn how engaged people freely confer and consult on the child of the future, a topic once under the most foolish and harmful tabu ever devised by the self-conscious and the ignorant. Sometimes, alas, unclean.

Less clothes. This is the current indictment of youth by the elderly-minded. Clothes are conventions. A change in conventions does not change morals. Clothes are outside; morals, inside. It is not, the wisest of ethical teachers pointed out, what goeth in, but what cometh out of a man that maketh morals.

Clothes and conventions steadily change for the less and

for the better. The heavy clothes men carried in our hot American summers fifty years ago pass belief. Men bathing on the seaside in the 'sixties and 'seventies looked like walking gunny-sacks. How much better today!

How women endured the weighty, voluminous, enveloping garments of the 'fifties, 'sixties and 'seventies, I do not know. Skirts on skirts, clothes on clothes. Weight, worry, heat, cost, backache, bodily ills, once common—now gone.

How much more beautiful, how much more healthy, how much more pure-minded is the open than the concealed and cloaked, the partially hid and the partially revealed, of one, two or three generations ago. Suggestion is the parent of prurience. Sunlight, the open air and the blowing breeze—these all kill evil germs, physical and moral.

So with the conventions of manners. Who invented the chaperone? The worst and most corrupt society the world has ever known, of Spain and France. Chaperones are doubtless needed, now and then. As was said of the tribute money by the Teacher I have already quoted: "Lest we cause them to stumble, go thou to the sea and cast a hook and take up the fish that first cometh up."

Wise advice to youth, but confound not conventions and morals, clothes and the heart of things; but accept change, since it is clear the world is better, purer, safer for both men and women, young and old. Perils, however, still remain for the elderly-minded.

## Radicalism

TOO often we hear the cry, "We must fight radicalism"; "we must protect America from the spirit of radicalism." Within the last two or three years the once harmless word has taken on sinister shades of red; it is used as synonym for Bolshevism, revolutionary Socialism or anti-patriotic pacifism. Ten years ago a man calling himself a "radical" was considered, unless he explained himself further, simply a progressive who agreed with Roosevelt and Pinchot and the monthly magazines and disagreed with Taft, Cannon and the Standard Oil Company. In these more turbid and turbulent days people associate radicalism not with direct primaries but with direct action.

But radicalism is a perfectly reputable word for a perfectly respectable thing. It crept into common use in British politics for those Liberals who wished fundamental reforms in the British constitution. And today there lives no man in the British Empire or anywhere else to deny that many of the reforms the first radicals demanded were badly needed. Can anyone say of the United States that it alone of all nations in the world, past and present, requires no fundamental reforms? Unless we are already perfect there is need for the radical. George Washington was a radical to King George; Abraham Lincoln was a radical from the point of view of Senator Douglas; the American Constitution was the most radical document produced in the eighteenth century.

Let us rescue a good word from bad usage. Three tendencies exist in facing any particular movement for change. The conservative: "Hold on; let's look before we leap!" The liberal: "Be sure you are right, then go ahead!" The radical: "Come on, boys, forward march!" Any one of the three may be right; it all depends on the issue and the circumstances; the problem and the proposed solution. Those who shudder at the mere word "radical" are as silly as those who would shudder at the word "chair" without stopping to inquire whether a rocking chair or an electric chair was intended. A radical is a man who is rather strongly for some change; he may be a radical believer in fresh air, or in proportional representation, or in a big navy, or in international disarmament, or in free verse, or in anarchy, or in the single tax, or in better roads, or in anything else. Like all earnest reformers he is probably a bit of a bore, but it is by no means certain that he is a menace.

## Sermons in Shoes

### By Talcott Williams

WHOLESALE prices have fallen. So have the quotations for raw materials. Shall retail prices fall? So far they have not fallen, except as department and other general stores have cut prices to get rid of stocks that would not sell. "You tell me that prices are falling or have fallen. They have done neither for me," said a woman of easy means and large philanthropies. "Look at that shoe"—and she held forth a shapely foot, well-shod and perfectly fitted. "It cost me $25. I could buy the same boot for $15 in 1913. When are my shoes going to be cheaper?"

"I hope they never will," said I. "You are not complaining of high prices, but of the permanent advance in the price of labor. This ought not to fall or the best work of the war will be lost. Of the cost of that shoe, $2.50, one-tenth, is the tax on shoes. You ought not to grudge that. It is your contribution to the work of canning the Kaiser. This leaves $22.50 on the real cost of that shoe. Leather is nearly as cheap now as in 1913. From $3 to $4 went for leather, less rather than more. The remainder, $18, is nearly all labor at every stage or about that. This labor is getting $18 to $19 now. It remains about 80 per cent. above labor in 1913.

"Labor was then about $10 on that pair of shoes. Add 80 per cent and it is $18 now.

"The real issue you are raising is whether that $8 of increase in labor since 1913 is to go to you, who have enough and more, or whether it shall go to those under-paid before the war. All service and labor for which you pay have gone up in the same proportion. This is true of domestic service, of clothing, of foot-wear, of books, of all the wide range of articles of which you bought far above the average in amount and in quality.

"Which is more just, that you who fare sumptuously every day, shall have that money to spend as you like, or that it shall go to raise the standard of life of the wage-earning family as that family had to live in 1913?"

"They waste their money; they do not save; they have no right to my money," said she.

"Waste is less than it was," said I, "and is diminishing. Much that you call waste is only opening the door to relaxation, to new interests, to a wider life. As to savings, the bankers who four years ago were saying only the rich could save and invest, find that new issues of bonds and shares sell in larger amounts than ever before and small lot purchases are putting securities in the hands of the many."

"On the whole, all this is triumph of economic democracy. If the present level of wages can be held, you will pay more for your shoes, 60 per cent. more, but the feet of the many will be planted on new and ascending paths. The salaried will lose; the wage-earner will gain and the rich will lose some of the advantages of wealth, but they are only transferred to the many who won the war for the many."

## Says the Anti-Prohibitionist—

"It isn't the heat; it's the lack of humidity!"

## The Homeless Red

THE Socialist party of the United States, in national convention assembled, has refused to join the international Bolshevist organization. The American Federation of Labor, also in national convention assembled, has refused to recommend even the recognition of the Soviet Government in Russia.

With both organized labor and Socialism hostile, where will the American Bolshevist find the materials for his revolution?

# The Story of the Week

## House Accepts Tariff

WITHIN a few days after its emergence from committee the House of Representatives passed the Fordney tariff bill with some amendments. Tho there was a bitter fight over a few schedules debate on the measure as a whole was rather perfunctory. The Democrats were in so small a minority that they had no hope of defeating or even of seriously delaying the new tariff, and Republican malcontents placed their hopes in the Senate. It is certain that the Senate will insist on important amendments, and may even delay the final vote until the new taxation system has been worked out, since many Republican political experts are of the opinion that public impatience for a new tax law is greater than public impatience for a new tariff.

On July 21 the tariff reached a vote in the House. The vote followed party lines with unusual strictness. Of the 289 supporters of the bill all but seven were Republicans, and four of the seven Democrats voting in the affirmative were from Louisiana, a state whose sugar industry has created a strong protectionist sentiment unknown in other parts of the Old South. Only seven Republicans, all from the Middle West, opposed the bill; 119 Democrats and the lone Socialist Congressman also voted in the negative.

President Harding's personal intervention on behalf of free oil importation was successful. On July 18 the House of Representatives voted by the decisive majority of 196 to 86 to remove the duty on oil. The President's message divided the Republican majority and thus reversed the action of the Ways and Means committee. There was an even more warmly contested struggle over the duty on hides. On July 15 the House voted a duty of 15 per cent ad valorem on "hides and skins of all kinds." But on the final day of debate the House reversed its action and placed hides on the free list. Thus, tho the protectionists won the "campaign" in carrying the bill, the anti-protectionists won the "battles" of contested schedules. Oil, hides, cotton and asphalt were all placed on the free list, and the proposed three year embargo on dyestuffs was defeated, tho dyes are still partially protected by high import duties.

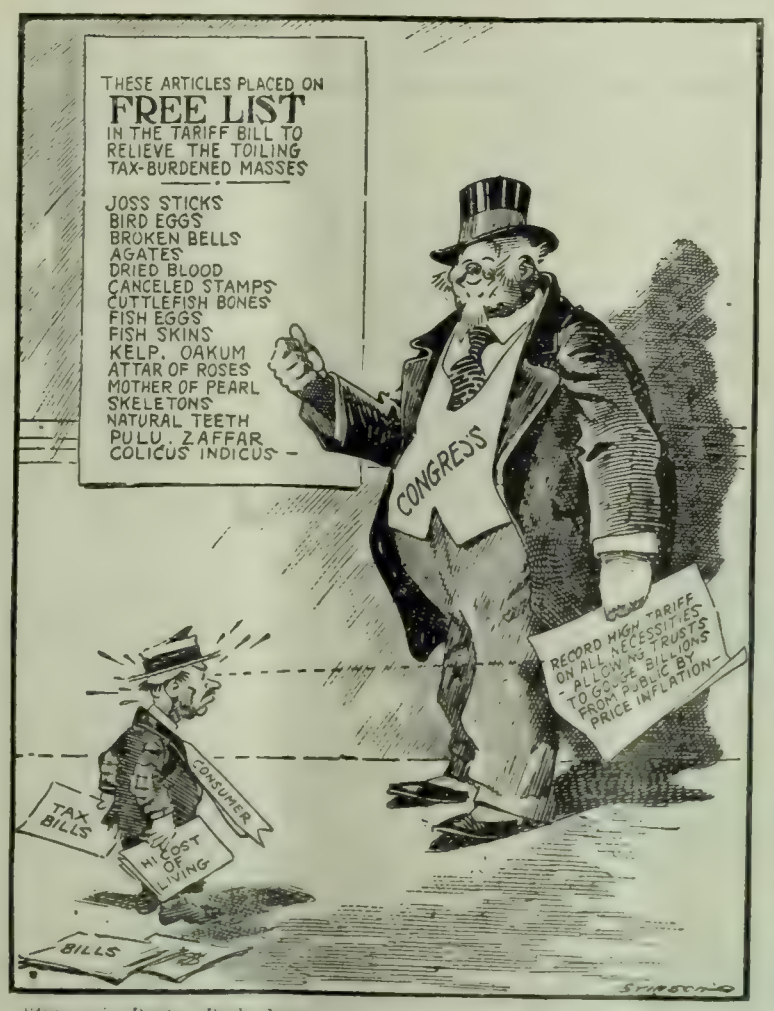
## Illinois Governor Defies Court

ILLINOIS is stirred by a political scandal involving the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State. The Sangamon County Grand Jury has indicted Governor Len Small, Lieutenant-Governor Fred Sterling and Mr. Verne Curtis on the charge of misappropriating public funds amounting to $2,000,000. It is charged that state funds amounting to $10,000,000 were placed in the Grant Park bank operated by Mr. Curtis; that the bank did not have a bonafide existence but was established merely to get funds from the state treasury; that Messrs. Small and Sterling, who successively held the post of State Treasurer, loaned money to Grant Park bank at only 2 per cent interest, while the bank reloaned money to the meat packers at 7 and 8 per cent; and, finally, that the difference between the interest actually earned on the state's money and the fixed 2 per cent returned to the treasury was embezzled by the accused men.

Judge Smith ordered the Governor to appear in court and give bond. This he refused to do, and the result was an interesting constitutional controversy. The court held that the Governor of Illinois was subject to the processes of criminal law like any private citizen. The Governor held that he, like the President, was immune from arrest while in office and that the only constitutional way of proceeding against him was by formal impeachment in the legislature. Governor Small's legal advisers sustained him in this position, and he announced that he would forcibly resist any attempt to arrest him as an invasion of the independence of the executive branch of the state government. He denied all the charges made against him and accused his prosecutors of partizan conspiracy.

## Senate Committee Supports Sims

THE Senate sub-committee on Naval Affairs which has been investigating the Sims-Daniels controversy has presented two reports. The majority report is signed by Senators Ball of Delaware, Hale of Maine and Keyes of New Hampshire, all Republicans; the minority report by Senators Pittman of Nevada and Trammell of Florida, both Democrats. The fact that the division of opinion coincided exactly with party lines will probably somewhat detract from the value of the work done by the investigating committee in general public opinion, since there will be apparent grounds for the suspicion that the Republicans were seeking to make political capital by attacks on the efficiency of the Wilson Administration and that the Democrats were seeking to prepare a brief for the defense.




*Stimson in Dayton Daily News*

**See what I have done for you**

The majority report asserts that Rear Admiral Sims was not only justified in criticizing unfavorably the conduct of the war at sea, but that "it was his duty to write as he did." Secretary Daniels is accused of delaying measures of preparedness until the actual outbreak of our war with Germany, in spite of the fact that the General Board of the navy had asked him in August, 1914, to take steps to put the navy in readiness. He is blamed also for emphasizing battle-

ship building at the expense of anti-submarine craft. It is further stated that "not more than one-third of the vessels of the fleet were in full material condition for war service on April 6, 1917, and that it took from two to six months to put the balance of the fleet in such condition. These same statistics show that little more than one-tenth of the vessels of the fleet were fully manned when the United States entered the war."

Admiral Sims is commended for "bringing about the convoy system which proved such a success in protecting our ships from German submarines" and it is asserted that "the Navy Department persisted in opposing this system during the first two months of the war." An even more serious accusation is that the Navy Department delayed the sending of destroyers to European waters "altho virtually all naval authorities recommended immediate concentration of anti-submarine forces in the war zone." This policy was due, it is charged, to the false idea on the part of President Wilson as well as of Secretary Daniels that full coöperation with the Allies was inadvisable; "Rather does the predominant purpose of the Administration seem to have been to look to the future of the United States apart from the Allies in case the latter might be defeated or in case a 'peace without victory' might be made." For this reason, also, inadequate support was given to Admiral Sims and he was denied the staff personnel he needed.

The majority report concedes, however, that during 1918 the policy of the Navy Department was revolutionized, and that its criticisms apply only to the first year of our participation in war. But otherwise the report is a stinging indictment of the "self-defensive, non-aggressive and non-helpful policy imposed on the navy by the Administration thru Secretary Daniels."

On the other hand the minority report is a complete vindication of Secretary Daniels. Admiral Sims's charge that the misconduct of the Navy Department had prolonged the war by four months is held to be "entirely disproved" as "in no instance was it shown that any or all of the delays or military errors alleged by Admiral Sims had any serious or material effect on the general results." The navy is held to have been as well prepared for war as any navy, and to have shown in its manifold activities during the war "an energy and efficiency never excelled." Even the minority report admits that some charges "appear to have some justification in fact—such as that for a time Admiral Sims was not furnished all the staff he desired or needed," but it is contended that such charges were "trivial in comparison with the vast operations and great activities of the navy."




*Knott in Dallas News*

The new boss

## $112,512,628.32

THIS is the sum which has been clipped from the regular expenditures of the Federal Government by the new budget system. Director Dawes of the Budget has made the following report to President Harding:

I have the honor to report $112,512,628.32 as the estimated savings in expenditures reported to me by the heads of departments and independent organizations in compliance with your directions to all concerned to secure a reduction in expenditures under appropriations and balances available during the current fiscal year, where consistent with the mandatory obligations imposed by Congress, either direct or implied. The attached statement apportions this amount by departments and independent establishments of Government. Of this amount $22,822,113.14 pertaining to continuous appropriations and involving for the most part building and construction will be postponed for expenditure in future years, unless otherwise decided by Congress.

Congress also has taken steps to make the budget system operative. After the resignation of Representative Good from the Budget Committee, Representative Madden of Illinois was elected in his place, defeating the ranking member of the committee and several other candidates. Representative Madden promised the utmost coöperation of Congress with the executive branch of the Government in keeping down national expenditures and even went so far as to advocate a constitutional amendment giving the President power to veto individual items in appropriation bills. This is a reform which has long been recommended, since at present a President must either throw the national finances into confusion by vetoing in its entirety an appropriation measure or accept it with all objectionable "pork" and irrelevant "riders" included; but Congress has been hitherto reluctant to increase the powers of the President over legislation.

## Uncle Sam's Costly Ships

CHAIRMAN Lasker of the new Shipping Board has just reported most pessimistically on the financial position and outlook of the national merchant marine, which he finds "worse than my worst expectations." He estimated that during the coming year at least $300,000,000 would be required to pay for losses on operations and for settling claims and lawsuits against the Board; "These latter amount to more than $300,000,000 themselves, but we anticipate settling them for fifty cents on the dollar because many of them are padded."

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921, Chairman Lasker reported that expenditures amounted to $680,000,000; including $409,000,000 for operating and overhead expenses, $160,000,000 for shipbuilding, $18,000,000 for fuel and supplies, $15,000,000 for advances to foreign branches and to receivers, $6,000,000 for dock construction and equipment, and $72,000,000 for miscellaneous expenditure. The ships in service brought in $300,000,000 from operation; $200,000,000 was realized from the sale of ships and other assets, the rest of the expenditure was made good from the Treasury. Chairman Lasker condemned the system of covering up deficits by the sale of ships and materials without turning directly into the Treasury the funds received from such sales.

That there should be a heavy deficit is not surprizing in view of the recent commercial depression and the consequent fall in shipping values. Indeed the new chief of the Shipping Board predicts continued deficits for many months in the future and holds out only the ultimate hope that "when prosperity comes to the world" we may share more largely in it thru having kept a merchant marine in existence in bad times. His indignation was directed not against the failure of his predecessors to maks the national

shipping business pay, but against the failure to keep accounts straight and show the public just where the money went. He asserted that "out of 9000 voyages made only 3000 are accounted for to date" and that included among expenses of operation there were disbursements of $307,000,000 for which no detailed accounting exists. "Had the books been kept with a view to cheating and deceiving Congress they could not have been kept in much different shape than they have been." Two hundred auditors have been put to work tracing information that has been lost, strayed or stolen.

## Taxes and Those Who Pay Them

INCOME tax statistics are slow in compilation. The figures for 1919 have but just been made public and already they seem out of date, since they refer to "boom" times when incomes averaged higher than they do today. Nevertheless, the facts about the 1919 income tax are interesting enough to warrant comment.

5,332,760 Americans filed returns, showing an aggregate net income of nearly twenty billions ($19,859,491,448), and subject to a tax of $1,269,630,104. The average income of the tax-paying class was $3,724.05 and the average tax paid $238.08. That sounds like universal affluence, but it should be remembered that the majority of the people of the United States are outside the income tax list altogether because they do not earn (or admit that they earn) above the limit of exemption. Also some very big incomes help raise the average. Sixty-five persons admitted incomes exceeding $1,000,000 a year.

New York State paid about one-third of the national income tax, altho New York had only about one-sixth of the net reported income. The reason for this apparent contradiction is that many of the largest fortunes were concentrated in the Empire State and were subject to high supertaxes. The average taxable income in New York was over $5,000 a year, whereas at the opposite extreme the average reported income in Alaska was barely $2,000 a year; yet Alaska reported the largest proportion of the population filing returns of any state or territory. Similar contrasts between state and state abound in the Internal Revenue Bureau table. Thus North Carolina has a reported income only twice that of North Dakota, but pays nearly eight times as much tax; which would seem to indicate that in North Dakota, as in many other western states, the wealth of the "comfortably off" classes is spread out in a fairly even layer, whereas in North Carolina, as in many other Atlantic states, a great deal of wealth is held by a few men. An exception to the geographical rule is the District of Columbia, where the number of income taxpayers is high and the average tax paid low; a condition due no doubt to the fact that so many Washingtonians are Government officials and Uncle Sam never pays very high salaries.

## The Harding Railway Plan

PRESIDENT Harding in a special message to Congress urges legislation to make possible the fulfilment of the obligations of the Government to the railroads, undertaken when the Government assumed the operation of the railroads for the purposes of the Great War. The Transportation Act of last year provided that such sums as the railway companies owed the Government for improvements and added equipment might be funded. On the other hand the companies have counter-claims against the Government "on various accounts such as compensation, depreciation and maintenance." The Government wishes to reach an early settlement of these claims and counter-claims and, says the President, "The way now would seem to be clear to very early adjustment and relief, except for the fact that the railway administration, tho possessing assets, does not command the funds necessary to meet what will be its admitted obligations."

The Railroad administration has, or will have in the progress of funding, ample securities to meet all requirements if Congress only will grant the authority to negotiate these securities and provide the agency for their negotiation.

With this end in view you are asked to extend the authority of the War Finance Corporation so that it may purchase these railway funding securities accepted by the Director General of Railroads. No added expense, no added investment is required on the part of the Government, there is no added liability, no added tax burden. It is merely the grant of authority necessary to enable a most useful and efficient Government agency to use its available funds to purchase securities for which Congress already has authorized the issue and turn them into the channels of finance ready to float them.

I can readily believe that so simple a remedy will have your prompt sanction. The question of our obligation cannot be raised, the wisdom of affording early relief is not to be doubted, and the avoidance of added appropriation or liability will appeal to Congress and the public alike.

The President also expressed the opinion that the War Finance Corporation could do much to relieve the agricultural crisis. "This corporation has proven itself so helpful in the relief thus far undertaken that I cannot help but believe that its broadened powers, as have been proposed, to meet agricultural needs, will enable it wholly to meet the nation-wide emergency."

## The Irish Peace Conference

PREMIER Lloyd George has been in conference with Eamon De Valera and other spokesmen of Irish sentiment, and tho no definite basis of settlement is known to have been reached negotiations have been diligently carried on in an atmosphere of peace. Few outrages have been reported since the formal truce declared between the British army and the revolutionary forces. After his first meeting with the British Premier, De Valera declared that the outlook for peace between England and Ireland was brighter than it had ever been in history. He refused to state definitely whether Sinn Fein would accept a position within the British Empire or would insist on complete independence in name as in fact; contenting himself with a reiteration of the old formula that Ireland insisted on "self-determination." His conception of his mission is not




*Morris for George Matthew Adams Service*

Getting together to drive the snakes out

that of negotiating with full power to act on behalf of Ireland, but rather to find out what is the best offer the British Government is willing to make and to refer that offer to the Dail Eireann (the revolutionary Congress) for acceptance or rejection.

Sir James Craig, the Premier of northern Ireland, also conferred with Lloyd George, tho not in company with De Valera. He turned the Sinn Fein argument of "self-determination" against the Sinn Fein claim of "Ireland a nation," asserting that the recent election in northern Ireland had gone overwhelmingly against De Valera and his party and that, in consequence, De Valera could negotiate only for southern Ireland. "The people of northern Ireland on behalf of whom I speak, while claiming in the most absolute way possible to determine their own fate, do not make any claim whatever to determine the terms of settlement which Great Britain shall make with southern Ireland." In other words, even if the bulk of Ireland should become an independent republic the little patch of Protestant territory around Belfast would still insist on retaining its present position within the British Empire! When Premier Craig returned to Belfast the hopes of a successful outcome to the conference were low, as no Irish solution would be possible without some compromize on the part of Protestant Ulster, irrevocably linked by geography to the rest of Ireland. But optimistic people contended that the Ulster Government was not as irreconcilable as it appeared to be; that it championed the principle of absolute and unlimited self-determination merely to gain a tactical advantage and force Sinn Fein to agree to reasonable concessions.




*Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer*

**He's feeling better again**

## The Greek Offensive

THERE has been a shift in the tide of war in Asia Minor. In spite of the refusal of the Allies to support King Constantine and his armies by either money or arms the Greeks are rather more than holding their own against the Turks. Earlier offensives had won initial successes against the Turkish armies, but always the Greeks pushed their victory incautiously and were driven back. That may again occur. But whether the Greeks win any permanent advantage or not by the present campaign they have at least won battles enough to redeem the military reputation which they lost in recent months. And they have seriously embarrassed the Allies by proving that Greece "can go it alone" and that aid from the treasuries and armories of France and England is not essential to victories over the Turk. Perhaps they may even cause the Allies to regret that they yielded so easily to the demands of Mustapha Kemal and his Nationalist party that the peace treaty with the Constantinople Government be revised and moderated in the interest of Turkey.

The success thus far attained by the Greeks consists in the capture of the important towns of Kutaia and Eski-Shehr. The capture of Eski-Shehr is particularly vital, because this is a railway junction and lies on the direct route to the Nationalist capital of Angora. Turkish losses are placed at enormous figures, but it must be remembered that most of the military bulletins come from Greek sources and tend to exaggerate the injuries inflicted on the Turks. One account states that in the capture of Eski-Shehr the Turks lost 30,000 men and that in a vain attempt to recapture the place they lost 6,000 more. It is certain that large forces are engaged on both sides and that the present struggle in Asia Minor is a real war and not just another of the local disturbances and border raids which have been so common thruout eastern and central Europe since the armistice ended organized warfare. Greek strategy seems to have improved as well as Greek valor and morale; all accounts agree that the Turks were outmaneuvered by the flanking operations of the Greeks and were compelled to retire rapidly to avoid being altogether cut off.




*Reid in New York Evening Mail*

**Getting the last boy out of the trenches**

The war in Asia Minor is accompanied by many atrocities. At first the Turkish Nationalists had some thought of redeeming the reputation of their country by waging a clean fight, which might attract admiration in western Europe and blot out the memory of the Armenian massacres of the Great War. The early stages of the Nationalist movement in Turkey were marked by more battles than massacres. But recent events seem to have made the Turks desperate and careless of their reputation. They are reported to be destroying all the towns and farms from which they are compelled to retreat so that the Greek army must advance into a wilderness and carry its own supplies. Further to delay the Greek advance they are driving hordes of refugees back into Greek territory so that the Greeks must either provide for them or else take the responsibility of letting them starve.

# The Russian Famine

THE impending famine in Russia seems to be on an Asiatic scale and to rival in deadly potency the worst years of China or India. The immediate cause of the crop shortage bears no relation to Bolshevism or any other political conditions, but is the drouth resulting from exceptionally hot and dry summer weather. Southern Russia, the great prairie lands of the Ukraine, and the lowlands north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus mountains and the Caspian Sea are particularly affected. Within this vast region are some of the finest agricultural lands of Europe, but the illiterate, unthrifty and unprogressive peasant class which inhabits it is not far above the famine level in normal years and is reduced to desperation by natural calamities which American or west European farmers would "tide over" comfortably enough. Of course the prolonged civil war in southern Russia and the degeneration of the railways during and since the Great War have made conditions far worse than they would have been ten years ago.

Northern Russia is in somewhat better case. The same unfavorable political and economic conditions which keep the southern Russian down to a low standard of living prevail also in the north, but the drouth which has turned chronic poverty into acute famine has been felt mainly in the south and especially in the valley of the Volga River. All Russia suffers a bread shortage, but Petrograd hopes to be able to keep alive by means of the local vegetable crops from truck gardens. The number of persons in Russia now on the verge of starvation is estimated at from twenty to twenty-five millions. Many of these may be saved by foreign charity, or by emigration into less seriously impoverished parts of Russia and Siberia, or by the strenuous efforts of the Soviet Government. But it is now feared that in the wake of the crop shortage will come a meat shortage, since it is no longer possible to feed the cattle in many parts of southern Russia and it is even predicted that the whole livestock industry may be wiped out.

The Bolshevist Government sees in the famine a grave menace to its political stability. It is significant that the official organ *Izvestia* of Moscow appeals to "the revolutionary spirit" to give the people "strength to survive this hard time." Hungry peasants in southern Russia are reported to have formed lawless bands, raiding the country for food and killing Bolshevists and Jews suspected of Bolshevist sympathies. Many pogroms (massacres, especially of Jews) are reported from Ukrainian villages. If the famine belt should move northward who can predict what chaotic counter-revolutionary movements might not take place even in Moscow?

In yet another way the famine has endangered Bolshevism. In order to placate the peasants, the Soviet authorities have been forced to permit practically free trade in agricultural produce. The factory workers, also, have been stimulated to increased production by permitting them to sell and barter their surplus goods. All this is contrary to the communistic theory, but seems to be the only way out of the breakdown of economic life which communism and bureaucratic incompetence have brought about.

# Hoover Offers Relief

THE famine has compelled Bolshevism to appeal to its enemies for help. Maxim Gorky, an "off and on" opponent of the existing régime in Russia, has sent out a flaming appeal to the civilized nations for aid to the perishing people of southern Russia. A famine relief conference with representatives of opposition parties as well as of the Bolsheviki is said to have been held in Moscow. The Patriarch of Moscow, chief of the Orthodox Church in Russia, has also issued an appeal.

Generous response has come from many countries to Russia's cry for help, but the reply most eagerly awaited was that of America, for European nations have very little surplus of grain to send to Russia; indeed, in normal pre-Bolshevist times, Russia was counted on to export grain to the industrial countries of Europe. The reply of America has been given by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, who has had more experience in organizing wholesale relief work than any other man in human history.

Secretary Hoover has promised to extend the work of the American Relief Administration, "a purely voluntary association and an entirely unofficial organization of which I am chairman," to Russia. The organization is now caring for 3,500,000 children in ten different countries, but with existing resources it is willing to undertake also the responsibility for a million children in Russia. But since past experience has shown that the Bolshevist Government cannot be trusted in dealing with foreign countries and their agents the extension of relief work to Russia is made conditional.

The first condition is "the immediate release of the Americans now held prisoners in Russia." These are few




*Wahl, for Sacramento Bee*

**A fine winter outlook**

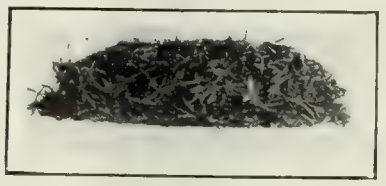
in number, but it is a question of principle and the American people can hardly be expected to extend aid to Bolshevist Russia while the Government is holding—and starving—American citizens in Russian dungeons. The other conditions demanded by Mr. Hoover are such as have been required of all nations in which systematic American relief work has been carried on.

In general, these conditions are: (1) proof given that American aid is needed, (2) full liberty of movement to representatives of the Relief Administration, (3) the right to organize local aid centers "free from governmental interference," (4) free transportation to relief supplies and the buildings and equipment needed for relief administration, (5) that the children and the sick shall have a fair share of the local food supply in addition to the aid given by the Americans, (6) that the Government must give assurances that it will not interfere with liberty of members of the Administration. On the other hand, the American Relief Administration engages itself to take no part in political activities and propaganda and to distribute relief to children and invalids "without regard to race, creed or social status."

# A Little of Everything







At the left is a bushel of fresh string beans, weighing twenty-six pounds; above are the same beans, dehydrated, weighing two and one-half pounds. But soaking entirely restores them

## Pocket Gardens

When the MacMillan expedition packed up its goods and chattels a short time ago and departed for Baffin Land and the Frozen North, it carried along the first fresh fruits and vegetables ever to penetrate to that barren country. Fresh spinach and green corn, new rhubarb in the stalk for rhubarb pies and raw cabbage for salad were included.

Can you imagine the scene? A midsummer dinner in the midst of the ice-locked fields and a group of fur-wrapped Esquimaux to wonder and comment on the strange delicacies of the white man's table! Fresh food, months after it has been pulled from the garden and eaten still fresh in a land where no vegetation of any sort is found! How is it to be accomplished?

Every bit of it has been wrapped up simply in paper bags and stowed away with no greater precautions than the blankets or other luggage. Yet sufficient food has been carried along in this form to last each member of the party five months.

"It is all very simple when you come to think of it," said Dr. Hutchison, scientist and inventor, who, with Mrs. A. Louise Andrea, a food expert, has been working on this problem of preserving of foods.

Dr. Hutchison lifted a paper bag from a shelf in his laboratory and took out a handful of what appeared to be some dry, dead stuff without form or name. "This is dehydrated cauliflower, in the form in which we furnished it for its journey into the land of ice and snow. And this"—reaching down a glass can containing what was to all intents and purposes fresh, raw cauliflower with its original color, flavor and every flower unbroken—"this is the same thing after it has been soaking in water some hours to restore it after the dehydrating process.

"People don't realize that since time began they have been paying millions and millions of dollars for water which they did not want—water which they might have had for nothing by working the pump or turning on the faucet. That is because fruits and vegetables average 90 per cent. water, and it is this same water which causes foodstuffs to rot and decay."

Food to be dehydrated, Dr. Hutchison explained, is merely washed and placed on shallow trays in a big box-like arrangement which is set over a low gas flame. The process takes from a half hour to four or five hours, according to the water content. When it is complete the food has shrunk to a mere fraction of its original size and may be kept rolled up in a paper bag for six months or a year or indefinitely.

Some wintry day, as unlike as possible the summer month in which it ripened, the cook of the Arctic expedition, or some favored member of the crew, will have a hankering after fresh, new cauliflower creamed. And a handful of the queer, dry-looking stuff soaked in water for a few hours will come out as fresh as if it had just been pulled from the garden, all ready but the cooking.

Emphatically, dehydration is not drying, Dr. Hutchison says. Drying is a slow process, so slow that the food cell walls crack and open and allow the volatiles and aromatics to escape and the coloring principles to change. In dehydration, the water is extracted quickly without rupturing the membranes or cell walls or losing the volatiles, flavoring essences, the colorings and nutritive properties.

Dried products look dried and taste dried and cannot be restored to anything like the original. For instance, hay is dried grass and no amount of soaking in water will restore it. Dehydrated grass dropped in water comes back green and succulent.

And right here it should be added that Mrs. Andrea, as a lover of animals, took care to include in the Arctic supplies a small quantity of dehydrated grass to keep the dogs in condition and a bunch of dehydrated catnip for the ship's cat.

Under Dr. Hutchison and his group of experts, the dehydration process has been thoroly tested out and the behavior of thousands of food stuffs under dehydration has been charted. Dr. Hutchison is the inventor of the acousticon for the deaf, of the klaxon horn

## The Learned Public

If we can infer anything about the rest of us from the record of six years' reading which one hundred people kept for Prof. P. Caspar Harvey, of William Jewell College, then we, the public, are both encouragingly high-brow and depressingly sedate and conservative. But perhaps this hundred people simply left out of the count their frivolous or daring or "modern" ventures into literature. At any rate, these are the authors of the eighty books that made up the bulk of the group's reading, with the number of books for which each author is responsible. You may look in vain for Harold Bell Wright, Robert W. Chambers, or even William J. Locke.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jane Austen | 1 | Gogol | 1 | Scott | 2 |
| Balzac | 1 | Gaskell | 1 | Stevenson | 1 |
| Arnold Bennett | 2 | Hawthorne | 3 | Harriet Beecher Stowe | 1 |
| Charlotte Bronte | 1 | Homer | 1 | Sienkewicz | 1 |
| Bjornson | 1 | W. D. Howells | 2 | May Sinclair | 1 |
| Bunyan | 1 | Thomas Hughes | 1 | Booth Tarkington | 3 |
| Winston Churchill | 3 | Victor Hugo | 3 | Thackeray | 4 |
| Wilkie Collins | 1 | Ibanez | 1 | Tolstoy | 3 |
| Fenimore Cooper | 2 | Henry James | 1 | Turgenev | 1 |
| Joseph Conrad | 1 | Thomas à Kempis | 1 | Mark Twain | 2 |
| Cervantes | 1 | Kingsley | 1 | Henry Van Dyke | 1 |
| Dickens | 5 | Edgar Lee Masters | 1 | Vergil | 1 |
| Dumas | 2 | George Meredith | 2 | Isaak Walton | 1 |
| Dante | 1 | Milton | 1 | Wallace | 1 |
| Dostoievsky | 1 | Gilbert Parker | 1 | H. G. Wells | 1 |
| George Eliot | 3 | Plato | 1 | William Allen White | 4 |
| Emerson | 1 | Charles Reade | 1 | Walt Whitman | 1 |



*Gilliams Service*

**When the "humble proletariat" becomes, these topsy-turvy days, the power in the nation most to be reckoned with, strange things happen. This ample palace is the apartment house for employees which the German Government has forced the Krupp works in Essen to erect. The importance attached to such measures gains significance from the fact that Germany is badly equipped for reconstruction on such a grand scale for any purpose whatever**

and several hundred other devices and he is now head of a group of scientists, inventors, engineers and financiers who have organized for the purpose of smoothing the path of the young inventor and bringing the inventor and investor into closer touch.

Among the experts in many lines associated with Dr. Hutchison in his enterprise are Hudson Maxim, the first man to use smokeless powder; Rear Admiral Samuel McGowan, Paymaster General U. S. Navy, retired; William M. Williams, formerly Commissioner of Internal Revenue; and Sir Edgar Rees Jones, M. P., who was head of the Priorities Division of the British Ministry of Munitions during the war and who is European Director of the association.

## The Afro-American in 1920

The Census Bureau has published the facts concerning race in the United States. There are in this country 94,822,431 white persons; 10,463,013 negroes; 242,959 Indians; 111,025 Japanese; 61,686 Chinese and 9,485 others. The fastest rate of increase since 1910 was for the Japanese element (53.9 per cent.), but the total number is still insignificant. One Japanese to nearly nine hundred whites in the continental United States is hardly a disturbing proportion. The Chinese and Indian populations actually decreased.

Greatest interest attaches to the statistics of negro population; the only considerable non-white element in this country. Tho the white population increased by barely 16 per cent. during the decade, it greatly exceeded the increase in negro population which was 6.5 per cent. This is the more strange, since the negroes were not affected by the cutting down of immigration, which was the chief factor in the low rate of increase in the white population. There is no negro immigration, save to a very limited extent from the West Indies, and it now appears that the natural increase of the race on American soil is less than that of the whites. The negro population in America is not "dying out" like some Indian tribes; it is increasing, but at so slow a rate that with each succeeding census, with one exception, the relative proportion of blacks to whites has diminished.

Another interesting fact shown by the census is that the negro is moving north. Altho 85 per cent of the colored race lives south of the Mason-Dixon line, three-fourths of the increase in negro population during the decade is credited to the northern and western states. In the south the increase of negro population was less than 2 per cent. If the present tendency continues the southern states may be faced with an acute labor shortage and be forced to offer new inducements to the negro to "stay on the farm," or to seek a substitute in white labor from Europe, or to displace the hired hand by the machine.

## Chips

The Navy, not the Bureau of Education, teaches children in Guam.

***

It cost within 10 per cent as much to run the United States Government from 1916 to 1920—four years—as to run it from 1789 to 1916—130 years.

***

The Government thru sixteen different bureaus published sixteen different cook books in 1920.

***

We used to pay 12 cents per year per person for keeping the Federal Government going. We now pay $43.

***

An Indian stone dwelling, forty-five stories high, has been discovered in the Southwest. Over a thousand rooms were found in this great cliff "community house."

## Yeast for Youngsters

Yeast in the diet of babies seems a radical departure from the orthodox methods of baby feeding, but it may be that it will come to be one of the great panaceas for the sickly and under nourished infant in the near future.

We have come to regard the substances known as vitamines with a great deal of respect and all accumulating knowledge adds to that feeling. It is now a well recognized fact that milk is deficient in a certain type of vitamine known as "water-soluble B," while it is present in yeast in highly concentrated form.

At the Jefferson Medical College two groups of rats were fed a diet of milk and milk and yeast respectively. The milk and yeast fed rats made a better growth than those fed solely on milk. It is the belief of the investigators that in those cases where infants do not thrive on a milk diet yeast may come to be a valuable addition to their food.



*Adachi*

**The composing room of the largest Japanese newspaper, the *Osaka Asahi*, with 600,000 circulation. No mechanical typesetting machine such as takes care of our simple twenty-six letter alphabet can begin to meet the Japanese problem—hence the swarm of workers. The point is that beside the regular Japanese alphabet the language is made up of from 4000 to 7000 idiographs or symbols, each of which has its separate and distinct meaning. Of course a linotype machine, which has a keyboard like a typewriter, cannot possibly carry all these symbols; so they are kept in thousands of cases from which they are picked by hand as required, and carried by a lot of little boys to the compositors who set them by hand. The composing room is therefore a bee-hive of skilled hand compositors, among whom, as will be noticed, there are a conspicuous number of women**

# The Light of Common Day

(*Continued from page 46*)

on its golden roofs and shining crosses, enhancing its barbaric splendor. I am partial to Byzantine architecture, and this church, a masterpiece, a replica of the Saviour's Church in Moscow, relieved the tameness and drab modernness of Warsaw's skyline. However, it was an eyesore to the people of that city, as it was built with no pious intent but to emphasize Russian dominance, and to proclaim its permanence. Cossacks were riding the streets, swinging menacing whips, while stolid Russian soldiers guarded the intersections; for Poland's chronic revolt had broken out violently, and the attack was directed against this sacred edifice.

My hostess of today was the hostess then. I owe her too much for her gracious hospitality to say that her beauty had faded in the intervening years, and if gratitude did not restrain me gallantry would.

Today the outlines of her face seem blurred, the glow in her eyes is clouded by mist, her head so proudly poised is bowed. As I anticipated seeing her joy in the moment of Poland's long deferred triumph, I pictured her exquisite beyond words, and frankly, I was disappointed. All she hoped for and believed might be realized in fifty or a hundred years has come in less than ten, with far less sacrifice and much larger fulness than she imagined.

The offending church is still there, but the gold is ripped from the roofs, the crosses have been melted into cannon, the bell tower is being demolished to satisfy patriotic ardor and the church itself is being saved only by the strategy of the Archbishop who consecrated it, and pronounced it the Cathedral of his Diocese.

However, a Russian governmental building all done in gorgeous tile has been stripped of its beauty and riddled by bullets so that now it looks as if pitted by smallpox. My hostess ought to be prouder and more beautiful today than ever, for Polish regiments line the square, cannons boom and bands are playing the National anthem.

This is the fifth of May. Ascension Day in the church calendar; it is also the centenary celebration of Napoleon's death, and the two occasions blend in the pomp and ritual provided by the church. The initials of the Corsican and those of the Nazarene meet upon the high altar erected in the center of the square, and I suggest, "maliciously" my hostess says, that Poland is celebrating the ascent of Jesus and the descent of Napoleon. She grows eloquent in narrating Polish history and Napoleon's part in arousing the Polish national spirit, in recognition of which is this High Mass and also the renaming of a city square as "Napoleon Place."

Just then, fortunately for me, the celebrants lift their holy symbols, Pilsudsky, surrounded by his staff leads a visiting French commission to the seats of honor, and the vast multitude with bared heads presses forward for a closer view of their idol. I suspect that when he had his picture taken, copies of which cover a good deal of Warsaw, the photographer said to him, "now look fierce." His is a mild and pleasant face; tho his counterfeit makes him look like a cross between Napoleon the great and Ivan the Terrible.

Polish soldiers, who adore him, are undersized, their uniforms the discard of many armies, chiefly American; they look underfed, and while I have no doubt about their patriotism and religious ardor, I am quite sure that the thought uppermost or nethermost in their minds, was of their next meal, and the hope that it would contain meat.

The gallant Polish officers plead politely with the throng, and firemen with their gleaming helmets hold onto the ropes which save the space allotted to distinguished visitors. The Polish Marine, which looks suspiciously Teutonic and reminds me of the stewards of the Hamburg American liners, reinforces the strength of the army and the firemen. Fortunately the High Mass is curtailed, and as the dignitaries descend from the altar, the lines break and the enthusiastic throng becomes one with the chiefs of church and nation, and moves toward the square which is to be named in holy baptism after the great Napoleon, who, if he were aware of it, would wonder why this honor is paid him.

I have intimated that my hostess' beauty is not the same as it was. The truth is that she is disillusioned, and it is reflected in her face. She says with a sigh: "Yes, there was a great moment which recompensed for all the suffering of the past. Poland was free! There was a universal embrace, a marvelous ecstasy—!" She tries to describe that golden moment; but her lips quiver and there are tears in her eyes. The remembrance of it brings back the old beauty for an instant and then it fades again, and she complains: "There is lack of order, there is graft, incompetency, class struggle, hate, ingratitude and a new hunger which is not for freedom but for dominance."

This time I try to comfort her. I plead the few years and the inexperience, the general unrest. I reassure her; tho I am not over sanguine about Poland tomorrow.

"There is graft and dishonesty," my hostess whispers between sips of chocolate, and there is, as all relief agencies can testify. Everyone seems corrupted and nothing is safe. This of course is not peculiar to Poland. One has to be on one's guard everywhere, for the war has knocked rectitude into a "cocked hat" all over Europe; but the fact that Austria could not send any more through trains to Warsaw because fourteen passenger coaches had been stolen, does seem a little unusual.

My hostess tries to be apologetic about Poland's foreign policy. "After all," she says, "White Russia is a sort of 'no man's land.' Vilna ought to belong to Poland, and as for Ukrania—ah, well! We just tried to save it from the Bolsheviki."

This is a poor time to apologize, for there are inflammatory posters everywhere, bidding the populace come to the rescue of Upper Silesia, and civilians are drilling by the banks of the Vistula. Relief agencies cannot get cars to carry seed to starving Eastern Poland, because soldiers and ammunitions are being sent to help enlarge Poland's borders westward. Warsaw is thronged with soldiers, and is reminiscent of Berlin in its most militaristic days; military autos rush through the streets, bombing planes whirr aloft. Countless pitiable beggars and half-starved children confront one, and there are a hundred thousand children of school age without instruction in Warsaw alone.

Quoting the title of Sienkiewicz's well known story "Quo Vadis," I ask my hostess: "Whither are you going?" And she replies: "Ask France."

She continues: "We have an army but no great military genius; we are embroiled in European politics and have not one statesman."

Pilsudsky she dismisses with a shrug of her shoulders, and when I mention the present Premier, Vitos, she smiles derisively.

"Ah, 'there's the rub.' This is a peasants' government. No wonder there is no efficiency. The country is in debt and the currency debased. The palaces of the aristocracy are commandeered and they are all out on their estates, while the peasants run the government."

I remind her of the fact that the so-called aristocracy and governing class has made a sorry mess of the past and that anyway it does not take much brains to run a country.

She insists that Vitos is a fraud, that he rides in a private car but just before he reaches his own village he steps into a third-class coach. "In Warsaw he lives like a prince and at home like a peasant."

I am afraid that my hostess is in the realm of myths. The fact is that Vitos is a shrewd but honest peasant and the aristocracy have neither characteristic in abundance.

"What has become of Paderewski?" I inquire.

"Have you asked anyone else that question?" she asked in return.

"Yes, and the answer is that he was a great piano player." The fact is that I have never heard his name mentioned altho I was three weeks in Poland. I have not seen his picture anywhere, even in music stores, tho I peered into every show window.

"Republics are ungrateful," my hostess says. "Certainly Paderewski deserved better of Poland."

She invited a company of her inti-

mate friends to five o'clock tea, and before their arrival she took me thru her picture gallery. There were mostly historic pictures, a few by Matejko, the greatest of Poland's patrict painters. I criticized not the colors or the drawing, but the Grand Opera style of depicting the past, the ornate, idealized way of presenting the struggles of yesterday. I wonder if my hostess' depression is not due to the fact that, seeing modern history, she finds it commonplace and colorless. The modern heroes are not so colossal, the events not so picturesque, the devotion not so pure.

The company assembled. A judge of the High Court, professors of the university, Church dignitaries, artists, and officers. There were many osculatory greetings, after which tea was served and I was asked to speak.

I had left the United States, glad that for a while I could rest from prophesying, and here I was being urged to speak where a plain word might be more dangerous than in the United States. I am a friend of Poland and known as such by my past record, so I felt a rare freedom of utterance. I had also the saving background of the Quaker Mission, which has the reputation of being impartial and non-political; so I began by interpreting their work and their message. I told of what I had seen on the Eastern front, a devastation even more cruel than that in the West. Peasants driven from their homes and wandering as far as India and back again, scarcely able to identify the place where their village stood. I showed samples of bread made of acorns and oak leaves, bitter and scarce, and acting upon the vitals like tannic acid. I had pictures of American tractors guided by English and American Quaker boys who plow furrows between unhealed trenches, pyramids of barbed wire and war wastage. I told of half a dozen normal schools and colleges in which the future leaders of Poland live, in squalor and misery. I spoke of brave women delousing the population in the midst of a typhus epidemic, and I asked timidly whether this is the time to continue wars and the preparation for future wars.

There was genuine applause, followed by promises of coöperation, and here be it said, the promises were kept. Little knots of men and women gathered around me and there was further discussion.

I remember the professor of pedagogy of the University of Warsaw. I shall remember his face always. A tender, swcet, manly face; but there were tears in his eyes.

"We have a hundred years of struggle behind us," he said. "Our strength has been consumed in achieving freedom, our youth has lived for that ideal. We need friends who will aid us in taking the next step."

I asked him one question, "Is militaristic France the friend you need now?" He did not answer the question.

"You must not be discouraged about your country," I said to my hostess



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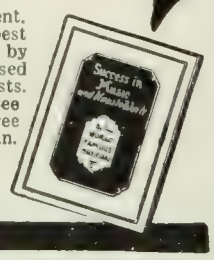
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when I bade her good-bye, and it seemed strange that I had to speak the words of courage. "You are at least a nation. In Posen, Galicia and here in former Russian Poland the cultural and economic cleavage is gone. Of course I know that Posen is conservative and is suspicious of Warsaw, which it thinks radical. Galicia is aristocratic and fears both; but the people are Poles everywhere and think Polish. You have little or nothing to fear from Bolshevism; your laboring element is patriotic and so are the farmers and business men. Nowhere in all my travels have I found a more united national feeling than in this new, old Poland, and that is a great deal.

"To guide and restrain this national feeling, to begin to make its strength productive, to turn its attention to the reclamation of land and the education of its youth, that is the immediate task, and you, my dear lady, you must go to work and do your part. As you have worked and suffered to make Poland free, you must work and if need be suffer to make it turn from the past to the future, from conquest to labor."

She had grown strangely beautiful again, as she turned her face from the tragic past and the uncertain present, to the hopeful future.

# Stranded

(*Continued from page 45*)

What is more convincing than all other factors combined, Alacran Light, a splendid electric sector, had been sighted one hour and thirty-seven minutes before we were stranded, and had been clearly visible thruout that time. And then to clinch the argument, the ship had been turned abruptly from her course, three points and a half by compass, just seven minutes before she struck and deliberately allowed to ram the reef at full speed, almost *directly in front of the lighthouse.*

When the ship struck, the hull ploughed thru the comparatively soft coral of the reef for about one-third of her length, her after-body still afloat in clear water, and lay there solidly embedded as rigid and upright as tho she had been in dry-dock.

When it was found that the ship was resting easily, that we were in no immediate danger, and that no efforts of our own could ever dislodge her, the wrecking pumps were set to work at full capacity to reduce the influx of water in the hold, sea watches were set and we waited for the day with its hope of succor from a passing steamer.

At 8 o'clock in the morning of September 25 the British tank steamship "San Geronimo" hove in sight bound from Tuxpan, Mexico, to England, with a full cargo of oil. The "San Geronimo" was a huge hulk of 17,500 tons gross and we thought our prospect of salvage looked pretty good. As soon as she had taken up an anchorage about half a mile from the reef we lowered and manned our No. 2 lifeboat, and pulled over to her with our chief officer, whom Captain Shoals had instructed to negotiate terms of salvage.

The "San Geronimo" hove up her anchor and dropped in closer to the reef to enable us to run the towing hawsers to unite the two ships. Like all sea-going oil-tanks, the "San Geronimo" carried a full equipment of first-class hawsers, and all the latest towing devices, including a patent towing machine for reeling and controlling the hawsers in a heavy seaway. For these steam tankers are often required to tow laden barges as large as themselves, belonging to the same owners, so as to transport two cargoes on one trip and thus reduce traffic costs.

They are, therefore, well prepared to deal with emergencies such as the "Aleusia" presented to the "San Geronimo." While the "San Geronimo" was changing her anchorage we remained alongside in our boat and dropped in with her, then as soon as she dropped anchor again, the end of a three-inch Manila messenger line long enough to reach across the intervening space between the two ships was passed over to us. After we had coiled down as much of this line as our boat would hold and still leave room for the oarsmen to pull we started across the chasm to our own ship.

This was extremely heavy work: under any circumstances it would have been hard enough, but here a strong, swift current sweeps perpetually from east to west across the face of Alacran, and its sullen monotonous roar can be heard miles away. The bight of our long messenger line, caught in the turgid sweep of that powerful cross current, was constantly pulled off at right angles to our course as we rowed so that by the time we reached our own ship we were dragging a great semi-circular loop of wet hawser a mile in length thru a four knot race, for it required several times as much line to reach the ship as tho it had lain in a straight course.

Then with the help of the steam winches and the united man power of the whole crew the business end of the mighty hawser was dragged forward thru the starboard alleyway for a hundred feet, carried around the foot of the main-mast, and brought back thru the port alleyway to the quarter bitts in the ship's stern. By this method the sweep of the tow-line encircled not only the main-mast, but also the entire structure of the big iron deck-house which enclosed the engine room compartment, so that it was physically impossible for anything to carry away under the strain unless the ship should break in two. Now in this instance it was only necessary to cross the end of the hawser over the standing part, bring it back and belay to the quarter bitts in the manner approved by practical seamen. This practice would have

been absolutely secure, and in case of any emergency arising from the heavy strain on the tow-line, the whole arrangement could have been let go instantly without danger, and before any damage could have resulted. But at this point Captain Shoals began to show his hand. He ordered us to take the end of the hawser off the bitts where we had already belayed it, and then with his own hands, and the enforced assistance of his crew, he carried the end with a round turn across its own part, and hitched it off with a series of granny knots that would be sure to draw into the hawse pipe and jam when the line tautened under the stupendous strain of the leviathan's pull.

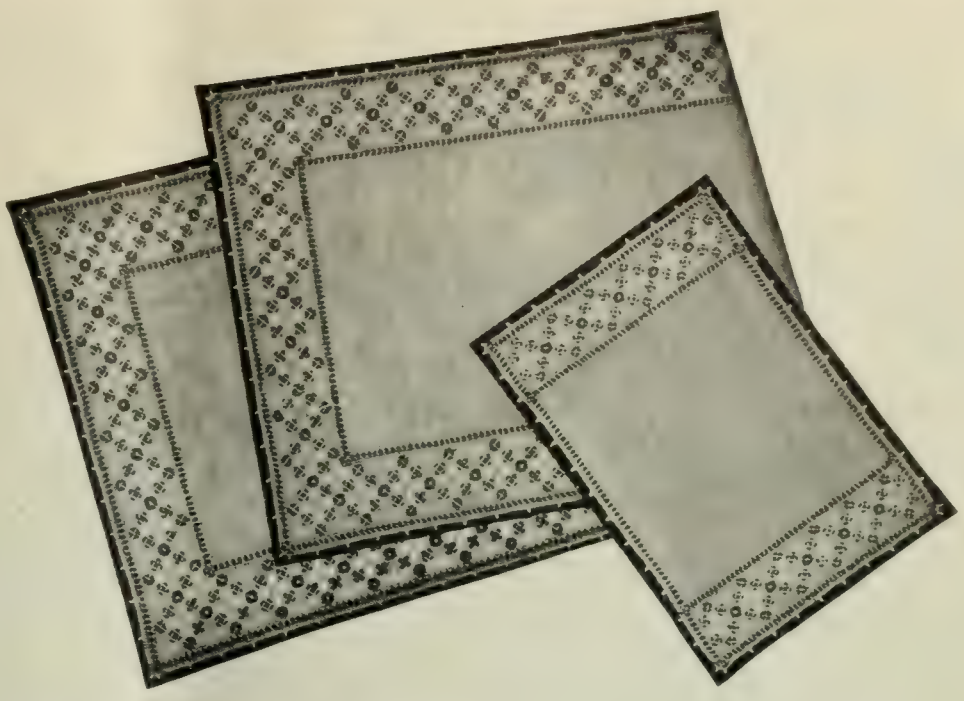
As soon as we were fast, we signalled our salvaging ship to heave ahead. Thereupon the "San Geronimo" hove up her anchor at once and started her engines. After taking up the slack and tautening the tow-line the captain of the "San Geronimo" attempted with all the vast power of his mighty engines to tow our ship off at right angles to her length so as to loosen her hold in the grip of the coral bed; with our own engines working at full speed astern to lend added power to his titanic efforts. The hawser used on this occasion was not new; it had evidently seen much previous service, but was in good average condition. But as soon as the "San Geronimo" hove up her anchor and began to tow she was caught in the irresistible sweep of the cross current and was carried bodily beyond our ship. The hawser snapped like a pack thread under the tremendous strain, the short end jerked back under our stern, was caught in the whir of our propellor blades, and irretrievably wound around the shaft until the pull of the suddenly tautened line extending from the hawse pipe above stopped the racing engines before the engineers could shut off the power.

In our next attempt we brought over from the "San Geronimo's" selection of tow-lines, a brand new four-stranded warp that had never before been bent in service.

But here again Captain Shoals displayed his determined duplicity by deliberately jamming the splendid new line with a series of ridiculous devil's deal knots that once tautened could never be undone, and must inevitably be cut.

When the "San Geronimo" started to tow again she was swept around in the current as before until she was in imminent danger of being stranded ahead of us. In this emergency the skipper of the tanker hailed us to "let go the hawser." But to let go was impossible, because Captain Shoal's granny knots were irrevocably jammed in the stern pipe, as he had intended.

But that splendid line still held without starting a ropeyarn in spite of the titanic strain upon its devoted fiber. Then the skipper roared again in wild alarm at his own hazardous predicament, "If you can't let go, cut; for ——— sake cut!" In obedience to orders, tho reluctant to obey, I struck the foul blow that sundered that splen-

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did line with the carpenter's broad axe.

The "San Geronimo" dropped her anchor just in time to prevent another stranding, wound in the remains of her severed hawser and then hauled off to a safer anchorage for the night.

Early next morning the chief officer of the tanker, a big, burly, beef-eating Britisher, came on board and loudly asserted his fixed determination to "get us off." Thereupon Captain Shoals, seeing that the Englishman meant business, requested, in case his ship should be refloated, to be towed into Progress, Mexico. To this request the British skipper refused to accede, and rightly so, but offered to take us into Key West or Havana instead. At both Key West and Havana there are ample docking facilities where the ship could be repaired and both ports were convenient to the tanker's route to Europe. Progress, on the other hand, was an out-of-the-way place on the Mexican coast, sixty miles across the Gulf and not to be considered in such a case. It is situated on a low lying projection extending seaward from the mainland of Mexico, and is chiefly inhabited by Yaqui Indians. It has no harbor or shelter whatsoever, and, except for a few wharves, no port improvements or docking facilities at all, but it is an ideal place for gun-running and smuggling. Key West is a long established naval station and Havana, being at that time largely under American protection, was always dominated by American men-of-war. Hence our old man's evident anxiety to dodge those inquisitive ports and land at Progress. He was manifestly determined to remain where he was for the present, in spite of all attempts on the part of the British captain and his crew to dislodge him. On that day, September 26, after more than half a day of bone breaking labor, we managed with the help of another boat's crew from the "San Geronimo" to fetch over two hawsers and get them aboard together for a double trial. But this plan worked not better than the other, for Captain Shoals still stubbornly persisted in his anti-salvaging method of cow-hitching, so that in the final effort both hawsers had to be cut to prevent the "San Geronimo" from stranding as before. After this last costly attempt at salvage, the British skipper sadly wound in the fag ends of his sundered hawsers and resumed his interrupted voyage with a resounding snort of disgust.

At 6 o'clock in the morning the "Santa Matilda," a sister ship to the "San Geronimo," likewise bound to England with a cargo of oil, hove in sight, and shortly afterwards anchored near us. Her captain lowered a boat and came on board in person; but on learning of the unsuccessful attempts already made by his company's ship to refloat us, he declined to make any attempt. But he did offer to send a wireless message for us to Key West for a wrecking outfit to salve our ship and cargo. This generous offer, however, Captain Shoals emphatically declined.

At 6.20 the same evening the American tanker "Monterey" hove in sight from the northward. She was in ballast, bound south to a Mexican port to load.

Since the "Monterey" was bound south to Mexico, instead of north, Captain Shoals could now leave his contraband in the shallow water of the reef and proceed to Vera Cruz under tow without danger of detection. He, therefore, changed his attitude completely and bent all his energies to an earnest attempt to refloat his ship. The American skipper exhibited more true sea-sense and genuine seamanship than the British skipper had shown. Before dawn the next morning, which happened to be Sunday, September 28, he weighed anchor, and dropping down about a quarter of a mile astern of the "Aleusia" he let go both bowers and paid out all the chain in his lockers.

Then the crew of the "Monterey" lowered a boat and assisted us in getting two hawsers on board. This time, however, the hawsers were made fast to the quarter bitts in the orthodox manner, and there was no danger of jamming in the pipe. Captain Shoals's mania for cow-hitches had left him.

ALL thru the sun and heat of that semi-tropical Sabbath we worked like beavers getting the cargo overboard, while the faithful "Monterey" maintained her mighty strain on our hawsers undiminished. In addition to the cargo discharged by the crew the engineers were ordered to further lighten the ship by pumping their supply of fuel oil overboard. At length, yielding to the combined influence of constant lightening and stedfast pulling the "Aleusia" slid quietly off the reef at 7:27 o'clock that Sunday evening, and the "Monterey" continued to tow us by the stern all night to get us clear of the stress of Alacran. In the morning the "Monterey" slowed down long enough to enable us to get our hawser around to the bow and so she towed the "Aleusia" across the Bay of Campeche and into the harbor of Vera Cruz, arriving there at 11:40 on the night of October 2, 1919.

The apparently baseless rumor that the "Aleusia" was a gun-runner was amply verified when we dumped the cargo on Alacran.

Among the jettisoned cargo were numerous heavy cases, the size and shape of which clearly indicated that they could contain nothing else but machine guns and small arms. The deck load of roller-tanks and casks, presumed to contain lubricating oils, sank to the bottom as soon as they were rolled overboard. Oil barrels do not sink when jettisoned.

All of these mystery cases bore private marks; no indication of their destination or contents appeared on them. We also dumped huge cases packed with unusually heavy and expensive woolen blankets; such articles are not required by ordinary house-holders in semi-tropical Mexico, but would be highly appreciated by soldiers.

In addition we dumped large quantities of medical and food stores and

miscellaneous goods exactly suited to army use or consumption.

On leaving the reef Captain Shoals also managed to leave his No. 2 lifeboat behind as a very welcome and useful present to the Mexican guerillas.

But beaching the contraband was not the only motive that could have inspired the owners of the "Aleusia" to order their ship stranded on Alacran. The "Aleusia" had come in search of a free repair asylum. She had been punching around the coast of Alaska for years, carrying iron ore, one of the most destructive classes of cargo, continuously, and was in the last degree unseaworthy.

After leaving the lawful portion of her cargo at Vera Cruz and Tampico, the "Aleusia" put into New Orleans and remained there two months in drydock undergoing repairs.

The ship was practically rebuilt from bow to stern, and the repairs, with cost of salvage, and attempted salvage, must have totalled several times the original cost of construction.

And now she is back on her old run on the Pacific coast a practically new ship, she was said to have been fully insured and all damages were attributed to the stranding, whereas most of them had existed for years and were charged to the underwriters.

Captain Shoals appeared jubilant over his success, and told me when we parted that he had made a "good trip." That must have been his point of view.

## This Changing World

(*Continued from page 44*)

marine Diesel engine constructed by the British was 2000 horsepower, but recently they have made 3200 horsepower oil engines for the "Glenapp." The new Danish ship "Afrika," a 13,000 ton vessel, is equipped with a Diesel engine of 4500 horsepower which burns only fourteen tons of oil a day, while a steamer of this size would require for fuel thirty tons of oil or fifty tons of coal. This is a smokeless ship and has no funnels.

America has hitherto been backward in the building of Diesels, but Charles M. Schwab announces that the Bethlehem Steel Co. is making a two-cycle engine that produces the same horsepower as a four-cycle Diesel twice its size and is adapted to large cargo ships, saving two-thirds their fuel cost over oil-fired steam engines.

This revolution in motive power is due to Dr. Rudolf Diesel, a German engineer, born in Paris in 1858. It was thru this invention that the deadly U-boats became possible. It was also thru this invention that England may remain the mistress of the seas for, according to Diesel, her possession of the largest amount of tropical land capable of growing fuel oil, will insure her supremacy in commerce and war when petroleum fields are exhausted.

In 1913 it was realized that a man like that might have weight enough to disturb the delicately poised balance between the rival and soon-to-be enemy powers, Germany and England,


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so both were anxious to secure his exclusive services—or to prevent the other from securing them. But just when the rivalry became most intense the bone of contention mysteriously disappeared. On the night of September 29, 1913, Dr. Diesel embarked at Antwerp on the steamer "Dresden" for London to attend a meeting of the Consolidated Diesel Engine Manufacturers. But when the ship arrived at Harwich the next morning he was not on board. In the atmosphere of suspicion and hate that prevailed then and thereafter each party suspected the other of having made away with him. Men of more charitable mind surmized that he had fallen or jumped overboard.* But the final chapter of this detective story is still missing.

Nature has been niggardly to the continents of the Southern hemisphere, Africa, Australia and South America, in the supply of coal and oil. They have only 3 per cent of the coal and much less of the oil. They can never expect to become economically independent or to compete on equal terms so long as they are dependent for power upon the more favored lands of the north. But as these countries in the course of time use up their supply of fossil fuel, the vantage will be reversed and the tropical lands, that can grow their fuel supply year by year as they need it, will be the richest part of the world.

Just what form of fuel will be made from tropical vegetation cannot be told in advance, but we may safely assume that it will be a liquid combustible for internal combustion engines since the steam engine is already antiquated and will be eventually regarded as too wasteful to be fed with good fuel. At present there are only two sorts of vegetable fuels in sight that will fill the bill: (1) alcohol for motors similar to those now used for gasoline, and (2) oils for motors of the Diesel type. Alcohol can be made from almost any kind of sugar by fermentation. Sugar can be made from any kind of starch or sugar by heating with a little acid. That means that alcohol may be obtained directly or indirectly from almost any sort of vegetable matter, from grapes and molasses to potatoes and sawdust. Many amateurs in America are now engaged in experimentation in this and laboratories for such researches have been set up in the most unexpected places, but their operations are frequently interfered with by the Government. As soon, however, as the abnormal taste for the imbibing of alcohol, which the modern man has inherited from his intemperate ancestors, has become eliminated thru disuse, the vexatious restrictions and exorbitant tax imposed by the Government will be removed and alcohol will become one of the chief friends of man instead of one of his worst enemies.

*In an article on "The Mystery of Diesel" in The Independent of January 11, 1919, I listed nine different theories to account for his vanishment, all equally unfounded

SOME years ago when the campaign was started to induce Congress to remove the 1000 per cent tax on industrial alcohol, it was stated that alcohol could be manufactured for twenty-five cents a gallon and it was commonly expected that if the bill passed almost any farmer could set up a still in his backyard and make enough alcohol from waste fodder or wood to run his automobile and milk the cows. But there must have been some mistake in the figuring for the anticipated results did not follow, and now when fuel alcohol sells for a dollar instead of twenty-five cents a gallon it is still unprofitable to produce.

The chief difficulty in the production of cheap alcohol, apart from the governmental restriction, is that small plants do not pay and that the wastes that it was proposed to utilize, such as spoiled corn, rotting fruit and sawdust piles, are scattered and uncertain. A distillery soon gets tired of chasing a sawmill around a forest. The best source of cellulose for alcohol has been found in waste liquors from the paper pulp mills where the ground wood is decomposed with sulfite solution. In Sweden, Canada and the United States industrial spirits are being made from this waste material.

When wood pulp is heated under pressure in water containing 1 per cent of acid about one-quarter of its insoluble cellulose is converted into soluble sugars. Part of these, 50 to 80 per cent, are fermentable, and when the syrupy solution is boiled down, the acid is neutralized. Yeast is added and the ensuing fermentation process changes the sugars into alcohol which may be distilled off. Some twenty to thirty gallons of 95 per cent alcohol may be obtained from a ton of dry wood.

But from a ton of corn by simple fermentation eighty gallons of alcohol can be produced and twenty-four gallons from a ton of potatoes, altho potatoes are mostly water. Molasses from the cane or beet sugar factories also provides good cheap material for alcohol. Pineapple waste has been used in Hawaii. Prickly pear cactus that is overrunning and ruining the free lands of Australia has become an aid by making alcohol out of it.

We may also look to the tropics for the oil as well as the spirits for the internal combustion engine. Already Diesel's dream is coming true and the Belgian Government has found it possible to use palm oil in place of petroleum for propelling boats on the Congo River and tractors on African farm lands. The French Government is using peanut oil for the same purpose. In fact any kind of fluid fat may be used in the Diesel engine, cottonseed oil, fish oil, castor oil, whatever is cheapest. At present of course the supply of tropical oils for food and soap is not equal to the demand, but eventually they may be grown for fuel. The "promised land" of the future will be one rich in "wine and oil," tho for fuel rather than for food.

# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Pebbles

She—Are you going to take the train to the junction?

He—No; the train will take me.—*Princeton Tiger.*

Second Class Scout—If Germs come from Germany and Parasites come from Paris, what comes from Ireland?

Tenderfoot—Search me.

Second Class Scout—Mike Crobes.—*Boys' Life.*

LINES TO THE MAURETANIA

By the well known Co-ed, Wanda Gohome.

Break, break, break
On thy cold gray stones, O sea,
I fear I shall have to give you
The things that arise in me.
—*Froth.*

Peg Cruller, on a winter's night,
Turned down the only parlor light.

The Goof beside her whispered things
Of wedding bells and diamond rings.

He spoke his love in burning phrase,
And acted kittenish thirty ways.

When he had gone Peg gave a laugh
And then turned off the dictograph.
—*Pennsylvania Punch Bowl.*

The lady wrote to the editor:

"Sir: You sent back last week a story of mine. I know that you did not read the story. For as a test I had pasted together pages 18, 19 and 20, and the story came back with these pages still pasted; and so I know you are a fraud and turn down stories without reading same."

The editor wrote back:

"Madam: At breakfast when I open an egg I don't have to eat the whole egg to discover it is bad."—*London Opinion.*

The teacher was trying to be up-to-date and explain monarchies. The pupils seemed to understand what she told them.

"Now," asked the teacher, "if the king dies, who rules?"

"The queen," suggested one little girl.

"Yes, under certain circumstances which I shall explain later, that is true," said teacher. "Now if the queen dies, who takes her place?"

Silence reigned for a moment, then a boy ventured to reply.

"The jack," he said.—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

The detail had just arrived near the front lines when the captain looked around and noticed a private, hatless and coatless.

"Where's the rest of your uniform?" he demanded.

"Back where we came from."

"Go back and get it."

The private vanished and later reappeared, correctly uniformed, but without his rifle.

"Where's your gun?"

"Left it back where we came from."

"Listen!" bellowed the captain. "You're a fine soldier. What were you in civilian life?"

"Plumber's assistant."—*The American Legion Weekly.*

Hamilton Holt, Editor — Hannah White Catlin, Managing Editor

Franklin H. Giddings, Shailer Mathews, Edwin E. Slosson, Preston Slosson, John Spargo, Talcott Williams

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## Remarkable Remarks

PROF. STEINBRUGGE—Where there is a beach and bathing there must be love.

MARCUS GARVEY—War is the only method by which man can obtain salvation.

ALFRED HUMAN, editor of *The Musical World*—A Caruso is born once in a thousand years.

VISCOUNT BRYCE—*European nations* have been groping in the dark for the last few years.

ROY K. MOULTON—Every woman knows it is no fun to smoke a cigaret when nobody is looking.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—When you look into my father's keen, kindly eyes you know he is your friend.

JACK JOHNSON—Cut me open and you will find written upon my heart that I have never done wrong to my fellow men.

J. B. CRANFILL—When Colonel Harvey said that our soldiers went to France simply to save their hides, he was lying under a mistake.

SENATOR PENROSE—I favor the general principle of disarmament and do so regardless of any agreement or understanding with other nations.

LORD ASHFIELD—I know what it means to the working man to have good health. and I know that bad teeth and good health don't run in harness.

HERBERT HOOVER—There is a feeling of some uneasiness and even of pessimism regarding the future of our foreign trade, in which I do not participate.

MARGUERITE WILKINSON—The spiritual revival in so far as it exists at present is a spiritual rebellion. The young thinkers of the world are angry thinkers.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT—We fought for civilization in the great war, so we are told, but some of the refinements of civilization seem to have been lost on the way.

PRESIDENT OBREGON—Refusal to do certain things which have been asked of us has been attributed to Mexico's anti-Americanism. I deny absolutely that such feeling exists.

JAMES P. SINNOT—When a man can live down the fact that his ancestors helped to found Hackensack, New Jersey, there is no telling to what hights he may attain.

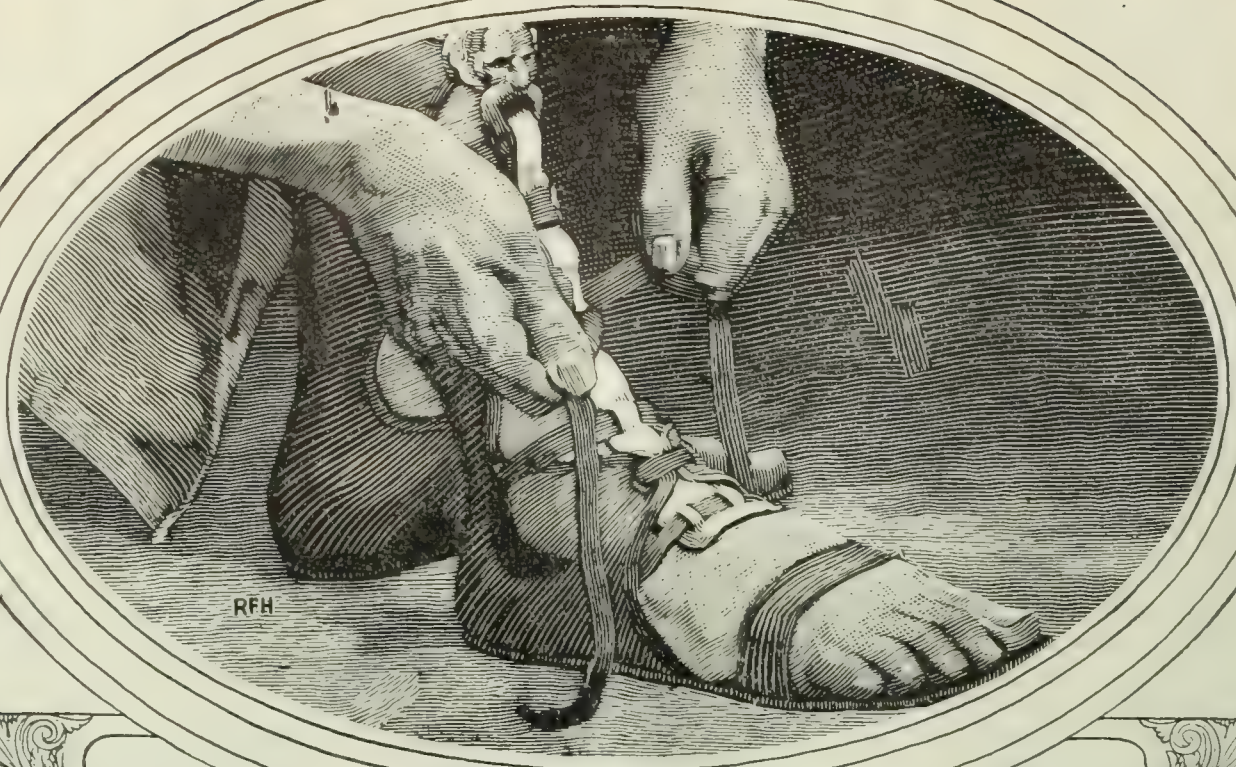
## Opening Nights

*Honors Are Even.* An easy-going comedy in which Lola Fisher and William Courtenay are themselves again. Flashes of melodrama alternate with stretches of entertaining dialog. (Times Square Theater.)

*The Teaser* is a lively comedy in which a flirtatious flapper (Faire Binney) visits her popular young aunt (Jane Grey). The numerous suitors and husbands in aunt Teddie's set all succumb to the flapper, and the complications are uproarious! (The Playhouse.)



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The Independent
August 20, 1921

# Can the Churches Be Saved?

## By Franklin H. Giddings

***If the following article rouses you to reply sit down and give us your own answer or argument! And if the "come back" warrants it we will publish a symposium of these opinions in an early issue. Keep your comments down to 300 words or less. Address them to the Church Editor. No manuscripts will be returned***

AN investigation of the status of Protestant churches and theological seminaries in the United States has been made by the New York *Evening Post*. It reveals a situation that may well cause consternation. Ministers and educational secretaries are asking what the churches can do to be saved.

According to Dr. Robert L. Kelley, secretary of the Council of Church Boards of Education, fully five thousand Protestant pulpits are now vacant in this country and another five thousand will need ministers next year. To meet this demand the seminaries graduated in June only 1600 students, and not all of these can be counted on for ministerial service.

While colleges, universities and other professional schools are crowded beyond precedent, the theological seminaries, with significant exceptions, are losing disastrously. Attendance at Episcopalian seminaries decreased from 463 in 1916 to 193 in 1920. In Presbyterian seminaries it decreased from 1188 in 1916 to 695 in 1921; in Methodist seminaries from 1226 in 1916 to 976, and in Congregational seminaries from 499 in 1910 to 255 in 1921.

Explanations of these losses which are coming from seminary authorities and ministers are superficial and unconvincing. Most of them allege the war and its effects. That this theory is of little value appears from contrasting Roman Catholic gains. Attendance at Roman Catholic seminaries (which stand upon the affirmation of ecclesiastical authority) has been and is gaining. There is more than a hint in this fact of what some of the real causes at work are. A hint of other and different but coöperating causes is given in the prosperity of the Union Theological Seminary, which a reactionary element in the Presbyterian body once tried to put out of business. Maintaining a university connection, high standards of up-to-date scholarship, and a liberal attitude, Union Seminary is attracting year by year increasing numbers of well-prepared and serious-minded students, worthy to be compared in ability with the young men who go into law, medicine, engineering, and other professions that demand intelligence and knowledge.

**"A situation that may well cause consternation"**
**says Dr. Giddings in this discussion of modern churches and their loss of power. His analysis of the so-called "failure of Christianity" today is made with the keen insight of an eminent scientist and enhanced by the author's own Puritan ancestry and New England upbringing.**

If a New Englander by birth and nurture, descended from Pilgrims and Puritans, and son of a Congregational minister, may offer a layman's interpretation of the unpleasant facts, I should be glad to see sober attention given to a certain possibility (which I myself am satisfied is practically a certainty), namely, that the Protestant churches of America have been losing influence because for more than a generation they have been selling to the public three kinds of bad goods, to wit:

1. Bad Theology;
2. Bad Christianity;
3. Bad Protestantism.

I

BAD THEOLOGY

It was in my boyhood that the fight over evolution began, and in my young manhood that the fight to resist applications of historical scholarship to the study of the Bible became bitter. The first time I heard of Darwin was when a visiting minister in a "smart" sermon paid a mock tribute to him for "remembering his poor relations." I first heard of Huxley, Renan and Strauss as "infidels" who would follow such doomed souls as David Hume, Thomas Paine, Ethan Allen and Voltaire to a brimstone hell.

It would be a waste of energy at this late day to review the obstinacy with which Protestant theologians, rejecting authoritative formulations of belief from Rome, and professing liberty to interpret the Scriptures under accountability to the individual conscience, nevertheless resisted knowledge. They not only did not inform themselves (perhaps fearing for their faith); but also they did their best to keep scientific facts from inquisitive youth by branding indispensable books as dangerous or worse. Whether or not this was sin, it was an absurdity that queered Protestant theology.

Truth is either authoritatively declared in doctrines and interpretations that should be accepted without question, or it is arrived at thru untrammeled investigation. Authority is either a creative source which "makes good" or it is derived from a creative source by grant or concession. If derived, it necessarily is or becomes traditional. Traditional authority, proclaimed by historical institutions still functioning, cannot be rejected without asserting the right (*Continued on page 87*)

# More Irish Than Ireland

## Another Side of the New Hyphenism That Is Growing in New York

### By Rollin Lynde Hartt

HARANGUING Irish-Americans in New York, the other night, Mr. Thomas F. Ryan declared,

No Irishman owes anything to America. You used to hear them say, "Don't bite the hand that fed you," America never fed me. I have fed myself. Also he remarked, "Ireland is not fighting England. Ireland is fighting America. The Liberty bonds—I should say, the slavery bonds—you bought are keeping the Black and Tans in Ireland.

Loud tokens of approval greeted this sally, and he continued,

There was just one time when you Irish in America could have freed Ireland and crushed England. But you didn't have the guts to do it. In 1917, when the United States declared war against Germany, if the Irish in this country had been worth a damn, they would have gone down to Washington and told the Englishman in the Presidential chair that not an Irishman, nor the son of an Irishman, would don a uniform and fight until Ireland was liberated. Instead, you were gulled into waving flags and being 100 per cent. jackasses.

In the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic (headquarters, 29 East 48th Street) Mr. Ryan is a director. Another organization—the American Commission on Irish Independence, with offices at 411 Fifth Avenue—asserts by pamphlet,

We are not asking the American Government to begin 'meddling' in this dispute between Ireland and Britain. If you use that word—you *have* meddled. You *are* meddling. You are at this moment according official recognition to England's government in Ireland. You are denying it to Ireland's government in Ireland. You are refusing to recognize the government of right. You are recognizing the government of might and even supporting it. The moneys borrowed from you maintain England's army of occupation in Ireland.

The day after Mr. Ryan's address to Irish-Americans in New York I was told—there and by Irish-Americans—that "nothing could be more outrageous than this determination to make America the battle-ground in a conflict between Irish and English." By no means all the Irish population of New York has been conquered by Sinn Fein. For one thing, the Irish population of New York is too big. A yard apart, its Irish-born "would reach from City Hall to Albany." Its telephone book shows 48 John O'Briens, 53 John Sullivans, and 76 John Murphys, while names beginning with "Mc" fill 74 columns. With more than 700,000 Irish-born, or children of Irish-born, New York has nearly twice as many Irish as Dublin.

For another thing, New York's Irish population lacks uniformity. Pouring into New York during the Hungry Forties, as well as before them and after, came "all the harps from here to heaven,"—a jovial, light-hearted, lovable crew, including "the Murphys, the Caseys, the O'Shaughnessys, the Rileys, and iv'ry McGuire," as the old song has it—and inasmuch as they already knew English, they began at once to take the positions for which their abilities fitted them. Endlessly various were those abilities. Even while one element still lived in squatters' shanties, with goats abounding, another element was erecting St. Patrick's Cathedral, in that day the noblest Gothic masterpiece outside of Europe. And so things have gone ever since.

The Irish East Side evolved Chuck Connors, who spoke the now practically extinct Chimmie Fadden dialect and served as arbiter of taste to the Bowery. "Do de hard walk as hard as de real t'ing an' no harder, see?" he used to counsel, and one of his high precepts announced, "It's a doity trick f'r a gorilla to get a bundle stuck on him an' den go off an' leave de bundle to go up in de air." The same Irish East Side evolved Jerry McAuley, inspired apostle to the outcast. An Irish-American, William Mooney, founded the Secret Society of Saint Tammany, which later went into politics and has given New York a régime singularly resembling the feudal system. Another Irish-American, John Purroy Mitchel, became an ideal mayor. Irish-Americans appeared in vaudeville with green "Galway fringes." As if to point a contrast, Augustin Daly set an unprecedented high standard for drama. Imported from Boston, the late John L. Sullivan kept a grog-shop in Union Square. Irish-American prelates, meanwhile, were famous for their sanctity. On the police force Irish-Americans have shown qualities ranging all the way from rascality to consummate virtue. Personally, I have seen only the virtue.

And in their feeling for "the old sod," New York's Irish-Americans vary enormously. The servant-girl who answers to "Nora" (there must be at least one such left) still thinks in Gaelic. Her Irish-American mistress, however, we may properly enough describe as a great-granddaughter of gay Timothy O'This or O'That, who came by sailing vessel. Never has she beheld the Emerald Isle. She cannot understand Mr. Ryan's excitement over Erin and its woes, or discover why he is "more Irish than the Irish themselves." In the apartment across the hall, Mrs. Archibald Graham (née Keough) reads Padraic Colum. Sometimes she reads O'Sheel—in the pro-Irish magazine which is edited by Mr. George Sylvester Viereck and was formerly called the *Fatherland.*

Perhaps because they know that Irish-Americans differ so widely, the agents—or quasi-agents—of Sinn Fein in New York tackle them two ways at once. First by endeavoring to show how sacredly American in principle is their demand for recognition of the Irish Republic. They quote Jefferson: "We surely cannot deny to any nation the right whereon our own government is founded, that every one may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases, and change those forms at its own will; and that it may transact its business with foreign nations through whatever organ it thinks proper, whether king, convention, assembly, committee, president, or anything else it may choose. The will of the nation is the only thing to be regarded." Also, they quote Benjamin Franklin's message to "the good people of Ireland," in which he said, "I am charged (by Congress) to assure you that means will be found to establish your freedom in the fullest and amplest manner." Then, too, they remind us that the recognition of new republics has been America's policy all along, and that "recently we have recognized Armenia and Czecho-Slovakia. Why should we make an exception of the Irish Republic?" Or, indeed, any other? Again they quote Jef-

**New York is:**
**The largest Negro city**
**The largest Jewish city**
**The largest Italian city**
**The largest Irish city**
**The third largest German city in the world.**

**Mr. Hartt has already sketched what this means in the cases of the Negroes, the Jews and the Italians, in "I'd Like to Show You Harlem" in The Independent for April 2, "New York and the Real Jew," June 25, and "Made in Italy," July 23. This article on the Irish carries on the study of "The New Hyphenism," and shows it in an even more menacing aspect.**

ferson: "How can we consistently refuse people who ask to establish our form of government?" And on the wall at headquarters of the American Commission on Irish Independence you notice a poster: "Don't let England pull the wool over your eyes.—Admiral Benson, U. S. N."

Meanwhile, they appeal vehemently to the pro-Irish passions which, as they assume, sway the judgment of a majority among Irish-Americans. For a nickel you can purchase "Mrs. McSwiney's Story," or "Torture and Terror," or "The Killing of Thomas McCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork." "Torture and Terror" is four pamphlets in one—"The Torture of Kevin Barry," "The Torture of Thomas Hales," "Frightfulness in Thurles," "The Burning of Balbriggan." And there are subtler appeals. An advertisement in the *Irish World* announces "the McSwiney fob, a most sentimental souvenir," and graphophone records immortalize De Valera's tribute to the self-slain patriot, while uptown the Gaelic League of New York, a branch of the Gaelic League of Ireland, maintains an Irish Industries Depot.

A fascinating place it is, with its hand-made reproductions of ancient Irish crosses and brooches, its adorable laces, its Celtic decorations on sycamore, its cow's-horn rosaries, its Belleek china from County Fermanagh, its poplin mufflers, its harps and shamrocks in bog oak, and its "Tipperary rifles," better known as shillelahs, indubitably cut from the root of the blackthorn tree. An important point this. On his way to visit St. Martin, St. Patrick was caught in a snowstorm and took refuge beneath a blackthorn. Immediately it stretched forth its branches, shook off the snow, and arrayed itself in blossoms.




*International*

**This St. Patrick's Day parade in New York shows how far the Sinn Fein spirit has been allowed to express itself here in "the largest Irish city in the world"**

But what else does the Irish Industries Depot contain? Green-white-and-orange flags. Sinn Fein literature. Irish Republican songs—"Ireland a Nation Once Again," "Let Me Carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord," "God Made Ireland a Nation," "Ireland Will be Free," and "Soldiers of Erin." Every one of these songs is forbidden in Ireland.

I am not sure, however, that Mr. Ryan sets much store by mere propaganda, whether argumentative or sentimental. "Direct action is our motto," says he, and plans not only an Irish-American boycott of English goods and English shipping but a coalition of American, Scottish, Welsh, English and Irish labor to wage industrial war against England.

Of pretty spirited action, approaching the direct, and sometimes attaining it, New York has seen instances already. Because the Union Club displayed a British flag, Irish-Americans broke its windows. At the Pilgrim Ter-Centenary, they booed an English orator. When Sir Philip Gibbs lectured on Ireland, they heckled. When Sir Auckland Geddes arrived, they protested against his "reception as an ambassador of the Irish people." Honors were publicly showered upon Eamon De Valera, Mrs. Skeffington, and Mrs. McSwiney. Irish colleens—wearing the green, though now they prefer red, white and blue—collected money for the Irish Republic. Jeremiah O'Leary, President of the American Truth Society (Irish) schemed to lead Irish-Americans and German-Americans against Canada. At the German-American "Horror on the Rhine" meeting (Dr. Edmund von Mach, chairman) Irish-Americans were conspicuous not only in the audience but on the platform. Deutschland go bragh!

According to Irish-American statistics, barely one American in twenty, the country over, is Irish, and barely one voter in fifteen. Hence the quest for allies. "The victory of Ireland over Great Britain will be won, not in Ireland, but in America; it will be won, not by bullets, but by ballots; Great Britain will be reached, not in London, but in Washington." Recently the *Irish World* printed in full a pro-Irish address by Senator La Follette. To secure additional La Follettes, the All-American Bureau of Speakers for the Irish Republic directs a vigorous campaign. "The continuation of their efforts," writes Mr. Frank P. Walsh (Woolworth Building, New York), is bound to create an intelligent, universal public opinion in America, that will finally result in the recognition of the Irish Republic, and hearten the cause of liberty everywhere."

This is no new optimism. More than three years ago *Collier's Weekly* (a triumph, by the way, of Irish-American enterprise in New York) published a letter from Mr. T. P. O'Connor, declaring,

> I have been up and down America for nearly forty years: I do not remember a single American of proved intelligence who does not believe that Ireland ought to get, and get at once, her liberty. Is it just to America to compel her to tell these soldiers of Irish blood, while they are passing over Europe in their hundreds of thousands (later on in their millions) to fight the battles of liberty, including English liberty, that the motherland of their race should still be denied liberty? I do not exaggerate, I think, in saying that such an addition to the task of America—such a return for her supreme and vital help to England—would be an act of cruel injustice. I cannot help believing that in friendly and private suggestions the statesmen of America have tried to bring home this fact to the minds of British statesmen.

May we assume that in friendly and private suggestions Ambassador Harvey is today bringing it home to the mind of Mr. Lloyd George? Well, if it so be, so be it. But the suggestions put forth by the All-American Bureau of Speakers for the Irish Republic are neither private nor friendly. In "Ireland Through American Eyes," a brochure of theirs distributed in New York by the American Commission on Irish Independence, Mr. Walter Edgerton Holloway tells us that "a free Ireland means a free India. A free Ireland means a free Egypt. A free Ireland means a free South Africa, a free Australia." Briefly, America, by recognizing the Irish Republic, is to dissolve the British Empire. England would then be "crushed." (*Continued on page 85*)

# Civilization—What Is It?

## By Preston Slosson

THERE is nothing more needed than a scale by which to measure civilization. It enters into our practical judgments at every turn. When we say: "The Filipinos are not fit to rule themselves; they are not civilized enough," "Russia is still half-civilized," "Civilization made enormous advances during the nineteenth century," "The ancient Athenians were more highly civilized than the modern Greeks"—just what in each case do we mean? Yet unless we can in some way make clear to ourselves what civilization is, or should be, these judgments we pass on one people or another are meaningless. We might as well be saying: "The Filipinos are not fat enough to rule themselves," "Russia is still half-pink," "The ancient Athenians were more gyroscopic than their descendants."

In fact, civilization is one of those indispensable words, like "liberty," "progress," "self-determination," which are packed with danger to those who handle them carelessly. Germany recently adopted the view that the Kultur of the Fatherland was superior to that of all other nations and races. From some points of view this opinion was not unreasonable; Germany had in certain respects, such as public order, industrial wealth, productive scholarship, popular education, made remarkable progress. But all the subsequent trouble might have been saved (and our taxes would be ever so much lower!) if the Germans had devoted a little more thought to their claim of superiority. They should have asked themselves two questions: "Are our caste-ridden, medieval political institutions part of our national greatness or a drawback to it?" "Can we contribute nothing to the civilization of the world except by way of conquest?" The inadequate German conception of civilization, as excluding liberty and democracy, and the false belief that civilization must always be imposed on others by force, were the two causes of the Great War.

But many common concepts of civilization are quite as superficial as the German. Some will rank Spain high as a civilized nation because her manners are polite; some will rank her low because the peasantry are illiterate. Some will rank France high because of French cooking; some will rank her low because of French plumbing. Some will judge Italy by Dante; some by the Sicilian immigrant. Some rank Japan above the United States because of her superiority in decorative painting; some will rule Japan out of civilization altogether on the ground that her people are "heathen" or "Mongolians." There is even the globe-trotter who judges vast and ancient civilizations by the accidents of his travel; by whether or not the particular customs officer whom he met at the frontier was courteous and the hotel at which he stayed clean and cheap. This sort of man will say: "The Armenians are all cheats; why I met an Armenian . . ." or "We ought to keep the Poles out of this country; our Polish cook was . . ."

We must seek a standard of general application. We cannot claim that Christianity is in itself civilization (tho no one questions that it is the religion of most civilized nations today and is in large part the cause of their civilization) because the two-thirds or more of the world which is still non-Christian will reject the idea. Still less can we contend that a particular branch of Christianity is the essential mark of civilization. The days are gone when the Englishman complacently took for granted that Catholic Europe was a sort of picturesque barbarism. In the same way we cannot claim for a particular political constitution, or type of art, or color of the skin, or shape of the head, or language, or social etiquet that it is essential to civilization. We must fall back on standards which, while not recognized by everybody (there is no universal standard; one man's Utopia is another man's inferno), would be agreed to by a majority of educated men in all nations. Nearly all would agree that a low death rate was better than a high one, and that a community able to read had at least one point of advantage over a community of illiterates. In short, what we can practically seek is not a full and complete conception of civilization from an individual point of view but rather "the greatest common denominator" of many individual opinions.

### HERE ARE TEN TESTS

MOST people today would agree on ten tests of civilization, tho many would also add others. Let us take these ten, then, as our greatest common denominator; our rough and ready scale of measurement. If all ten tests are fairly applied, due weight being given to each, we will escape the danger of passing very superficial snap judgments on "these foreigners" and perhaps we will be able to guess wherein America really stands first in the world and wherein we can learn from others.

I. Public Health.—People differ as to whether blonds are or are not superior to brunets, but we all agree that stout muscles, sound hearts and disease-resisting tissues are a part of human superiority. If civilization results, as some say, in racial degeneration, it is certainly in that respect a false civilization. The death rate is the best test of general public health, and almost the only test for which we have statistics. Other tests of racial soundness are the infant mortality rate, the sickness rate, athleticism, the frequency of extreme old age, the insanity rate, and the birth rate, which should not be so low as to decrease the population nor so high as to depress the standard of living.

II. Wealth.—Production is the most universally recognized element in civilization. The nation which can produce most, by machine industry and by scientific agriculture, will always occupy the center of the stage. The railroad, the telephone, the Ford car, the steamship, the textile factory, the coal mine, may be as unlovely as the disciples of Ruskin and Morris insist, but without them the whole material basis of our civilization would collapse and our dream of conquering nature for human purposes would be over.

III. Distribution of Wealth.—But from the standpoint of true civilization it is as important to distribute wealth rightly as to make it in quantities. The Socialists are quite right when they declare that a society which produces millionaires and paupers is unstable, miserable and half-barbarous. In an ideal social state there would be the greatest equality of wealth which is consistent with efficient production.

IV. Social Order.—An unmistakable mark of civilization is security. He who visits savages takes his life in his hand and it is with a breath of relief that he says on his return, "Thank heavens, I've got back among civilized folks!" But there are savages who lurk among the jungles of the slums, and a high crime rate in any community is proof that civilization is at that point imperfect.

V. Administrative Efficiency or Good Government.—Is the land well policed? Are public revenues raised on a sound and sensible basis? What does the Government undertake to do for the social welfare and how well is the work done? Such questions as these are most vital, for a corrupt and inefficient government can paralyze private effort as well as muddle up public affairs. Think what forty years of good administration would mean to Russia!

VI. Free Government.—Good government is not the same

as free government, and both are desirable. The administrative machinery may be efficient, and yet it may be over-rigorous, or it may be in alien hands. Democracy may not be possible for a very backward people, but it is certainly desirable as part of any high civilization. Where people are ruled from the outside, no matter how ably, they either become embittered and rebellious or else they tend to become too docile and dependent, lacking the manliness which comes with self-government and responsibility. Free government implies two qualities, not always found together: liberty and equality. Equality demands that public affairs be directed by public opinion, not by an alien ruler or a special caste. Liberty demands that so far as is practicable the individual be free to shape his own life; to write and think and work and play and worship as he will.

VIII. Popular Education.—The bare ability to read and write opens wonderful opportunities to the individual life, and sound schooling in all the fundamental branches will raise a whole community to a new level. Is not the school always and everywhere the constant handmaid of civilization? No matter how great the intellectual achievements of the few, no nation is civilized if the mass of the people live the narrow lives of beasts of burden.

VIII. Creativeness—Truth.—Civilization means philosophy, science, scholarship, invention. A civilized nation will add to the stock of human enlightenment instead of resting content with an educational system which merely transmits the knowledge won by others.

IX. Creativeness—Beauty.—Painting, sculpture, architecture, music, drama, poetry, fiction, the refinement of language as an instrument of thought, the development of the higher ranges of the imagination, all these belong to civilization. A merely material culture is forever imperfect.

X. The Position of Woman.—Many civilizations make the mistake of flying with one wing. Their culture is masculine only; women are treated as inferiors and subordinates. It is at this point that we are most critical of Oriental standards. When we rank America above Europe, and Europe above Asia, is it not largely because of the higher position of woman in the western world? Christian civilization rests on five great pillars: the State, the Church, Industry, the School, and the Home. We treat as anarchists those who would destroy any of the five institutions which uphold our culture. But is not the home the most fundamental and indispensable of the five—the great central pillar of all?

Now, take these ten tests and apply them to the nations and peoples whom you wish to place upon the scale of civilization. Suppose you "mark" each nation from 1 to 10 on each quality, so that the highest possible grade on every test would give 100 (this is just like a Purinton efficiency chart, you know!), and compare the averages of one nation with another. On some points you will have statistics to help you, such as estimates of national wealth, illiteracy rates and the like, but in most cases you will have to use your unaided judgment. If you have traveled or read widely your judgment may hit the mark more closely than some partial or misleading statistical table. At best, the result will make for more intelligent citizenship. And, at worst, it should prove an amusing parlor game.

## We Are Getting Old

We can remember the time when people were actually excited about the tariff.

## Peace, Bread and Freedom

THIS is what the Bolsheviki promised Russia.

As for peace, Russia has known nothing but foreign and civil war ever since the Bolsheviki overthrew the lawfully elected rulers of Russia.

As for freedom, there is no other country in the world where personal rights have been so invaded, ignored and restricted as in Soviet Russia.

As for bread, there are 12,000,000 Russians starving in the richest agricultural district under Bolshevist control.

# Harding and His Association of Nations

## By Talcott Williams

THE first half year of President Harding's administration is over. I do not believe that any man or woman who voted for him, if such there were, on the strength of the arguments for his election advanced in this column in The Independent is disappointed in the record our President has made. He has urged economy. He has defeated the extravagance of the Soldiers' Bonus Bill. He has given efficiency to the new Budget Law. He has prevented efforts to use the public credit on a perilous scale to meet various needs East and West, and he has begun, instead, steps toward stabilizing local credits in the grain and cotton regions without buying on Government credit either grain, cotton or manufactured exports.

Above all, the Disarmament Conference at Washington, now certain thru the assent of Japan and the failure of England to secure some special advantages by a preliminary exchange of views, will begin that "Association of Nations" which President Harding promised and predicted. As I steadily pointed out, a year ago, it was not "the" League at Geneva which President Harding promised, but "a League" which would grow out of the common action of the great powers working together for ends which they, and they alone, could carry out.

DISARMAMENT is one of these ends. Beyond publishing a very useful volume giving the military expenditures of all nations, the Geneva League has done practically nothing for disarmament. Its Council has never taken up the task. Two years ago the Versailles Covenant was the only project before the world for keeping the peace of nations. The only course that could then be taken was to support it.

Its one peril, which has rendered it impotent, was the attempt to mix together the small powers and great powers on equal terms in the Assembly and practically equal terms in the Council. The experience of two years has proved, what previous experience had suggested, that the fate and future of the world must in future rest with the great powers. They have the fleets and the armies. They alone can decide great issues. What can Belgium, Spain, China and Brazil do toward deciding on the Council of the League how large should be the armies and the navies of England, France, Italy and Japan?

The question answers itself. Of the nations in the Assembly of the League more than half are on the edge of bankruptcy and only keep going by constantly borrowing money. Argentina, Armenia, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Holland, Honduras, Liberia, Letvia, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Salvador, Sweden, Yugoslavia, Siam, Czechoslovakia, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chili—what can these countries do for the peace of the world? The six English Dominions are important only as they are part of the British Empire. This will be equally true of Ulster and Ireland when they enter the Assembly. Greece is today waging war and the League does nothing to bring peace. What can it do?

These countries gathered in an Assembly are most useful in constituting a body which can deal with the wide range of international subjects—social, hygienic, postal, labor, copyright and a long list of lesser issues. The annual meeting at Geneva is a good thing, but it makes no efficient attempt to settle the great issues of the world—peace and

war, small armies and navies, the task of keeping fretful peoples from destroying the quiet of the world family. In this task the League has failed.

To men with both expert knowledge and the vision of things as they are, this is plain. Two years have proved it. Supporters of the League regret; but there is the record. The four great powers—England, France, Italy and Japan—are in the Geneva League; but when they have anything important to do, they flock alone in the Supreme War Council. They cannot do business in a body like the League Council with powerless powers, who can bring on wars but cannot end them. Only the great powers can do this or can disarm.

Disarmament is the world's great need. When President Harding calls together the five great powers at Washington, November 11, he brings to the conference the world's center of gravity as to peace and war, armies and navies. When the Washington Conference takes up the question of the Pacific, real decisions can be reached. China is there to advise and be heard. So will be the self-governing dominions, but the conference will know only the vote and voice of the British Empire. The issues of Shantung and Yap are not going to be decided by secret agreements to which the United States was never a party.

The three European powers will represent at Washington a debt of $10,000,000,000 to the United States, whose interest you and I pay in our taxes yearly to the amount of $500,000,000. Your income tax check would be one-eighth smaller if this interest were paid by the powers that incurred the debt. All three of these countries, as yet unable to meet their current outlay by taxation, know that the Italian, French and English peoples must have relief. A public refusal to reduce the costs of armies and navies will have the gravest consequences in England, France and Italy. The Japanese Government cannot afford to go back with a like message.

IF a mutual agreement for disarmament is reached, and it can only be reached by justice on the issues of the Pacific, the first step will be taken toward that "Association of Nations" which President Harding promised.

This is a world in which it is wiser to do things than to draw constitutions. In 1919, the Versailles Covenant and treaty were the only instruments available. Even if James Bryce said in his Williamstown speech that the Versailles treaty has "received in Europe nothing but censure," it has furnished an experiment in its Covenant and in its creation of new nations which has shown once for all that only small matters can be left to small nations. Great issues can be decided only by great powers.

The five great powers meet in November at Washington visible to all the world, responsible, facing the publicity of the American newspaper, a publicity very different from the English or French article. Even the astute Northcliffe got into trouble under American publicity which he would have avoided in London.

Precedent and practise once established at the Disarmament Conference at Washington, other issues in the future will be taken up in the same way as they come. The five great powers will come closer and closer together. The Council of the Geneva League will grow shadowy. The Assembly will more and more confine itself to the field of international agreements where the small nation can be useful. The Covenant will receive modifications. In due course, the United States can share in the miscellaneous work of the Assembly.

The visible and unmistakable fact of the hour, however, is that the "Association of Nations" President Harding promised draws near in the Washington Disarmament Conference. It will not begin with theories or a new world system, but by acts. The decision of the American people last November will be justified by the fruits of next November.

## The Lady or the Tiger?

PEOPLE are impatient with Congress because of the delay in revising the tax system. . . . Maybe when we get the new taxes we will be sorry that they came so soon.

## State's Rights

### By William Brand

THE idea of an abstract "state sovereignty" has produced little but mischief, and it is on the whole a good thing that the Civil War deprived the doctrine of practical force, tho it still lingers in some old-fashioned brains. It is intolerable to have to lay the specter of Calhoun every time that the nation wishes to protect children in the cotton mills, or extend the vote to women, or safeguard the lives and property rights of foreign residents, or regulate nation-wide industries such as the railroads. No forward step has ever been taken at Washington but that someone prophesied the death of the Federal constitution and the coming of a "monarchical centralization." But neither legal technicalities nor old prejudices can prevent the Federal Government from assuming new powers and duties as new needs arise.

But, granting all this, it is a pity that so little advantage is taken of our federal system for developing a spirit of local patriotism. Even tho all our loyalty is due to the nation; sentiment must cling most closely to the home landscape and the neighbor folk. Not harm but good should come from a spirit of generous rivalry and emulation among the states.

We are careful whom we choose for President, because he is the symbol of the nation's dignity abroad, but we are—as a nation—careless about whom we choose for Congress, because we expect a local politician to represent local interests rather than state honor. As for our state legislatures; we fill them with persons whom we would never dream of sending even to Congress. We have come to consider it a matter of course that Governors are less able than Presidents; state legislators less able than Congressmen; state judges inferior to the Federal judiciary; state executive officers of a less fine type than the members of the national cabinet; state statutes to be more carelesly drawn than Federal laws.

This is quite irrational, since state and municipal governments touch our individual lives at more points than the nation. When it is a question of making war, or conducting foreign affairs, or handling some national economic problem, the nation is, and should be, all powerful. But the bulk of civil and criminal law relating to the individual—you and me—is state law. The schools which make our children statesmen or leave them illiterate incompetents, are state regulated. Our very lives are at the mercy of the standards of public health and security maintained by the state. From a practical and everyday standpoint the voter should study state politics with even greater care than he devotes to national issues.

We all know and honor the national ensign. Do you know what your state flag looks like? (A New Yorker recently wrote to Governor Miller that a Sinn Fein banner had been erected over a state armory. The Governor investigated and found that it was the municipal flag of New York City!) Has your state any official patriotic songs? How often do you sing them? (Marylanders are excused from this part of the catechism.) Who represents you in the state legislature? What is his voting record? How does the school system of your state rank in comparison with neighbor states? What is the scholarly standing of your state university? What is the history of your state? When was it first settled or admitted to the Union? Can you name five of its greatest men? The school teaches American history; does it also teach the history of your state and your town?

Why not? There are at least forty-eight states with histories as romantic as those of European nations, perhaps yours is one of them! No one would dispute this of Massachusetts or Virginia, but every other state has had its heroic age of pioneers, men of a later generation but of the same blood and spirit as Miles Standish or John Smith.

In cultivating a proper local pride we can take a leaf from the book of Europe. Our state constitutions imitate each other closely; the little Swiss cantons try the boldest political experiments, each for itself. The German is always at least as proud of being a Saxon or Bavarian as of being a German. The Irishman carries to the ends of the earth the honor of Cork and Donegal or Mayo as well as of Ireland in general. Even in centralized France everyone recognizes the subtle and separate spiritual qualities of Brittany, Provence, Normandy and Touraine. In this country the New England Yankee, the F. F. V., the blue-grass Kentuckian, the Californian and the Texan show an adequate (or more than adequate) local pride. But other states, equally worthy, have yet to "find themselves." The more diversified and original the life of the states the richer will be the life of our nation as a whole.

# The Miracle of Progress

## By Allen Campbell

STRAIT and narrow is the road of salvation for the individual, we are told, but it is equally true that strait and narrow is the road of salvation for the race. The upward current in evolution is so slight and frail as compared with the random and meaningless mass of natural events that it is a standing miracle that there should have been any progress at all. Biologists tell us that man's remote ancestors were of the general type of the ape, that these ape-like creatures were descended from mammals resembling the monkeys and lemurs, that these mammals had reptilian ancestors, descended in turn from amphibians and fishes, and these again from worm-like invertebrates and so on back to the first cell of living matter. But there are worms, fishes, reptiles, monkeys and apes still with us that show no tendency of evolving human traits. They missed the road at some point and ceased to progress. Some species of animals are even degenerate.

Think of all the chances that might have prevented the development of human civilization! Savage man was a most vulnerable creature. He fought on barely equal terms with the big wild beasts that lived in the forest with him, and he did not understand at all his smaller but more dangerous foes, the germs of disease. Easily mankind might have been crowded off the earth by other species, just as man has himself killed off several species of bird and beast. Geological changes might have been equally fatal to human survival. Suppose that the great glaciers of the ice age, contemporary with primitive man, had covered all of his hunting grounds. Suppose that chemical changes had made the air unbreathable by human lungs. Suppose that some blight had destroyed the food crops on which he depended, or that the fertile lands had subsided below the sea.

Again, many conditions which would have permitted man's survival would have prevented the development of civilization. It was tens of thousands of years, perhaps hundreds of thousands, before men learned to use metals, build cities and write with letters. Distant tribes have remained on the savage level even down to the present day. The conditions requisite for progress are many. Without domesticated animals for food and transportation men could hardly have emerged from the hunting stage to pastoral and agricultural life. Without edible grains, wood for building houses and ships, metals for fashioning tools and numerous other essential gifts of nature the whole human race would live at the eskimo level. Where would our great industrial development have been if by some lucky accident ancient forests had not been buried under the earth until long ages of pressure had turned them to coal? It is true that developing science may find us substitutes for coal and wood and rubber and iron and other essentials of industrial civilization, but without the original gifts of nature should we have been able to find or even seek the substitutes?

EVEN civilization does not guarantee progress. The world is covered with the mighty relics of the past. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, India, China, Persia, Mexico, Peru and remote islands of the Pacific have known phases of progress and development followed by periods of anarchy and decay. Only a thousand years ago the civilization of western Europe inherited from Greece and Rome seemed to have followed the Oriental civilizations into chaos. Had the raids of Norsemen and Tatars wiped out the centers of Christian culture, especially the monasteries, the whole achievement of Greece and Rome might have been lost to the world. The Black Death which wiped out half the population of Europe; what if it had been a trifle more virulent and left Europe a desert? Suppose that the Thirty Year's War which temporarily shipwrecked the civilization of Germany and continued until England and France had been reduced to the same medieval condition. Suppose that when the first explorers had reached America they had found not a practically empty continent in which to spread European civilization but a land densely peopled with Asiatics. Suppose that the Spanish Armada had conquered England and supplanted the spirit of free inquiry which has made possible the great progress of the English speaking peoples by the mind-deadening rule of the Inquisition. Suppose that the recent Great War had ended in the triumph of the principle of despotism (whether German or Russian matters little) or that it had continued until France, England and the United States were as bankrupt as Austria and as chaotic as Soviet Russia? In any of these possible cases, and a thousand others, our Western civilization might have been a closed chapter in the book of history.

The implication of these facts is plain. In no universe directed merely by chance could any animal species have evolved as far as civilized man. The chances against such an occurrence are hardly to be expressed in figures. Only within a very narrow range of favoring conditions is life possible, and the possibility of life is no guarantee that life will be evolved. Granting life, what is the chance that conditions will permit the evolution of the highly organized species with which we are most familiar? Granting the higher animals and even man, what would be fair betting odds against the evolution of a high civilization or that civilization, once established, would be progresive or permanent? "The struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest explain everything," some would say. But a savage, or a skunk, or a leech, or even a rock is quite as "fit" in its own sphere, quite as well adapted to its environment, as Edison or Milton. What we wish to know is why the struggle for existence has led, in defiance of all probabilities, to continuous betterment; so that when one race or species finds its adjustment to the environment on a low level, some other animal or some other kind of man is impelled to seek a higher quality of life?

Only one answer is possible, and that has been given long since by religion. A study of the course of evolution, the winding and perilous road along which our race has traveled, amounts to an absolute demonstration of the existence and the benevolence of God. Whatever perishes by the way, the work of creation continues. Halted in one direction it continues in another. Wise men for centuries have pointed to the fact of creation as evidence of the existence of a Creator, but science has turned probability into certainty by revealing the cunning tools of evolution with which the Architect did the work.

# The Story of the Week

## The Russian Famine

EARLIER estimates put the number of Russians threatened with death from hunger at 20,000,000 to 25,000,000; present estimates reduce the figure by about one half. As in the case of the Chinese famine, the first reports somewhat exaggerated a situation which, in any case, was serious enough. In Siberia the crops seem to be almost normal, and in northern and western Russia they seem sufficient to keep the population alive tho not enough to permit of much aid being sent to the famine area. Even if the rest of Russia were abounding with food (which has not been the case at any time since the revolution) many persons would starve in the Volga valley before aid could be brought to them. At best Russia never had adequate transportation facilities, and the economic dis-




WHERE FAMINE SPREADS

**The shaded area indicates that part of Soviet Russia where the famine is most acute**

organization brought about by communism has practically wrecked the railway system of the country. The Russian trade delegation in London has admitted that "Our biggest problem is the absence of railway engines and fuel, which makes it very difficult to convey grain from Siberia to the famine areas."

Two-thirds of Russia, it is said, have been living on "hunger rations" (food just sufficient to maintain life and health) since the revolution. The peasants have usually been better off than the townsmen because they could, in a good season, raise enough for their immediate needs. Moscow and Petrograd and other big cities, the heart of Bolshevist strength, have suffered terribly at all times; tho not much more so than some cities in central Europe, such as Vienna. Actual deaths by starvation have been common among the "bourgeoisie." The workers and soldiers have been fed on meager rations by means of raids into the country. Bolshevist forces would go from farm to farm to force the peasants to yield their surplus grain. This policy resulted in the restriction of crops, which brought the danger of famine nearer, and also in uprisings which threatened the security of the Government. Yet it is difficult to see what else could have been done to keep the towns alive, since Russian paper money has long since been utterly worthless to the peasant and the towns could not resort to barter while all industry was broken and disorganized. The United States Department of Commerce estimates that "industry in general has decreased over 90 per cent." in Russia since the revolution.

This is the general economic background against which the famine of the Volga districts stands out in bold relief. Down the course of this mighty river, the Mississippi of Russia, the crops have been wiped out by one of the hottest and dryest seasons Europe has ever experienced. Civil wars and revolutionary disturbances have been particularly frequent in southern Russia and have retarded economic recovery. In this respect the anti-Bolshevist armies must share some of the blame with Bolshevism. Probably seasonal conditions were more acute, also, in the sunny southland than in western Russia. Whatever causes have chiefly contributed to the situation, the fact is plain that the lower Volga region is in a situation quite different from that of other Russian provinces. It is the difference between shortage and famine; between hunger and starvation; between living on coarse, adulterated bread and dying on grass and bark. The Russian famine is not like the food shortages which visit many European and even American rural communities from time to time; it is a famine of the terrible Asiatic type, which slays whole villages to the last man and reckons its total death list by millions. China and India have often experienced it; Russia also, but never so severely as now.

## Russia's Appeal for Aid

THE Soviet Government has formally recognized the existence of a widespread famine and at the same time admitted its inability to save the people in the hungry provinces without foreign aid, tho it claims to be doing all that is humanly possible under the circumstances. The official statement of the Soviet authorities graphically portrays the terrible situation:

> The commission of the Central Executive Committee for Aid of the Hungry has recognized a state of famine in ten provinces, including Astrakhan, Tsaritzin, Saratov the German (Volga) Commune, Samara, Simbirsk, the Tartar and Tchuvask territories, as well as districts of Ufa, Viatka and other places in that region. In these provinces on account of the prolonged drought the harvest has been completely destroyed and will give only 10 or 15 per cent. of normal. In some districts of these provinces the bad harvest affects only some cereals.
>
> The population of the ten provinces is about 18,000,000 people. Feeding the rural population according to the lowest standard that is, half the ordinary consumption, and not including animals, calls for 41,000,000 poods of wheat. (A pood is equal to about thirty-six pounds.) For the city population the need is 17,000,000 poods. To sow fields in localities where the crop is absolutely lost there is needed before the 15th of September 15,000,000 poods of wheat.
>
> In view of the absence of exact information as to the extent of the harvest of other districts of Russia it is as yet impossible to estimate the quantity of wheat which can be furnished by

Russia herself. In the stricken provinces there are no reserves of wheat and the gifts of other provinces can be only limited.

The official statement goes on to deny the report that famine conditions were leading to political uprisings against Bolshevist rule. It is admitted that in certain localities "great numbers of the population are seeking to migrate," but it is claimed that these migrations were being aided by the Soviet authorities and thus far had "taken no form menacing social security or public order." The Russian working class is praised for its spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice and it is admitted—a marvelous concession to come from a Bolshevist—that "those who before the revolution belonged to the privileged classes are doing their utmost to help the hungry."

Aid is welcomed from every country without regard to "existing political relations" and the hope is expressed that "the Governments of other countries will not place before desires of their citizens any obstacle or any barriers." In other words, the Bolshevist Government has been taught by famine that the present is a bad time for carrying on a feud with foreign countries and for goading opposition parties to civil war. A temporary political truce seems to have been declared, for men prominent in anti-Bolshevist parties have been called into conference by the Soviet Government to help fight the famine. The President of the local Moscow Soviet is said to have promised to these volunteer aids that "the purely practical work of the committee will meet with no obstacles from the central Government or the local authorities, but rather with assistance at every step."




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**Pulling back the curtains**

## America's Answer

SUPPORTING Secretary Hoover's conditional offer of relief, the Department of State notified the Soviet authorities that American aid was possible only if and when American political prisoners were released from captivity. "The American Government," wrote Secretary Hughes, "is advised that despite the repeated efforts of Dr. Nansen on its behalf to secure the release of the American prisoners in Russia, they are still held in a most serious plight. In the name of humanity the American Government demands of the Soviet authorities that these prisoners be at once released."

Dr. Nansen, it may be parenthetically stated, is the distinguished Norwegian Arctic explorer who, as a citizen of a neutral country, has interested himself in the return of prisoners of war held in Russia. The United States has never been formally at war with Russia, but the Bolsheviki, considering the attitude of our Government unfriendly, have on many occasions interned or imprisoned Americans who happened to be in the country on the ground that they were "spies" or "conspirators." Other Americans have been taken prisoners because they were found in company with anti-Bolshevist armies, as in Poland and the Baltic republics. Bolshevist policy toward these prisoners has shown no consistency. Sometimes they have been merely detained in Russia and refused passports to leave the country; sometimes they have been imprisoned under harsh conditions; sometimes they have been held in prison without trial and then abruptly released without cause assigned. Very few are at present known to be imprisoned.



*Kirby in New York World*

**On the road to Moscow**

The Russian Government sent a conciliatory reply to the proposals made by Mr. Hoover on behalf of the American Relief Association stating that it found them "quite acceptable, including the question of the release of American citizens." Mrs. Harrison of Baltimore was the first prisoner to be released after the Soviet authorities had accepted the American conditions. She had been arrested for giving food to American and British prisoners without authorization and for having been in communication with anti-Bolshevist Russians. If other Americans are released as promptly as has been promised there will be no difficulty in extending the work of the American Relief Association to Soviet Russia.

## The Silesian Compromise

THE Supreme Council of the Allies has been in session at Paris. The great question before it is the determination of the German-Polish boundary in Upper Silesia. On this question the British and French have been almost as distinctly opposed as the Germans and the Poles, and gloomy rumors were frequent that the Silesian problem would result in an end to the "entente cordiale" which had already been severely strained by differences of opinion with respect to the settlement of the Turkish question and the fixation of the amount of war indemnity to be exacted from Germany. Italy, Japan and the United States were also represented at the Paris meeting, but Ambassador

Harvey has been present merely as an observer and has taken no part in the debates. Under the Harding administration the United States has never interested itself in the Silesian question and takes sides neither with Britain nor France. Japan is equally indifferent. Italy is, rather cautiously, supporting the British position, tho Italian interest in the question is not very strong.

The French position, which is also the Polish, is this: Germany is still to be dreaded; still to be counted an enemy. No positive injustice should be done to Germany, but any doubtful questions must be ruled in favor of friendly nations and against enemy nations. It is, therefore, desirable that the industrial region of Upper Silesia should be given to Poland as a unit. This is justified by the fact that thruout the industrial region the Polish vote was strong and that in many places it was a majority vote. That Germany won the majority of votes for Upper Silesia as a whole has nothing to do with the case, since the Treaty of Versailles distinctly states that the boundary is to be fixed according to the result of the vote "by communes." It will be enough to give Germany the part of Upper Silesia which lies to the west and north of the industrial district and where German votes were in a clear majority.

The British position is this: The balance of power is to be kept on the continent of Europe, and it would be as disastrous to have Germany crippled by the loss of an essential industrial and mining area as to have a like misfortune befall any other country. If Germany is deprived to an excessive extent of her resources it would injure the prospects of British foreign trade, and would also lessen the chances of getting any substantial war indemnities from Germany. The Polish Government is new and unstable and the Poles have endangered the peace of Europe by instigating a popular outbreak against the Allied authorities in Silesia. Under these circumstances it would be desirable to give the industrial region as a whole to Germany, especially in view of the fact that Germany won the plebiscite by a large majority and that some of the greatest industrial centers voted German. It will be enough to award the districts of Pless and Rybnik in the extreme south to Poland, as these were the only districts which were overwhelmingly and unmistakably Polish in the plebiscite.

Finding that it was impossible to reconcile the two points of view, the Supreme Council of the Allies decided to transfer the whole Silesian problem from its own jurisdiction to that of the League of Nations. This not only put an end to a controversy which threatened to divide the French and British, but it gives the League of Nations the best opportunity it has yet had to make its influence felt. Boundary disputes between minor nations, as the Aland Islands case between Finland and Sweden, have before this been settled by the League, but hitherto question involving the frontiers of Germany and the major interests of the Great Powers have been reserved for the Allied Supreme Council. The League was requested to arrive at a decision "at the earliest time possible," because every day of uncertainty increases the tension between Germany and Poland.

## War in Morocco

SPAIN has a little colonial war on her hands which is causing much annoyance and no little humiliation to the Spanish Government. A band of Moorish rebels have risen against Spanish rule and have annihilated an expeditionary force sent to quell them. Emboldened by success, the Moors descended from their hills and laid siege to the town of Melilla. Melilla is a seaport containing a considerable Spanish garrison. If it is captured by the Moors it will prove a terrible blow to the prestige of the European among the fanatical Moslems of northern Africa.

Spain has not in modern times been very successful in colonial ventures. The bulk of the Spanish overseas empire was lost in the Spanish-American war, and even Spaniards agree that in losing Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines the nation lost as much trouble as profit. Spain still holds some bits of land in Africa, the most valued of which is the strip of coastland in northern Morocco across the Straits of Gibraltar from the homeland. The greater part of Morocco is under French protection and control. German envy of France's predominance in northern Africa and the ineffective attempts of German diplomacy to prevent the "peaceful penetration" and absorption of Morocco by the French were main causes of the Great War, and the result of the war confirmed French ascendancy and destroyed German commercial and political influence. The French have had much difficulty in controlling their vast empire of northern Africa, extending over Algeria, Tunis, Morocco and the western Sahara, with its mixed population of Arabs, Berbers, Moors, negroid races, African Jews and European colonists, yet they have handled the military problem involved in ruling this empire with greater success than the Spaniards have experienced in keeping order in their little colonial domain in northern Morocco. Wars between the Spanish garrison and the native inhabitants have been frequent and costly and sometimes, as in the present instance, the fortunes of battle have gone against the ruling power.




*Whitelaw in London Passing Show*

DELILAH UP-TO-DATE

**Miss Columbia: "Now's the time, boys, for us to give old Samson a hair-cut!"**

## Japan Accepts

THE Japanese Government has officially informed the United States that it will take part in the disarmament conference at Washington and that the suggested date of November 11 is perfectly acceptable. The frank and unreserved participation of Japan in the conference assures that it will open in an atmosphere of hope and confidence, whatever difficulties may later arise. It had been feared that Japan might refuse to enter the conference, not because of any objection to disarmament, which appeals to the Japanese taxpayer very strongly, but because a general discussion of questions of the Pacific might bring under review Japanese policies in China and Siberia. The cordial attitude of the Japanese Government was well phrased by a prominent Japanese official, who stated on behalf of his nation:

> Japan will not go to the Washington assembly surrounding herself with the mental idea that dangers of war exist in the Far East. Such would be a false and destructive frame of mind to adopt, especially as we Japanese see no dangers of conflict in the Pacific. On the contrary, we will approach the deliberations in a constructive and receptive frame of mind, welcoming a discussion by the nations of future policies and principles in the Far East in a spirit of coöperation.

All the nations invited, Great Britain, the British Domin-

ions, France, Italy, Japan and China, expect to be represented at the Washington conference. It is possible, however, that the European nations will be unable to spare their Premiers from home duties for so long a period and will be represented by special delegates. Probably Secretary Hughes will be the chief representative of the United States; the rest of the American delegation, and even its number remains to be settled.

## Tax Increases Foreshadowed

SECRETARY of the Treasury has submitted revised estimates to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and made recommendations for revision of national taxes. So far from being able to promise any reduction in expenditure, Secretary Mellon plainly informed Congress that unless the expenses of the Government were cut by $250,000,000 there would have to be an actual increase in taxation. He declared:

> Taxation and tax revision depend upon public expenditures. According to the latest advices received from the spending departments and after taking into account all estimated reductions in expenditure reported to date, the Treasury estimates that the total expenditure for the fiscal year 1922 for which provision should be made out of the current revenues of the Government will be about $4,550,000,000. . . . . This means that if additional taxes are to be avoided, there must be additional effective cuts in ordinary expenditure of over $250,000,000 and that even if such cuts were assured the internal revenue yield for the year could not safely be permitted to fall below $3,570,000,000, the estimated yield under existing law.

Secretary Mellon discussed individual tax schedules. He estimated that the new tariff would yield $70,000,000 additional revenue in 1922 and $150,000,000 in 1923. He favored the repeal of the excess profits tax "which is rapidly becoming unproductive" and advocated the substitution of a five per cent. increase in the rate of the corporation income tax and the repeal of the $2,000 exemption now granted to corporations. He favored limiting the individual income tax to a maximum rate not exceeding 40 per cent. on the highest incomes, to be reduced in later years to 33 per cent.; this not on the ground that the very rich were being too heavily taxed but because the "total net income subject to the higher surtax rates is rapidly dwindling, and funds which would otherwise be invested in productive enterprize are being driven into fields which do not yield taxable income."

This part of Secretary Mellon's proposal for tax revision covers familiar ground. More comment was caused by his discussion of some of the minor and miscellaneous sources of internal revenue. He suggested the reduction of the transportation tax by half in 1922 and its entire repeal by the end of the year. Certain taxes on ice cream, soft drinks, and wearing apparel, now largely evaded, may be repealed, and taxes on cosmetics, perfumes and patent medicines transferred to the producer or importer. Documentary stamp taxes may be doubled, a two cent tax placed on bank checks, letter postage increased from two to three cents and postcard stamps from one to two cents, a Federal license tax imposed on motor vehicles, averaging about $10 a vehicle, and substantial increases made in the taxes on cigarets and tobacco products.




*Stinson in Dayton Daily News*

**No difference where it starts, we know where it always lands**

These proposals for new and increased taxes came as a distinct shock to Congress and the country. Representative Mondell, Republican leader in the House, believes that the gloomy forecasts of the Secretary of the Treasury were mistaken, and that it will be possible to cut expenses by $500,000,000 and repeal the excess profits tax, the transportation tax and many minor taxes without adopting any of the substitute taxes proposed by Secretary Mellon. There will be particular opposition to the increase in postal rates and to the two cent tax on bank checks.




*Marcus in New York Times*

**"Hey! What about my suit?"**

Inspired by Secretary Mellon's gloomy prophecies, Congress is making a serious effort to cut expenses below what had seemed to be possible. Senator Borah talked of further reduction of the army, already cut to 150,000 men, and a very cold reception was given to appropriation proposals for a soldiers' bonus and for meeting the losses of the Shipping Board. "Retrenchment" is the present slogan of the Republican majority, which fears that new taxes might make it in 1922 a Republican minority.

## Senate Bans Beer

THE Senate has followed the lead of the House of Representatives in enacting the Willis-Campbell bill, supplementary to the Volstead Act. This measure prohibits physicians from prescribing beer as medicine, limits the amount of wine and whiskey which can be prescribed, and makes sundry other changes in the prohibition enforcement code. On August 8 the measure came to a vote in the Senate. It passed by 29 votes to 20 and a motion to recommit the bill was lost by 23 votes to 38.

It was a complete victory for the friends of stringent prohibition. But in order to guard personal liberty from improper invasion by enforcement officers an amendment offered by Senator Stanley of Kentucky was adopted forbidding any enforcement officer to "search the property or premises of any person without previously having a search warrant as provided by law" and also forbidding any person not a duly authorized agent of the United States to invade any individual's constitutional rights on the pretense that he is acting as such an agent.

The bill now goes to a conference of both Houses of Congress to consider the amendment added in the Senate.

# Fusion in New York

THE great quadrennial anti-Tammany campaign has been advanced another stage. A coalition committee composed of Republicans, independents and independent Democrats has agreed upon a "slate" of candidates, and the Republican leaders in the various boroughs have agreed to support it at the primaries and later, if sucessful, at the polls. In this way the policy of "fusion" of the various reform elements of New York City has triumphed over the more risky plan, favored at first by some of the party leaders, of nominating a straight Republican ticket to capture the city from Tammany Hall without non-partizan aid.




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

FOR THE LOVE O' MIKE!

**One result of the Tammany regime**

Henry Curran was recommended for mayor. He is at present President of the Borough of Manhattan, a Republican of long experience in city politics, and a veteran of the Great War. His chief colleague on the Fusion ticket is Senator Charles Lockwood of Brooklyn, who won great distinction in the legislature by conducting an investigation of the housing situation. For a long time the coalition committee inclined to Mr. Lockwood as head of the city ticket, but a factional fight developed in the Republican organization in Brooklyn between United States Senator Calder, who supported Mr. Lockwood, and Jacob Livingston who opposed him. As a compromise Mr. Curran was designated the committee's choice for mayor and Senator Lockwood was named for Comptroller. The third place on the city-wide ticket, the Presidency of the Board of Aldermen, was given to Vincent Gilroy, a young Democratic lawyer who formerly supported Mayor Hylan.

New York has the direct primary in municipal election. Hence the slate agreed on by the coalition committee has no legal standing until it has been approved by the Republican voters at the primaries. Four candidates for mayor will enter the Republican primaries: Borough President Curran, backed by the Republican organization and by the independents and reform elements generally; President La Guardia of the Board of Aldermen, a popular Italian-American politician who rejected a renomination for his present office in the hope of capturing the mayoralty; William Bennett, who captured the Republican primaries in 1917 and thus assured the defeat of Mayor Mitchel, and Judge Haskell of Brooklyn, who is running as an anti-prohibitionist. An attempt was made to bring about an anti-Fusion alliance within the Republican primaries by placing La Guardia, Haskell and Bennett all on the same ticket. But all three men coveted the mayoralty for themselves and were unwilling to accept minor places on the ticket even to carry the primaries. Fortunately for Fusion hopes, it appears that none of these candidates will carry their feud beyond the primaries. Whoever is nominated at the primaries will expect the support of the Republican organization; whoever is defeated will accept the popular verdict and not divide the anti-Tammany vote on election day by running a separate ticket.

The situation in the opposing camp is very different. Mayor Hylan appears to be certain of renomination for he has the official backing of Tammany Hall and the support of the Hearst newspapers. Some Democrats, even some chieftains of Tammany, do not like the mayor personally nor consider him an efficient executive, but they recognize that he has become the figurehead and symbol of the fight against "up-state domination" and the Republican state administration of Governor Miller. Tammany has nominated Mr. Craig, the present incumbent, for Comptroller, and Dock Commissioner Hulbert for president of the Board of Aldermen. It is not anticipated that the Democratic primaries will disturb the "slate" endorsed by Tammany.

Coincidently with the municipal campaign there is an investigation of the city administration authorized by the state legislature. The Meyer investigating committee has commenced the examination of witnesses. Mayor Hylan when called to the stand laid the blame for the high cost of municipal administration on the mandatory legislation passed by the state legislature. He admitted that the city was exceeding its legal debt limit, but insisted that it was impossible to effect any economies so long as the state legislature could compel the municipal administration to pay out money for any purpose. On cross-examination he professed ignorance of the details of New York City finance. He was forced continually to admit his inability to answer the most elementary questions as to his administration. The press of New York City gave great publicity to the mayor's testimony for, with the exception of the Hearst papers, Democratic and Republican newspapers are alike supporting Fusion.



*Underwood & Underwood*

**Enrico Caruso, greatest singer of his age, died in Naples on August 2, in his forty-ninth year. This photograph, taken on the steamer as he was leaving the United States for the last time, shows the famous tenor with his daughter Gloria, to whom, according to Italian law, the bulk of his fortune will belong**

# Everyone Replies Except the President

## Samples from the storm of comments roused by the Open Letter to President Harding which we published in the Independent of June 25

**Tick.**

We are glad that some one has had the courage to ask Mr. Harding what he intends to do with the promises he made before election in regard to the United States assuming her share in the problems of world reconstruction and preserving international good will.—*Christian World.*

**Tock.**

No answer to Hamilton Holt's ultimatum to President Harding, thereby creating a situation that would justify Mr. Holt in breaking off diplomatic relations with the United States.—*Springfield Union.*

**Tick.**

What Mr. Holt wants to know is just what the entire people of the country want to know, and this is, what is Mr. Harding going to do.—*Carrie Chapman Catt in the Woman Citizen.*

**Tock.**

We believe Mr. Holt is a dangerous counsellor. . . . It is not for him to propound questions to the President of the United States after he has been in office only four months.—*Minneapolis Journal.*

**Tick.**

The questions being submitted to the President by Hamilton Holt are being asked in one form or another by people in all walks of life, and they will have to be answered.—*Brooklyn Daily Eagle.*

**Tock.**

I am a reader of The Independent and of the daily press, and I note that you are going to wreck the Harding Administration if the President does not do what you want him to do on the question of world peace.

Now, Ham, you tried to do great things in the late election and made great predictions what the American electorate was going to do to the opponents of Wilson's peace program, and after the votes were counted it developed that you had made a merry ass of yourself as usual.—*N. J. Johnson, Sioux City, Iowa.*

**Tick.**

Certainly Mr. Holt's question is pertinent.—*Fort Worth News.*

**Tock.**

The Holt letter is impertinent.—*Albany Journal.*

**Tick.**

Editor Hamilton Holt, with that fearlessness and frankness characteristic of him, has called upon the President to show his hand. Mr. Holt is quite within his proper rights in making this demand.—*Dayton News.*

**Tock.**

Well, my advice to you, Warren, is when you get a letter like this Mr. Holt wrote, you write and ask him where was he in the election, and when he stammers and says he was for Governor Cox on account of Governor Cox being for the League of Nations, you tell him to go to Governor Cox and get it fixed up.—*Joy E. House in the Philadelphia Ledger.*

**Tick.**

I congratulate you on your letter to President Harding concerning the League of Nations. It was timely, forceful, and admirably put.—*William G. McAdoo.*

**Tock.**

I presume any American citizen has a right to address the President, but there will be some people who will question your good task under all the circumstances.—*S. I. Heaton, Independence, Kansas.*

**Tick.**

How cruelly unkind is Hamilton Holt! He has deliberately tried to put President Harding in a hole by insisting that the President fish or cut bait in matters foreign.—*The New Republic.*

**Tock.**

Last fall's voting proved conclusively that Mr. Hamilton Holt had no adequate conception of the state of public sentiment.—*Cleveland Examiner.*

**Tick.**

Hamilton Holt has reminded President Harding of certain questions which must be in the minds of everyone whose thoughts carry beyond Sandy Hook.—*New York Globe.*

**Tock.**

There need be no doubt in anyone's mind that Hamilton Holt, the New York publisher, is an estimable gentleman and a citizen of lofty purposes. At the same time a discerning public is warranted in suspecting that there are periods when Mr. Holt's stomach is in condition somewhat similar to that of the impetuous and indiscreet lad who at this season of the year indulges too-freely in green unripe apples.—*Indianapolis Star.*

**Tick.**

If Mr. Harding ever thought the pro-league Republicans would let him off from his promise to establish the equivalent of the League, Hamilton Holt's open letter serves notice that he made a great mistake.—*Newark Evening News.*

**Tock.**

Hamilton Holt is doing his best to offset Secretary Weeks' effort to give the President a pleasant vacation.—*New York Morning Telegraph.*

**Tick.**

Some suspect that President Harding would have difficulty in complying with Hamilton Holt's request that having rejected the League of Nations he shall make a clear explanation of the details of his Association.—*Boston Globe.*

**Tock.**

Ham Holt warns President Harding that he must produce a world peace association forthwith or be denounced as a politician, and Ham is some denouncer.—*Washington Post.*

**Tick.**

Of course, Mr. Harding will not reply to Hamilton Holt's letter asking him to announce to the public his plan for an Association of Nations the President said while he was a candidate that he would seek to have established instead of the League of Nations. Mr. Harding has no such plan.—*Petersburg* (Va.) *Index.*

**Tock.**

Maybe Editor Hamilton Holt is aspiring to become the George Harvey of the present administration.—*Indianapolis Star.*

**Tick.**

Hamilton Holt says President Harding should "come across" with that Association plan of his. Have a heart, Ham!—*Charleston News.*

**Tock.**

People like Hamilton Holt who try to smoke Mr. Harding out must suspect that he uses a gas mask.—*St. Louis Post Dispatch.*

**Tick-Tock.**

My Dear Mr. Holt:

I have your letter. In reply I wish to assure you that the concatenation of federated concordance of the world's humanity will enersage the probabilities of further reflected assertions of the sublimity of the desire to live with harmony among men.

Pursuing this desiderated motive, I shall assemble the conscience of freely ordained righteousness and give expression to the moulded coördination of comity and immeasurable personification of the justness of an encouraged community of kindred spirits.

Trusting that this answers your questions satisfactorily, I am yours very truly,

Warren G. Harding.

—*St. Louis Star.*

# Here Are Books—and Books

## Where the People Rule

*Modern Democracies,* by Viscount Bryce, takes rank with De Tocqueville's account of American democracy and Mill's essays on Liberty and Representative Government as one of the greatest contributions made to the study of free government. In some respects, it is indeed of greater value than the political speculations of Burke, Mill, Ostrogorski, Acton, Maine, Rousseau, Bryce's own earlier works and all the other classics on the political science shelf of the college library because democracy is so new a fact in the world that the best books become slightly antiquated in a decade. A generation ago there was much speculation about how democratic institutions *would* work if tried; today these theories have been refuted or confirmed by actual experience.

Altho Lord Bryce touches incidentally—and illuminatingly—on republican and democratic experiments in Spanish America and in the recently revolutionized parts of Europe, he gives intensive study to only six Governments; those of the United States, France, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. He deliberately omits consideration of the Government of Great Britain on the ground that as an Englishman he could not be expected to view its problems impartially and objectively. He passes lightly over the newly established democracies of Europe, Asia and Latin America because they have either too recently established their free institutions to assure a fair test of their working, or because their constitutions are democratic in name only and in practise are dictatorships or oligarchies. In the six nations considered free institutions have "roots" in popular habit and tradition and by their merits and defects the case for democracy must stand or fall. The bulk of the work is devoted to a close comparison of the six free nations, as to the form of their institutions and the method of their working in the interest of the public welfare. Every statement he makes is buttressed by years of personal observation and study in the countries considered, as well as by extensive research into the literature of politics.

The author's practical conclusions are very optimistic. Democracy, he concludes, has maintained national defense and public order as well as any other form of government, it has generally improved legislation and done most for the interests of the poor, and has, on the whole, produced the best working government of any type of constitution among highly civilized peoples. On the other hand, it has not eliminated class selfishness and the revolutionary spirit as had been expected, nor has it attracted the ablest men to political leadership. It has been frequently corrupt; tho no more so than many oligarchical or autocratic governments. He doubts if democracy is at all suited to Asiatic and African peoples or even to tropical America and eastern Europe, as democracy requires more than any other form of government a high quality in its citizens. Of the democracies which now exist he ranks Switzerland as in most respects the best. The United States he considers the most successful experiment in democracy on a large scale and praises the dignity and strength of the central Government and the enlightenment and good will of the average American citizen. The chief defects in our democracy appear to him to be the low grade of human material interested in "practical politics," the corruption of the cities, the spoils system in the civil service, the unregulated flood of private bills and local appropriations in the legislatures and in Congress, and the multiplication of elective offices which destroys effective responsibility. The British Dominions have less civic corruption than the United States, but suffer equally from the inferior quality of their political leaders, and Australia has a peculiar problem of her own in the radicalism and violence of the labor unions. France is less successful than the English-speaking commonwealths, in his opinion, because there is no local self-government and because the bitter antagonism between clericals and anti-clericals and between the rich bourgeoisie and the radical workingmen hampers the growth of a community of public spirit.

*Modern Democracies,* by Viscount Bryce. 2 vols. Macmillan.

## Good Stories

American democracy is founded on the theory that any man can be president; the modern American novel is founded on the theory that any man can be a hero. The less distinguished, the more average he is, the better. Henry G. Aikman's *Zell* carries the idea about as far as it is possible to carry it. When you finish the book you have only the haziest idea of what the hero looks like and no very clear conception of his individuality and yet you have the strongest kind of sympathy for him, you care a lot what happens to him. Zell has a sordid, drab sort of life; a quarrelling father and mother, finally divorced, a mournfully plain sister, an abortive love affair, the wrong sort of wife, "almost happy" is as far as he ever gets. His is the kind of life you see around you by the thousand, and usually prefer not to think about, but now you have to think about it for, with the exception of a few strange and unforgivable words, the book is extraordinarily well written. Whether you like it or not is another matter.

Elsie Singmaster's *Ellen Levis* is drab in quite another way. Ellen is not an average person, at least she is not supposed to be; the background is the uncommon enough one of a Seventh Day Baptist community in Pennsylvania; the plot is interesting; there are some well drawn characters, but Miss Singmaster has a curious way of taking all life and color out of her books. They have very much the effect of the landscape on a "continued cloudy" day, the structure of the trees and grass and bushes is perfectly correct, your reason tells you that they are alive and growing, but you don't feel as if they were.

The *Sand Doctor* is likewise a thoroly American novel, but its hero is not a thoroly average man. He is a young general practitioner of talent and individuality, who ought to have been a nerve specialist. His wife is gay, charming and ambitious. The third angle of the triangle is a curious, and quite convincing, case of dual personality. The plot machinery makes a good deal of noise toward the end, but on the whole it is a very good story. Arnold Mulder has succeeded in doing, too, that thing so often attempted in vain, making the country in which the tale is set a vital and interesting part of the book. The sand dunes about Lake Michigan take on, as he writes of them, a vivid, dramatic personality.

Another tale in which background plays an important role is *Alaska Man's Luck,* by Hjalmar Rutzebeck. This is the curiously naive diary of a young Danish-American who went up to the Land of Snows to make a home for the girl of his choice. He beats his way north on freight cars, he has all sorts of wild adventures with bears and rivers and mountains, he goes prospecting, he works in a lumber camp, he spends a year in jail, and finally he stakes his claim and begins to clear his farm. His mental reactions to his adventures, the men he meets, and the beauty of the country, are set down in so simple and whole-souled a fashion that it is impossible not to accept them as sincere. The book falls in the "human document" class and as such is decidedly interesting.

*Seed of the Sun* is Wallace Irwin in a serious mood, a serious mood induced by the contemplation of the Japanese in California. Considered simply as a story the book is an entertaining one of the idle hour type. Considered as propaganda there is a certain shallowness about it; there is, to change the metaphor, too much playing to the gallery. The racial problem on the Pacific coast is certainly a matter for national consideration, but, whatever your opinion on it may be, this is not a very helpful contribution to the discussion.

The very numerous admirers of Mary Roberts Rinehart's stories will find her latest novel, *A Poor Wise Man,* precisely what they would have ordered. Its hero is slightly reminiscent of "K," and so is its plot. But altho there is nothing startlingly original about the

book it has the characteristics that have made Mrs. Rinehart's writings deservedly popular.

Another American novelist who writes to the formula of wide popularity is Nina Wilcox Putnam. *It Pays to Smile* is an ideal book to keep any average reader entertained for several hours with the adventures of Freedom Talbot, New England spinster, who answered an advertisement for "An indigent old lady of impeccable social standing, to act as chaperon to a common young girl." As it turned out it was Peaches who undertook Miss Talbot's training; in their travels from New York to Monte Carlo there is as much laughter and melodramatic plot as any one story can stand.

*Zell*, by Henry G. Aikman. Alfred A. Knopf. *Ellen Levis*, by Elsie Singmaster. Houghton Mifflin Co. *The Sand Doctor*, by Arnold Mulder, Houghton Mifflin Co. *Alaska Man's Luck*, by Hjalmar Rutzebeck. Boni & Liveright. *Seed of the Sun*, by Wallace Irwin. G. H. Doran & Co. *A Poor Wise Man*, by Mary Roberts Rinehart. G. H. Doran & Co. *It Pays to Smile*, by Nina Wilcox Putnam. G. H. Doran & Co.

## Joseph Hodges Choate

There is perhaps no better way to read history than in the lives of men who stand out as leaders and exponents of their times. Such a man was Joseph Hodges Choate, who during the momentous half century between the end of the Civil War and America's entrance into the World War served his country in the forefront of national affairs.

In *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate*, his biographer, Edward Sanford Martin, has gathered, chiefly by means of personal leters, with occasional explanatory passages, a very human chronicle of the great lawyer's life: his boyhood in Salem, Massachusetts; his schooldays at Harvard, to which he was devotedly loyal thruout his whole life; his early days of practising law in New York; his marriage there in 1861 to Miss Carrie D. Sterling, of whom he wrote to his mother:

Pure and modest, sincere and unaffected, bright and entertaining, even tempered and amiable as I am, and every bit as proud, the only unfavorable criticism that I have to make about her is that she has taken a very exaggerated view of my merits, from which time of course will abate much.

An undercurrent of happiness in his marriage runs thru all the following fifty-six years of Mr. Choate's life. In the increasing pressure of his professional career he found time to enjoy genuine companionship with his family; his biography is humanized by frequent quotations from letters to his wife and children.

"I worked like a Trojan at law," says Mr. Choate in the reminiscent review of his life which prefaces this biography.

For nearly forty years (to be exact, for thirty-seven years), until I had the honor to be appointed ambassador to England in 1899, I labored steadily at the preparation, trial and arguments of cases in the courts, with hardly a break from the first Monday of October round to the last Friday of June. In the course of that time I disposed of an enormous number of cases,




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steadily growing in importance and difficulty, and without any failure of health. This was a rare blessing.

In the latter part of the biography there are many fragments from addresses and letters that give some of Mr. Choate's stimulating reactions to the war, in which he urged early American participation. When on April 30, 1917, he spoke at the Harvard Club at a dinner to General Wood, a note of his address described him thus:

> Whenever and wherever he spoke, his wonderful voice, like the vibrant notes of a great organ, carried without effort to the furthest corners of the hall, and he could always be heard even when younger men shouted in vain. His voice, like his beautiful, clear handwriting, never failed him. To have heard him once was never to forget him. His tall figure, somewhat bowed in later years; his massive head with its thick, gray hair; his humorous smile; his sallies of wit; his occasional swift sarcasm; his earnestness when wrong demanded denunciation or right merited praise; his fine and lofty patriotism; his resonant voice—all gave him a power to charm and sway men rarely equaled.

*The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate*, by Edward Sanford Martin. Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Russia's Road to Ruin

There is already quite a bibliography of able works by journalists and historians on the Russian revolution, but very few of these books have the character of standard history. This is not to be wondered at, when it is remembered how chaotic and confused a revolution can be, the havoc it plays with official archives, and the wild prejudices it awakes on one side or the other among those who chronicle it. Not until our own generation has it been possible to write a lucid and impartial account of the French Revolution, tho it took place more than a century ago. The nearest approach to a clear, straightforward, orderly narrative of the Russian revolution comes from the veteran pen of Professor Ross. *The Russian Bolshevik Revolution* is only the first half of the story, the period during which the Bolsheviki wrested power from the provisional government of Lvov and Kerensky, but we are promised a second book on *The Russian Soviet Republic* which will give an account of the way in which the Bolsheviki have used their power.

Professor Ross's chief work has been disentangling the thread of narrative from the mass of rumors, wild reports, false accusations and highly colored descriptions with which it has been associated rather than the elucidation of new facts. Yet he clears up some puzzles.

Thus the famous "order number one" which demoralized the Russian army by creating soldiers' committees at the front was not the work of the provisional Government but of the Petrograd Soviet, and even so was originally intended to apply only to the Petrograd garrison and not to the combatants in the trenches. Indeed, the upshot of the whole history shows that the ability of the provisional Government has been generally underestimated, and that it failed because the revolutionary masses were from the beginning beyond its control and not because of its own mistakes, tho these were not lacking.

Professor Ross clears the Bolsheviki of the charge of being German agents and considers them not responsible for the military insurrection of July, 1917, but he condemns them strongly for the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly in which the moral authority of the revolution was centered.

*The Russian Bolshevik Revolution*, by Edward Alsworth Ross. Century Co.

## Englishmen of Mark

The British public just now is much excited over an anonymous journalist terming himself "A Gentleman With a Duster," who has been dusting off *The Mirrors of Downing Street* and depicting some of the most prominent Englishmen of the day, such as Lloyd George, Admiral Fisher, Winston Churchill, Lord Northcliffe and Lord Leverhulme. In its general tone of liberalism, its genial satire, its obvious striving for a fair estimate, and the keen edge of its style the book greatly resembles a similar collection of characterizations of English personalities which we reviewed some months ago, "Uncensored Celebrities," by E. T. Raymond.

But it would be hazardous to conclude that both books were necessarily from the same hand, as the Gentleman With a Duster has a point of view of his own, and is not without some pet prejudices. He ranks Haldane highest among the British statesmen of today and holds that no man was ever "so basely deserted by his colleagues and so scandalously traduced by his opponents"; whereas Mr. Raymond, tho conceding the patriotism of Lord Haldane and the folly of the charge of "pro-Germanism" brought against him, considers him "the least reliable of advisers." Our real reason for mentioning these two books together is not to start a new Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, but to persuade the reader to obtain both for his own pleasure and wider knowledge of English politics.

Some of the characterizations by the Gentleman With the Duster are a delight. Thus he sweeps Mr. Asquith out of existence in one contemptuous sentence: "Nothing in Mr. Asquith's career is more striking than his fall from power: it was as if a pin had dropped." Lord Kitchener is praised for his single-minded devotion to duty and the author remarks that "a single virtue passionately held can carry even a second-class mind to genuine greatness." Of Lord Robert Cecil, whom the author admires as a liberal but considers too gentle and subtle for practical politics: "It is a thousand pities, I think, that he is not a fanatic. . . . Humanity may be thankful that St. Paul was without a sense of humor."

*The Mirrors of Downing Street*, by A Gentleman With a Duster. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

## The Aftermath of War

THE BOYS' BOOK OF THE WORLD WAR, by Francis Rolt-Wheeler (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard). Five hundred pages of narrative of the Great War. In the main accurate, but misrepresents President Wilson's diplomacy.

CANADA AT WAR, 1914-1918, by J. Castell Hopkins (Doran). A comprehensive history in attractive form of Canada's part in the war, including not only the heroism of the troops at the front but also the far-reaching support of the people back home.

SIR ARCHIBALD MURRAY'S DESPATCHES (Dutton). A reprint *de luxe* of the records of the British campaign of 1916-1917 against the Turk, using Egypt as a base of operations and the wilderness of Sinai for a theater of war. A portfolio of maps accompanies the book.

THE PEACE TANGLE, by John F. Bass (Macmillan). A hostile view of the work of the peacemakers at Paris; contending that the settlement at which they arrived was in violation of the terms of the armistice and has brought political and economic chaos on central Europe.

THE ART OF FIGHTING, by Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske (Century Co.). An account of the development of the science of strategy from the earliest times. Very clear, lucid and thoughtful in its analysis of the principles of the military art, but occasionally weak on the historical side.

SECRETS OF CREWE HOUSE, by Sir Campbell Stuart (Hodder and Stoughton). An account of the British wartime propaganda, especially in enemy countries. Contains a great mass of testimony from the German side as to the important part Allied propaganda played in demoralizing the armies of the Central Powers.

INVENTIONS OF THE GREAT WAR, by A. Russell Bond (Century Co.). Interesting descriptions in everyday language of the ships, tanks, airplanes, submarines, mines, camouflage and wireless telephony. Secrets of the five year rivalry between the inventors of the offense and the inventors of the defense now first revealed.

THE ARMY OF 1918, by Colonel Robert R. McCormick (Harcourt, Brace and Howe). A very frank and somewhat dogmatic discussion of the merits and defects of the American military machine during the Great War. The author believes that compulsory military service in war and peace is the only efficient basis for national defense.

ARMY MENTAL TESTS, by Clarence S. Yoakum and Robert M. Yerkes (Holt). A book sure to be read by all who are interested either in the practical applications of psychology or who are curious as to what general intelligence tests were employed by the War Department in sifting the raw material brought in by recruiting and the draft. Contains the text of many of the test papers employed.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON NATIONAL DEFENSE, compiled by Julia E. Johnsen; and UNIVERSITY DEBATERS' ANNUAL, edited by Edith M. Phelps (H. W. Wilson Co.). Both books are valuable for schools, clubs and individuals who want to present either side of an argument; the latter book contains constructive and rebuttal speeches delivered in debates during the college year 1919 and 1920.

HOW WE ADVERTISED AMERICA, by George Creel (Harpers). The chairman of the Committee on Public Information makes an aggressive defense of his much-criticized branch of the war services of the nation and gives an interesting account of how propaganda was carried on among the foreign born in the United States, in neutral and in enemy countries. Mr. Creel is an effective, if not always judicious, controversialist and manages to discredit some of his Congressional enemies very thoroly.

COAL, IRON AND WAR, by Edwin C. Eckel (Holt). This book is much broader in scope than its title would suggest. It discusses the mineral resources of the world, not only of coal and iron but of oil and of various commercial metals, with relation to the industrial developments of the future in peace as well as in war. The statistical tables are valuable and the discussion of the future trend of industry, as indicated by the distribution of the world's mineral resources and the extent to which they are available for exploitation, are always interesting and stimulating.

A HISTORY OF SEA POWER, by William O. Stevens and Allan Westcott (Doran) is a worthy successor to the works of Mahan in tracing the evolution of naval strategy and its influence on the history of the world from ancient Phoenicia to the end of the Great War. The book has many illustrative maps and dia-

grams. The discussion is always moderate and conservative in tone and the authors have no hobbies to ride, tho they do not hesitate to express their views on certain contested points —for example, they condemn Admiral Jellicoe's tactics at the battle of Jutland as lacking in the Nelsonic spirit of the vigorous offensive.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, by Zechariah Chafee (Harcourt, Brace & Howe). Professor Chafee gives the facts about recent wartime legislation affecting or limiting the right of speech and the freedom of the press, analyzes the chief cases and state trials and discusses the principles involved. He is of the opinion that on several occasions the courts showed insufficient respect for liberty of opinion in enforcing the Espionage Act and lays down the general principle that "In war time speech should be unrestricted by the censorship or by punishment unless it is clearly liable to cause direct and dangerous interference with the conduct of the war."

## The Landing of the Pilgrims

THE WOMEN WHO CAME IN THE MAYFLOWER, by Annie Russell Marble (Pilgrim Press). A piece of research bringing to light facts about the women immigrants of 1620, as individuals and as a group.

BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT, by Harold Paget (Dutton). A reprint in modernized English of the famous history of the Pilgrim Fathers. Everyone who wants to know more, and from a first hand source, of the events which the world is celebrating this tercentenary should read the book.

NEW ENGLAND IN THE LIFE OF THE WORLD, by Howard A. Bridgman (Pilgrim Press, Boston). An important historical study of the influence of New England in settling the mid-western and western states and in sending foreign missions to Asiatic lands. Especially interesting are the little maps which show the lines of migration from New England towns to particular settlements in western states.

## Vacations by Proxy

MINSTREL WEATHER, by Marian Storm (Harper's). Descriptive essays of out-of-doors, arranged to form a calendar of the changing seasons, and illustrated by quaint wood-cuts.

SOUTH, by Sir Ernest Shackleton (Macmillan). The story of life on the Antarctic continent by the heroic British explorer, who headed the expedition. Illustrated with fine pictures of Antarctic scenery.

MEN AND BOOKS AND CITIES, by Robert Cortes Holliday (Geo. H. Doran). Another collection of pleasantly informal essays written by the author of "Walking Stick Papers" during his recent travels over the United States.

THE IDYL OF THE SPLIT BAMBOO, by Dr. George Parker Holden (Stewart Kidd). A technical treatise on the art of rod-making, discussions of bamboo as rod material, on ferules and their fittings and other fishermen's secrets. There is a chapter on natural history pertaining to angling.

ISLANDS AND THEIR MYSTERIES, by A. Hyatt Verrill (Duffield). If you have reveled in "Treasure Island," Jules Verne's "The Mysterious Island" and the body of land that Crusoe made famous, you will like this book. There are genuinely interesting chapters on "When People Dwell in Volcanoes," "The Island of Salt," "The Island of Pearls" and "Islands of the Frozen Seas."

POLE AND CZECH IN SILESIA, by James A. Roy (John Lane Co.), and INVALID EUROPE, by Alfred Seligsberg (Boni & Liveright), are essentially books of travel. The discussion of present problems in central Europe is the intention of both writers, but they say little that is new or profound, and the real interest of both books is in the first-hand description of present conditions which they contain.

A SPRING WALK IN PROVENCE, by Archibald Marshall (Dodd, Mead & Co.). The leisurely charm of Archibald Marshall's writing is admirably adapted to this chronicle of travel in France in the days before the Great War. The narrative and reminiscences make good reading whether they rouse your own memories or not, and the many photographs, taken for the most part by the author, give a pleasantly intimate atmosphere.

GOIN' FISHIN', by Dixie Carroll (Stewart Kidd). General Leonard Wood says in an introduction to this book: "I believe it to be the object of this book to preach the gospel of the open air, of moderation in the pursuit of the sport which we love, of the conservation of the wild life and of those other things which appeal to manly men. . . ." Chapters on every phase of fishing from getting the tackle ready to fishing weather. Illustrated with snapshots.




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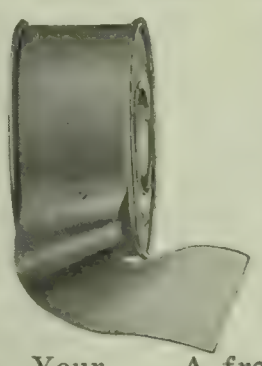
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A military country school for 50 boys. Ages 10 to 17 preferred. 2 hours from N. Y. C. in northern N. J. Beautiful, high, healthful location. 1,000 feet elevation. Thorough preparation. Home care. Individual attention. Discipline kind but firm. Horses and ponies for boys' use. Gymnasium. All sports. Moderate rates. Catalog. Philip S Wilson, A.M., Principal, Box I, Newton, N. J.

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Trains for supervisors of music in public schools. Voice, Harmony, History, Form, Ear Training, Sight Singing, Chorus and Orchestra conducting. Limited number. Catalog. 65 Main Street, Potsdam, N. Y.

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Send your daughter here for an education. Terms $650 or $1,000 inclusive of all extras. Write for catalog.

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A Fireproof Sanitary School Building.
Classes limited to twelve pupils.

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**Unusual advantages in French are offered in every class.**

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Coeducational. A College Preparatory and Finishing School of the highest type. Founded 1824.
Junior Pupils in separate cottages. Endowed. Adirondack elevation. All Athletics.

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CAZENOVIA, N. Y.

## Talk Convincingly—and the World Is At Your Feet

WHY can one man sell where another fails? Why can one man get the sought-after job when another, better qualified, is turned down? Why does everyone "believe in" one man and have no confidence in another, who really has as much ability? The thing that counts is not only what you say *but how you say it.* If you are interested, write for our free booklet called "The Secret of Being a Convincing Talker—How I Learned it in One Evening."

**THE INDEPENDENT**
**311 Sixth Ave. New York**

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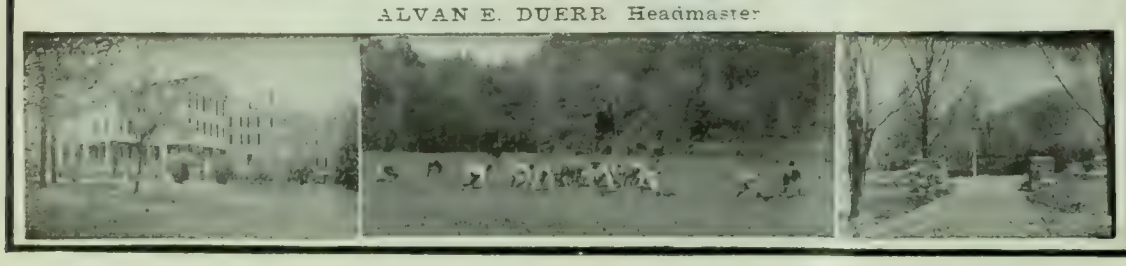
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**FIFTY-FIFTH YEAR**

***A School in the Heart of the Open Country. Lower School for Boys 9 to 12.***

LOCATION: 50 miles from New York, on a spur of Storm King Mountain, 900 feet above sea level. Healthful, invigorating, unusually adapted to a sane and simple out-of-door life.
WORK: Preparation for College or Business Life: recent graduates in 16 leading colleges. Each boy studied physically and mentally to increase individual efficiency. Small classes: A teacher for every eight boys.
ATHLETICS: Two fields with excellent facilities for all sports, under supervision; hiking, woods life, swimming pool.

*You are invited to come and see for yourself. Catalog sent on application.*

ALVAN E. DUERR Headmaster



## More Irish Than Ireland

(*Continued from page 69*)

In friendly and private suggestions, one may perhaps bring home to the minds of Irish-Americans the fact that England shows no ambition to be crushed and that endeavors to run her Empire for her are peculiarly distasteful to Englishmen. We wore "Cuba Libre" buttons once. We know what came of it. Shall we now wear "Hibernia Libre" buttons? It is not so certain what might come of that. Possibly a licking. Do Irish-American agitators appreciate?

Careful study of their propaganda reveals no evidence that they have thought that far. In large matters, as in small, they have little genius for reckoning with remote consequences. On St. Patrick's Day in the morning, years ago, Irish-Americans hoisted their green flag over New York's City Hall. As Stevenson might have said, it was "a good idea but failed to please." Similarly, independence for Ireland may be a good idea. Quite legitimately they quote Gladstone, who said that union with England "was carried by means so indescribably foul and vile that it can have no moral title for existence." But England happens to have been our ally in war and to be still a friendly power, and machinations against England on American soil fail to please Americans. They even fail to please a very large and potentially effective element among Irish-Americans. The Irish Sixty-Ninth covered itself with immortal glory in France and might almost have been an Irish regiment fighting for American Independence or to preserve the Union. In a war for Irish independence those gallant lads would doubtless rush to the colors. How many of them are now tagging at the heels of Dr. Edmund von Mach?

It was in Boston that John Boyle O'Reilly asked, "Isn't it better to be Irish than right?" but it was in New York that Mr. Harvey J. O'Higgins made one of his characters say, after bewailing the Irish-American's readiness to be sweetly bamboozled by amiability in politics, "We're all like that —all heart and no head." Very many New York Irish-Americans, however, are at once big-hearted and long-headed. They yearn passionately for Irish independence. Like De Valera himself, they remind you that "Ireland is a distinct and separate nation, older than England," that "it is the oldest nation in Europe except Greece;" and that "the Irish people have never accepted any partnership or union with England," but "have at all times resisted to the utmost every attempt of the British to rule them." Yet these same Irish-American New Yorkers put America first. They bitterly denounce the Irish-Americans who put Ireland —and Germany—first. Unhappily they lack organization. Whereas, Sinn Fein in New York is thoroly organized and coöperates with the Irish Diplomatic Mission in Washington and the Benjamin Franklin Bureau in Chicago.





# This New Way

## Now beautifies teeth half the world over

Millions of people, half the world over, now clean teeth in a new way. Modern authorities approve it. Leading dentists everywhere advise it.

This is to offer a ten-day test. The results will surprise and delight you. And they may lead, for you and yours, to life-long benefits.

Write for this free test.

### That dingy film

That viscous film you feel on teeth causes most tooth troubles. It clings to teeth, gets between the teeth and stays. It dims the teeth and often leads to ruinous attacks.

Film absorbs stains, making the teeth look dingy. It is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. Also of many diseases.

Old brushing methods do not end that film. So very few people have escaped some form of film attack.

### New ways to combat it

Dental science, after diligent research, has found two film combatants. Able authorities have proved their efficiency. Now peoples of many nations use them daily, largely by dental advice.

The methods are embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And a 10-Day Tube is being sent to every home that asks.

## Watch these five effects

Pepsodent does more than fight film. It brings other results now believed essential, in view of the average diet.

It multiplies the salivary flow—Nature's great teeth-protecting agent. It multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva—put there to digest starch deposits that cling. It multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva—Nature's neutralizer of the acids which cause decay.

Pepsin is also included.

This ten-day test will 20 times repeat all the effects. And you will gain a new idea of what clean teeth must mean.

Send the coupon for the 10-Day Tube. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the viscous film. See how teeth whiten as the film-coats disappear.

You will always want your teeth, we think, kept that white, safe and clean. This is too important to forget. Cut out the coupon now.

Pepsodent PAT. OFF. REG. U. S.

*The New-Day Dentifrice*

A scientific film combatant, whose every application brings five desired effects. Approved by highest authorities, and now advised by leading dentists everywhere. All druggists supply the large tubes.

**Ten-Day Tube Free** 673

THE PEPSODENT COMPANY,
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Mail 10-Day Tube of Pepsodent to

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Only one tube to a family.



So Easy to Use

**New Shoes**
**Old Shoes**
**Tight Shoes**

all feel the same if you shake into them some

# ALLEN'S FOOT=EASE

**The Antiseptic, Healing Powder for the feet**

Takes the friction from the shoe, freshens the feet and gives new vigor. At night when your feet are tired, sore and swollen from walking or dancing, sprinkle ALLEN'S FOOT-EASE in the foot-bath **and enjoy the bliss of feet without an ache.**

Over 1,500,000 pounds of Powder for the Feet were used by our Army and Navy during the war.

**Ask for ALLEN'S FOOT=EASE**



Rests the Feet

## *Does shaving leave your skin inflamed?*

DOES your face smart and burn after the shave is over?

Then try Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream, and see for yourself how it ends shaving irritation. Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream has an exclusive medicinal property that soothes the sensitive skin, heals little cuts. Leaves your face smooth, and cool. No need to use a lotion.

Get your first jar from your druggist today—50c. If your druggist is not supplied, order direct—we will make it worth your while. Send us 50c today, together with your druggist's name and address and we will mail you a 50c jar of Ingram's Therapeutic Shaving Cream, with a tourist's shaving brush in nickel case, FREE.

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*There is Comfort* *In Every Jar*




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The Amazing Experience of
**VICTOR JONES AND HIS WIFE**

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Unhappily, moreover, the one New York Irish-American best qualified to cope with Sinn Fein is silent. Shrewd, statesmanlike, humorous, winning, and well-beloved, he has nation-wide fame, nation-wide influence. What a privilege, might one announce—reverentially, as the occasion would require—"Gentlemen, Mr. Dooley!"

*New York*

## Facts

If you shoot foxes in Alaska you settle with the Agricultural Department; if you trap them, with the Commerce Department!

***

Mr. Hoover states that American charity has fed at least 15,000,000 European children at one time or another since the Great War began.

***

Secretary Hoover estimates that there are at present 4,300,000 idle and unemployed workingmen in Europe, exclusive of Russia and the Balkans.

***

It has been estimated that the entire population of the world could be placed on the surface of Lake Champlain, standing crowd-fashion on the ice.

***

The Mexican bandit Villa is living with 800 followers in a peaceful farm colony. Villa is manager, and has also provided schools for 500 children of the colonists.

***

Cloth suits made of horsehair are being sold in London for six guineas a suit. Makers say that horsehair cloth is the hardest wearing material that has yet been discovered.

***

An Arizona judge has established a sliding scale of fines for automobile speeders. He fines them $1 for every mile an hour above the speed limit at which they are traveling.

***

Germans are great statistics-hounds; one radical German paper has estimated that the sentences imposed on communists for their share in the recent industrial riots in Germany total 1500 years.

***

Sarah Bernhardt has acted in death scenes 30,000 times since she has been on the stage; 10,000 times she took poison; 7000 times she leaped into a river, and 5000 times she shot herself.

***

The American Minister to China, Mr. Crane, returned from Pekin by way of Russia. He paid his way thru Soviet lands, where currency is worthless, by a stock of nails, needles and toothbrushes.

***

The Infant Welfare Society of Chicago discovered the surprizing fact that 50 per cent of the wealthy children examined were below weight, and only 18 per cent of the slum children from the stockyards district.

***

Rumania and Czechoslovakia have agreed to exchange villages along their common frontier; Rumania to get eight villages of mainly Rumanian population, and Czechoslovakia three villages of mainly Czechoslovakian population.

***

Edward Bok has established a fund paying $10,000 annually to "that resident, man or woman, of the metropolitan district of Philadelphia, its suburbs or vicinity, who, during the preceding year shall have done an act or rendered a service best calculated to advance the largest interests of Philadelphia."

# Can the Churches Be Saved?

(*Continued from page 67*)

to question, to deny, and to investigate. When, therefore, Protestantism, having rejected the authority of Rome, attempted to discredit inductive science and historical scholarship, it stultified itself. Young men of parts were not slow to see the implications. Strongly religious natures that were reverential towards tradition, began to drift towards Rome. Investigating minds turned to inductive science or to business. Exceptionally strong men of both types were lost to the Protestant pulpit.

## II

### BAD CHRISTIANITY

Among the by-products of Darwinism was a new revolt against Calvinism. Predestination to damnation or salvation, as expounded by John Calvin, John Knox, Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, and the Westminster Cathechism had withstood the assaults of Michael Servetus, John and Charles Wesley, William Ellery Channing, Orville Dewey and Hosea Ballou, but when Darwin extended the idea to the history and destiny of plants and animals and called it "natural selection" and Herbert Spencer christened it "the survival of the fit," it became "naturalistic" instead of supernatural, and that finished it. For a while longer the churches of nearly all denominations clung to "original sin" as too precious to part with lightly; but when the Mendelians proved that sin really is hereditary (sometimes), and exhibited the biological mechanism, that dogma too, lost cast. Like foreordination it had turned out to be a simple natural fact, understandable instead of mystical, and *that* finished *it*.

Meanwhile a humanitarian movement that had begun with the labors of Elizabeth Fry, John Howard and Robert Owen, gathered momentum. Charles Dickens in thirty years did more than preachers had accomplished in centuries to make professing Christians feel that they had undertaken an obligation to love sinners. Outcasts, malefactors, paupers, drunkards, hoboes and "bums" became spiritually priceless. They were pictured as "victims" of Christian neglect, not worse by "nature" (original sin) than archbishops and capitalists. To salvage them was now conceived to be the supreme mission of the church. It was admitted that hell had not helped them, but proclaimed that they could be reached by "love." Immersed (at least once a week) in Christian affection they would become sensitive to the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Incidentally, the "neglect" to which the church confessed was now passed along to the self-respecting man in modest circumstances who practiced self-denial to pay his debts and brought up his children decently. He had ceased to be interesting, and was presumed to be "self-righteous." He became "the forgotten man."

These developments tended to substitute (in large measure they did substitute) a sentimental universalism


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**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

**Convertible Four and One-Half Per Cent. Gold Bonds**
Due March 1, 1933.

Coupons from these Bonds, payable by their terms on September 1, 1921, at the office or agency of the Company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street, or in Boston at The Merchants' National Bank.

H. BLAIR-SMITH, Treasurer.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

**Convertible Four Per Cent. Gold Bonds**
Due March 1, 1936.

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FIRST PREFERRED DIVIDEND NO. 28.
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Of all the investment opportunities offered there are few indeed not open to criticism. Absolute safety is the first requisite and adequate and uniform return equally important, and these seem incompatible. Aside from government bonds, the return under which is small, there is nothing more sure and certain than an annuity with the **METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY**, by which the income guaranteed for a certain lifetime is larger by far than would be earned on an equal amount deposited in an institution for savings, or invested in securities giving reasonable safety. Thus a payment of $5,000 by a man aged 67 would provide an annual income of $623.60 absolutely beyond question of doubt. The Annuity Department, **METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY**, New York, will give advice as to the return at any age, male or female.

**Stop the Leaks that Keep You Poor**

Saving money is hard work until you get the secret. No matter how large or how small your income you will never save as much as you should until you get the knack.

If the average business were operated on the haphazard basis on which our household finances are run, there would be fifty times as many bankrupts. The truth, whether we admit it or not, is that very few families know where their money goes. At the end of each year we find ourselves little better off, if any, than at the beginning. We have earned $800 or $1,500 or $5,000, yet practically all has been spent—and the pitiful part of it is we have nothing to show for it!

**New Method Makes Saving a Pleasure Instead of a Hardship**

If you are interested, write for free booklet called "How We Stopped the Leaks That Kept Us Poor."

**THE INDEPENDENT**
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**Why Gamble?**

The basic Law of Action-Reaction governs both speculative and investment markets. While it is impossible for any one to anticipate "day-to-day" ripples, the great major movements are regular almost as the tides themselves.

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Based on fundamental statistics, carefully forecast these major movements. They enable you to find the real "buys" at low tide—to sell out as your holdings reach near the peak—and then to buy in again at close to bottom prices.

REPORT ON REQUEST

A recent Babson Bulletin and our booklet, "*Getting the Most from Your Money*" will be sent to interested investors without charge.

***Merely ask for Bulletin No.*** **H-49**

**Roger W. Babson's Statistical Organization**
**Wellesley Hills, 82, Mass.**
(Suburb of Boston)

*The Largest Organization of Its Character in the World*

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Write Roger W. Babson, founder of the Babson Statistical Organization, Wellesley Hills, 82, Mass., as follows. Please send me Bulletin H-49 with details of Babson Method of Investment, and booklet—"*Getting the Most From Your Money*"—gratis.

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Thirty years' combined experience and study at your command. Fees reasonable and adjusted to service rendered.

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Organized 1850. Non-Participating Policies only. Over Forty-five Million Dollars Paid to Policyholders.

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Good territory open for high class, personal producers, under direct contracts with the Company. Address Home Office, 277 Broadway, New York City.

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**United States Trust Company of New York**

**45-47 WALL STREET**

**CAPITAL, $2,000,000** **SURPLUS AND UNDIVIDED PROFITS, $15,020,679.60**

This Company acts as Executor, Administrator, Trustee, Guardian, Committee, Court Depositary and in all other recognized trust capacities. It receives deposits subject to check and allows interest on daily balances. It loans money on bonds and mortgages and other property, real and personal, for estates, corporations and individuals. It acts as Trustee under corporate mortgages and as Registrar and Transfer Agent for corporate bonds and stocks.

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Though powerful, Absorbine, Jr., is absolutely harmless, and can be used with safety and comfort. It is a dependable antiseptic and germicide.

Keep it handy.

$1.25 a bottle at most druggists
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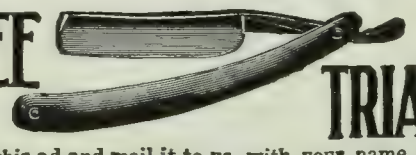

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A Superb Around the World Tour
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**FREE TRIAL**



Cut out this ad and mail it to us, with your name and address (no money); and we will send you our **FAMOUS KARNAK RAZOR** by return mail, postpaid. You may use the razor for 30 days **FREE**; then if you like it, pay us $1.85. If you don't like it return it. **SEND NO MONEY.**
**MORE COMPANY, Dept. 350 St. Louis, Mo.**

# How the Man in Maine Buys Oregon Apples

COMMERCE lives through the interchange of products. California fruits are sold in Maine. Shoes made in New England are worn on the Pacific slope. Automobiles from Detroit traverse the Florida sands; the North smokes Southern tobacco. And so it goes.

Advertising has played an all important part in fostering business growth. Without it we would retrograde half a century, or more. Business would stagnate; large institutions which build cheaply by large production would fade into oblivion; we would live in total ignorance of many things which might add to our wealth, health and happiness.

The bread and butter of business depend on advertising, and your interest in it.

Read the advertisements. They will be as productive of results to you as to the companies that pay for them. In half an hour, or less, you can learn much of many things that go to make life what it is.

Read the advertising. It enables you to get more for your money by telling you what to buy. It is your guide to what's good to get.

***Read it—reflect on it—it pays***


for the older orthodoxy. Magnifying pity and promise, minimizing the kernel of truth in the dogma of original sin, and "charitable" towards moral slackers, they became as distorted a creed as Calvinism had been, and a bad Christianity if by good Christianity we understand the system of faith and practice set forth in the New Testament. That system affirmed that men are born sinful, but offered salvation thru a new birth, which, however, must be the real thing, attested by something more substantial than "thrills" and pious talk. Professions of faith had to be backed up by "works meet for repentance," by ceasing to do evil and learning to do well.

If the good Christianity of the New Testament is true, the discoveries of inductive science should verify it. As a matter of fact they have been verifying it. The generalizations of physics and of biology have verified the factor of truth in the doctrine of foreordination. The generalizations of biology and of psychology have verified the factor of truth in the doctrine of inherited sin. And now, our latest psychology verifies the doctrine of regeneration. Experimentally it demonstrates that the Old Adam of inherited instinct (or original nature) can be dissociated from stimuli that it has heretofore reacted to and associated with stimuli to which it will thenceforth react "in newness of life." Instincts, habits, imagination, intellectual reflection and purpose all can be "reconditioned," thereby renewing "the whole man." The renewing does not reach or affect the germ plasm, it cannot be biologically transmitted to subsequent generations; to this extent the Old Adam survives, but each generation, after it is born, can be morally regenerated, in some degree.

## III

### BAD PROTESTANTISM

When Protestantism refused to be bound by the religious authority of Rome it put its trust in regenerative forces that act upon the individual "inwardly" or spiritually, inciting, enlightening, convicting or convincing him and presently converting him; rather than in governmental forces that act upon the individual "outwardly" or legalistically, restraining or coercing him by penances or heavier penalties imposed by fellow men upon him. This was one of the most daring choices ever made by responsible men, and it might have been one of the most important, but Protestantism did not remain faithful to it. Puritanism abandoned it. It set up the Cromwellian Commonwealth in England and the theocratic state in Massachusetts. It became arrogant and ruthless in its attempt to control thru law the private lives and the consciences of individuals. It permitted itself to persecute Quakers and Baptists, sometimes brutally.

For three hundred years Protestant liberalism and Protestant governmentalism have fought with each other in America. From the collapse of theocracy in New England until the capitulation of educated persons to evolution at the end of the nineteenth century, liberalism on the whole gained ground. Unfortunately it never became scientific. It took up with fantastic "isms," and virtue went out of it. Socialistic thinking and war strengthened governmentalism, which now is ascendant. An aggressive element in Protestantism, both lay and ministerial, addresses the Throne of Grace one day, and haunts legislative lobbies six days, in the week. It intends, if it can, to bring back the Puritan control of private life thru the police power. It will attempt to prohibit many amusements that are in no sense public nuisances and to oversee others, to censor books, plays, newspapers and works of art, to dictate medical prescriptions, to inspect and measure the clothing of women, to prohibit tobacco as it has prohibited wine, and to say how adults may and may not spend their time on Sunday. This program makes a strong appeal to fanatics, to morons unable to pass the Alpha intelligence test who throng revival meetings, and above all to the hosts (that Michael and Gabriel working in shifts could not number) of men and women incompetent to earn a decent living in the competitive professions for whom the enterprise of making people good by law provides salaries at the expense of taxpayers.

The Lenines of righteousness who would do the will of God by invasion and search without a warrant, may not succeed in setting up their dictatorship; but their power already is great, and they receive a deference not accorded to liberals. These things are a strangely bad Protestantism.

## IV

### THE NARROW WAY

In fine: at a time when the world needed knowledge Protestant pulpits attacked scientific thinking as "atheistic" and denounced historical scholarship as "infidel." At a time when the world desperately needed honest work and honest dealing, Protestant churches could devise no more effective attack upon sabotage, slacking, profiteering and exploitation than an occasional sensational sermon. At a time when the world supremely needed a revival of faith in regenerative forces, and a clearing of the moral vision preliminary to observations upon motes in neighbors' eyes, Protestantism surrendered to a bullying Puritanism.

Protestantism can regain the ground that it has lost, but only by taking and holding a rugged trail. The broad road runs another way. Specifically, and to speak plainly, the Protestant churches can save themselves alive and again be influential if, *and only if*, they stand with courage and conviction for:

1. Intellectual honesty, attested by a respectful demeanor towards scientific thinking and historical scholarship.
2. Regeneration, attested by honest work and honest dealing.
3. Faith in regenerative forces, attested by liberty of conscience and respect for the free moral agency of individual fellow-men.

*New York.*

# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

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Franklin H. Giddings, Shailer Mathews, Edwin E. Slosson — Preston Slosson, John Spargo, Talcott Williams

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY
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Hamilton Holt, Vice-President — Frederic E. Dickinson, Secretary

Samuel W. Blore, Treasurer — J. Stuart Hamilton, Advertising Director

## The Rebel Takes a Job

### By Morrie Ryskind

So they have made me mild and meek
For fifty dollars every week!
Have molded me to fit their plan;
And made of me a business man.
They pat me on the back and say,
"We knew that you'd get sense some day.
'Twas fun to roam from town to town,
But it was time you settled down."

So I, who was as free as air,
Am chained unto a desk and chair;
I may not walk the untrodden path
And move the town's good folk to wrath.
The open road is clean and sweet—
But even rebel souls must eat;
And he who stays a wanderer
Will never get his fifty per.

Well, be it so. The bargain's made
And I have left Romance for Trade.
And so, from nine till half-past five,
I make believe I am alive.
I talk their talk, peddle their wares,
Worship their gods, and pray their prayers;
And try to be, as best I can,
A model modern business man.

From nine till half-past five—but then
My feet go wandering again.
They lead me into queer, old places
Wherein I greet familiar faces,
Faces of those who walked with me
The Rambling Road to Arcady
(A road I shall walk less and less,
The Business Road leads to Success).

And there I greet these friends of mine,
And sing old songs, and drink old wine.
And O! but we know many a joke . . .
And if one mentions Business Folk
(It is so far to 9 A. M.)
I laugh and thumb my nose at them!

## Pebbles

Mr. De Seines (on being introduced to adored one's mother): "Pardon me, madam, but have we not met before? Your face seems strangely familiar."

Adored One's Mother: "Yes, I am the woman who stood up before you for two whole miles in a railway carriage the other day while you sat reading a paper." —*London Opinion.*

The Sunday-school teacher was talking to her class about Solomon and his wisdom.

"When the Queen of Sheba came and laid jewels and fine raiment before Solomon, what did he say?" she asked presently.

One small girl, who evidently had experience in such matters, replied promptly: "'Ow much d'yer want for the lot?" —*The Evening News (London).*

A teacher was instructing a class in English and called on a small boy named Jimmy Brown. "James," she said, "write on the board, 'Richard can ride the mule if he wants to.'" "Now," continued the teacher, when Jimmy had finished writing, "can you find a better form for that sentence?" "Yes, ma'am, I think I can," was the prompt answer. "Richard can ride the mule if the mule wants him to."—*Boys' Life.*

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## Opening Nights

*The Nightcap.* A mystery comedy in the manner of "The Bat," with its plot skilfully entangled and plentifully provided with thrills. (39th Street Theater.)

*The Mimic World.* A musical revue with the usual medley of humorous hits and tuneful songs and beautiful costumes, figuratively speaking! (Promenade Theater.)

*March Hares* is all that its name implies—a preposterous funny satire on the tantrums of temperamental folks. Alexander Onslow plays the difficult rôle of psychopathic genius admirably. (Bijou Theater.)

*The Mask of Hamlet*, by Ario Flamma, is a play based on the crime that rocked Wall Street last September. It is a sincere but misguided effort to make known a phase of New York life familiar only to certain radical elements. (Princess Theater.)

"*Dulcy*," first famous in F. P. A.'s colyum, is now the bromidic heroine of the funniest comedy that has opened this season. Lynn Fontaine makes "Dulcy" so ridiculously real that we can all see in her traces of our friends, if not ourselves! (Frazee Theater.)

*Put and Take.* A "colorful" musical revue, written, staged and played by all-negro talent. The dusky chorus has more energy than grace, but the comedians, notably Emmett Anthony, are well above the average, and the whole show maintains unlimited "pep." (Town Hall.)

*Sonny* interweaves the sentimental story of a blind mother whose son was killed in war with extraneous song and dance in vaudeville style. But the total effect is entertaining in spite of its incongruity. Emma Dunn, as the mother, inspires genuine emotion; Carl Randall's dancing is top-notch. (Cort Theater.)

*Sonya*, translated from the Polish play by Gabryela Zapolska, tells the story of how a prince in his lonely palace fell in love with a circus girl, how she nobly offered to renounce him lest he renounce his throne, and how in the end his stern uncle was won over and they lived happy ever after—as happy as kings used to be! Otto Kruger and Violet Heming are admirably cast in the leading roles. (Forty-eighth Street Theater.)



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# A Number of Things

## By Edwin E. Slosson

"BLESSINGS on the man who invented sleep!" says Sancho Panza. Apparently he, being unlearned, did not know how sleep came to be invented. Neither did I, also unlearned, know about it until today when I picked up the latest of those dainty little Loeb Library Classics, published by Putnam, and read Fronto's letter to his former pupil, Marcus Aurelius. The Emperor, it seems, had been overworking as usual. His conscience had driven him to extend his judicial duties beyond the daytime and he had set cases to be tried before him at night. So Fronto takes occasion gently to remind him to hold the balance even between those two illustrious litigants, Night and Day, who are always quarreling about their boundaries. But along comes Sleep, claiming a right to intervene on the ground that his interests are involved in the dispute. To emphasize the point, Fronto tells this pretty apologue about the origin of sleep and dreams:

"They tell us that Father Jove, when at the beginning of things he was founding the human race, with one stroke clave asunder the continuity of man's life into two parts in every respect equal; the one he clothed with light, the other with darkness; called this day and that night, and assigned to night rest and to day work. As yet Sleep had not been born, and all men passed their whole lives awake. But in lieu of sleep the hush of night had been hitherto established for wakeful men. Then, little by little, men's disposition being restless and prone to action and excitement, they began to employ nights as well as days in business, giving not an hour to rest. Then they say that Jove, seeing that now quarrels and recognizances were fixed for the night, and suits were even put off from one night to another, took counsel with his own heart to set up one of his own brethren to preside over night and the repose of mankind. But Neptune pleaded his many heavy cares upon the seas, that the waves should not overflow whole lands, mountains and all, or cyclones in their fury level everything with the ground and suck up the woods and the crops by their roots. Father Dis, too, made his plea that hardly with immense pains and immense anxiety were the nether precincts kept under control, hardly was Hades impaled in on every side with rivers and marshes and the Stygian fens; that he had even set up a watchdog to terrify any Shades that had a mind to escape to the upper air, and had given him to boot a triple throat for barking, three gaping jaws, and three-fold terror of teeth.

"Then Jove after question had with other Gods perceived that a liking for wakefulness was considerably in the ascendant; that Juno called most children to birth at night; that Minerva, mistress of arts and artificers, was for much wakefulness; that Mars by the silence of the surroundings aided nightly sallies and ambuscades; that Venus, however, and Liber were by far the most in favor of the night wakers. Jupiter then made up his mind to beget Sleep, and enrolled him among the Gods, set him in charge of night and repose, and gave into his keeping the keys of men's eyes. He also mixed with his own hands the juice of herbs, wherewith Sleep might soothe to rest the hearts of men. The herbs of security and delight he culled from the groves of Heaven, but the herb of death was sought in the meadows of Acheron. Of that death he mingled but one drop and that the tiniest, as is the tear of one who would hide his tears.

"'With this juice,' said he, 'instil slumber into men thru the gateways of their eyes: all, into whom thou dost thus instil it, will thereafter at once fall down and lie prone with limbs motionless as tho dead. But fear thou not, for they will be alive and anon, when they awake, will rise again.'

"That done, Jupiter furnished Sleep with wings, not as Mercury's attached to the ankles, but like Love's fitted to the shoulders. 'For thou must not,' said he, 'dash into the eyelids and pupils of men with sandals and winged ankles, with the whirling of chariots and the thunder of steeds, but fly to them quietly and softly with gentle wings like a swallow and not with clapping of pinions like pigeons.'

"Furthermore, that Sleep might be the more welcome to men, he endowed him with many a lovely dream that, according to each sleeper's favorite hobby, he might—in his dreams—either watch an actor and clap him or listen to a flute-player or shout advice to a charioteer in his course; that soldiers might conquer and generals triumph—in their dreams, and wanderers come home—in their dreams. Such dreams generally turn out true."

***

In the mass of propaganda literature from the various nationalistic bureaus that floods my desk I find the following:

Pan-Lapponic Memorandum on Our Indefeasible and Imprescriptible Title to the Moon:

Historical—The moon was first discovered by Adam, from whom the Lapponic race traces its descent. It plays a large part in our folklore (see Suatliuomwi's "Studies in Hyperborean Folklore, Hammerfest, 1917") and is mentioned in much of our earliest lierature. The poet Vartli Vukoyemvolyugulumpu mentions it no less than eighteen times in his epic and claims that the culture-hero Walrussu visited it to bring the gift of fire to mankind. The very word for "moon" in the Lapponic dialect of the Murmansk region is derived from the same root as the word "cheese," thus proving the antique character of our claim to the moon. Many of our astronomers have explored the moon carefully (via telescope) and one of them peopled it by a daring stroke of the imagination. If there are any people in the moon they are probably Lapps.

Geographic and Economic—The boundaries of Lapponia are very narrow and we require room for expansion. No other people are so well qualified to colonize the moon, since we are inured to extremes of climate, Arctic cold, barren soil and other conditions which, so astronomers tell us, prevail there. We live mainly on reindeer, moss and cheese, and the last two, it is probable, may be found in sufficient quantities for our needs on the moon, whereas there is plenty of room for reindeer pasturage. The moon also presents a virgin market for our exports.

Strategic—The strategic value of the moon in these days of aviation is self-evident. With the broad, uninterrupted field of observation given us as holders of the moon, there is no danger of hostile armies secretly mobilizing on our frontiers. The moon in the hands of a great power would threaten the safety of all countries; in our hands it will but afford indispensable security.

***

Folks may still get a little "het up" when they talk about the Irish question, but nothing like the way they used to feel about it and talk about it. The Sinn Feiner and the Ulsterite of today are tame and soft spoken compared with their ancestors. They have no such voluminous vocabulary of vituperation. In proof of the ameliorated manners of the present day permit me to quote what Nathaniel Ward said of the Irish in 1647:

These Irish anciently called Anthropophagi, man-eaters, have a tradition among them, that when the Devil showed our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the Earth and their glory, that he would not show him Ireland, but reserved it for himself; it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar; the old Fox foresaw it would eclipse the glory of all the rest. He thought it wisdom to keep the Land for a Boggards for his unclean spirits employed in this Hemisphere. . . They are the very Offal of men, dregs of mankind, reproach of Christendom, the Bots that crawl on the Beast's tail. . . . Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood; yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword stark drunk with Irish blood, that doth not recompense them double for their hellish treachery to the English, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations.

***

Coming home from church on Lincoln Sunday two richly dressed ladies with prayer books boarded the street car and took the seat in front of me. Said one lady to her companion:

"I do not think it is right to make such a fuss about Lincoln. He was such a wicked man."

Her friend looked up inquiringly and the lady continued:

"You remember his end. He went to the theater on Good Friday. It was a sad fate, but nobody could say that it was undeserved."

The Independent

September 3, 1921

# Wielding the Budget Broom in Washington

## By Donald Wilhelm

RE-ENTER General Dawes! This time as leader of the budget brigade.

Not in the memory of the oldest correspondent has any man ridden more dramatically into the national arena. But he, himself, philosophically observes, in quoting from his lore of reading an old Spanish monk of long ago, "It's not the applause that greets one at entrance, but at departure, that is important."

Already fame and national gratitude have plastered him with distinctions. For instance, only the other day, it seems, when he was hailed before a Congressional investigating committee, he knocked the knees out from under Old Man Congress on his Hill. People stood about wide-eyed with astonishment and glee while he composed those historic explosives. . . . The Graham investigating committee reconsidered!

His ride away from the Capitol, you see, was a glorious one. Then he lighted a cigar and went back to Chicago; and in Evanston, from which Chicago is a considerable city to the southward, he was hailed by other residents as the town's first citizen.

It was in Chicago, along toward 1897, that Charles G. Dawes organized what is now Chicago's sixth largest bank, and of which he is now chairman of the board of directors. He was quite a young man then, but he performed this deed with such neatness and despatch that President McKinley made him Comptroller of the Treasury. He proved to be a good deal of a banker, but before he became a banker he had trained himself to be a lawyer and an engineer. That is why, when things were becoming just a bit monotonous again he quit banking at the outbreak of our war and became Major Dawes, of the Seventeenth Engineers. With his usual luck, he was among the first 20,000 to follow General Pershing abroad. Before long he was General Dawes, lawyer, banker, soldier, apostle of "let's-go" and "we're-on-our-way."

After Mr. Harding was inaugurated, he sent for this man of many parts to head the Dawes Commission and aid in getting reorganization of the Government under way. Once more the General was applauded, even at departure.



*International*

General Dawes Leaving the White House.

Then Mr. Harding sent for him again, after Congress had passed the law providing for a Budget Bureau. And again the General was not found wanting.

He came to Washington the other week and opened offices in the attic of the Treasury, on its third floor. From his windows you can see almost all over Washington, which perhaps prompted him to remark that, in certain matters, he is the eyes and ears of the President. From his windows you can look down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol; also you can rest assured that the Capitol is looking back at you! The windows are grated, so no recalcitrant bureaucrat can be shoved out. If one, or an angry Congressman, should be shoved out, he'd land almost on top of an equestrian statue of General Sherman. On the pedestal of this statue is a quotation from General Sherman which General Dawes might just as well have said: "The legitimate end of war is a more perfect peace."

Inside the office the shade of Sherman marches on, in Dawes. But tho on occasion he, like Sherman, has said some things that were hot as hot, he never swears except when moments of rare lucidity compose the literal truth. Indeed he rides his swivel chair serenely, with two army officers at left of him; his secretary, Mr. Kilkenny, and a busy group of one hundred aides at right of him; the big Government machine in front of him.

He seems to be having a good time, charging, with his hundred. You find him to be a man of rather unexpected modesty and reserve—a slender man with thinning brown hair parted near the middle. He has a sensitive face and keen blue-grey eyes that peer out thru black-rimmed spectacles and search you. He is coatless, with a big fan buzzing behind him. He wears stocks—his collars and his ties are all of a piece, which simplifies getting to the office ahead of time. He smokes a big cigar that he seems to puff automatically thru a briar holder, and he hands you another. He talks to the point "for your information only" while he pores over a mass of figures and dictates a letter. He answers your questions while he answers the phone. He greets a tremendous number of visitors casually and so deftly disposes of them that his policy remains the "open door." Now and then he laughs—one of his friends told him one day that he chortles, and he chortled again.

It is his combined directness, swiftness of decision and keenness of discernment, along with his persuasiveness, that gets him to, and over, the hot spots with his budget brigade. He has one of the most difficult jobs in Washington, but he seems to like it. He's a kind of fire chief—the President told him, practically, to hitch up hose and ladder and put out all the burning wastes in the governmental machine. He began by stating publicly that the $225,000 that Congress gave him with which to set up the Budget Bureau was a toothpick with which to tunnel mountains. Then, when the existing plan was that he would not be able to do much for a few months, he took a running jump at the hopper and announced that he expected to save the neat little sum of $112,000,000 in the current year. He connived a meeting of all the Cabinet members and other executives of the Government—the first meeting of its kind ever held. The President, who presided, pointed out "the new realization of the necessity of driving at the loose, unscientific expenditures of the Government." Then, remarking that he stood squarely behind the General, he introduced him as Director of the budget brigade.

The General made a speech that was beautifully compounded of about equal parts of persuasion and urge. He said that having been a bureaucrat himself, he knew the tricks of the trade, and that when he was in office he made haste, along with all the others, to see that toward the end of the fiscal year no money appropriated for his bureau by any chance, for want of expenditures, slipped back into the Treasury. He added, however, that tho Congress had given him, as Director of the Budget, little enough, he'd start the ante, as the saying is, by saving out of his appropriations a fourth of the total. He expected the other bureau and departmental heads would follow his lead.

They "came across" with pledges amounting to $112,000,000.

"So much velvet for the taxpayer," was his gratifying response.

About the next day he swept on, in orderly array with his one hundred riding hard, into a forest fire of governmental confusion and waste.

Having discovered long before that the Government really did not know what, in the form of stores and materials—from steel to ships, from ships to furniture, and furniture to food and other materials—it actually owned, it was time a central clearing house was established. There was no inventory of its lesser possessions; there were many of the 120 bureaus and independent establishments that had never made an inventory. There were some that were selling war supplies, for instance, at a half or third of their cost price, perhaps, and feathering their current appropriations with the proceeds, while others were going into the open market to buy, at current rates, the same or similar supplies. There were instances, thru no criminal fault of anyone, but only thru fault of plan, of private contractors doubling and trebling their money by a quick turn. They bought various things from the Government in the morning, as it were, at a half or third of their value, and sold them in the afternoon at their full value, plus—sold them back to the Government. The General corrected that in a minute. Now there is a chief coördinator, and there are zone coördinators; there have been surveys and inventories; and soon, for the first time in its history, old Uncle Sam will know, "just where he's at," and wo will betide the bureau that buys a thing that the Government has in surplus.

Other things of like import then were in order: Printing, for instance; matters of transportation, and the like.

You can say it this way, in the phrase of the General: "There is no reason in the world why the biggest business in the world cannot be made one of the most efficient businesses in the world."

You gather, now, that the General is a business man, as well as banker, lawyer, engineer.

He's more than these.

He's a golfer when he has to be. But he'd rather play his fiddle.

He's a composer—Fritz Kreisler has played his compositions in public and has much to say about them.

He's also a family man. He has a married daughter, and two adopted children, seven and ten years of age, a boy and a girl.

But publicly, of course, he's now the Director of the budget brigade.

*Washington, D. C.*

# Remarkable Remarks

MRS. LESLIE CARTER—Bobbed hair is beautiful.

ARTHUR BRISBANE—No woman likes cigarets naturally.

JACK JOHNSON—I have always tried to live by the Bible's teachings.

GRACE B. ROBINSON—Skirts are growing longer. Legs are going out.

GEORGE W. TRUETT—The Bible is the lamp God puts into men's lives to show them how to live and how to die.

MARCUS GARVEY, "Provisional President of Africa"—We will beg no more for rights, but demand what belongs to us.

A. H. WOODS—I amuse as many people as the gas company annoys, or Dr. Frank Crane elevates.

EMORY W. CLARK—The motor industry is the strongest factor today in industrial restoration in this country.

J. B. CRANFILL—I am made constantly to wonder why The Independent prints the vaporings of Ed Howe.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—I know of no rule that will work except the rule of putting yourself in the other's place.

SARA MARSHALL COOK—Happily, no one appears at this time to consider the full-skirted models as belonging distinctly to youth.

E. S. MARTIN—Ford and Edison have done more to improve the conditions of human life than any other two men of their generations.

ROY K. MOULTON—Connecticut marriages do not come under the general head of marriage, but rather under the head of "Amusements" or "Lost and Found."

ANNE MARTIN—Women are still far behind as regards human rights, and must catch up with men before sex is put out of politics and the world made human.

SINCLAIR LEWIS—The greatest mystery about the human being is not his reaction to sex or praise, but the manner in which he contrives to put in twenty-four hours a day.

ST. JOHN ERVINE—No one manifests the slightest astonishment at seeing a bishop losing his head. What would astonish us all would be to see a bishop keeping his head.

# New Hates for Old

## By Edward A. Steiner

**This is the sixth of the series of articles on New Europe, in which Dr. Steiner has been giving The Independent his observations of the changing conditions in France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Poland and Russia,—observations made in the course of his extended inspection of the European relief work of the American Friends Committee of Philadelphia.**

**Dr. Steiner, a recognized authority and specialist in immigration problems, knows whereof he speaks in other matters involving racial characters, customs and differences. He was born in Austria, and educated in Germany. He emigrated to America in his early twenties, and worked a hard way up thru mine and mill and factory. A Jew, he was converted to Christianity, was pastor of Congregational churches, and for some years past has occupied the Chair of Applied Christianity in Grinnell College, Iowa, during which period he has alternated teaching with writing and lecturing.**

IN Austria the Danube is still blue; there alone its waves roll to waltz time and not to war tunes; there alone its shores are still sacred to poets, composers and lovers. There is no "Watch on the Danube" to be kept, sword in hand, tho one can scarcely turn around in that disseminated country without striking a foreign land.

The boat on which I am traveling sails under the Hungarian flag, unchanged in color and in its defiant spirit, and the crown of St. Stephen with its tilted cross spreads over its folds. If you speak German when you step upon this boat, the stewards and officers will treat you with contempt; if you speak Slovak or Czech, you would better have your morning coffee tasted by some one whose life is not so valuable as your own.

As the city recedes everything which the Viennese covet, and cannot obtain, appears upon the dining room tables: White bread, butter, milk, bacon, coffee and best of all, lumps of sugar. No wonder the Magyars are haughty. Not only have they food and drink in abundance; an Hungarian *krone* buys ten Austrian in exchange, and the waiter accepts your inferior script with an air of condescension.

The journey down the Danube is scenically unimportant, but from the ethnic standpoint most interesting, and never before so much as now, when my fellow passengers are citizens of new countries and often reluctantly. Now more than ever, they speak their respective languages defiantly, and thus develop new angles of friction.

The Treaty of St. Germain has made the confusion of nationalities worse than ever; for it has merely transferred the turbulent waters of the old monarchy into smaller containers, not one of which is as yet strong enough to stand the pressure.

I met Germans who are reluctant Czechs, Magyars who have had to swear allegiance to Slovakia or Rumania, Austrians who are governed by Italians, and some whose political fate is not yet decided and who do not know where they belong. No one seems quite comfortable under the new order, and my fellow passengers, tho boasting of their republics and kingdoms, look as happy as the wearer of a new pair of patent leather shoes when the sun is hot; while those who have no new country to boast of are happy in nursing a new grudge. Altogether, as I watch them around the breakfast table, these children of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy, they seem to be in the attitude of the couple who, after being divorced, discovered that tho they could not live with each other they could not live without each other. Economic necessities are driving them, not into each other's arms, but nearer to one another, and each is waiting for the other to acknowledge the mistake of such complete separation.

The new confusion begins to manifest itself at the first landing place from Vienna. The steamboat officials call it Poszony, and the Germans good-naturedly say that they will get off at Pressburgh; but the Slovaks name it defiantly, Bratoslava, and they all get off at the same place to live with each other as happily as the proverbial cat and dog. I do not leave the boat with them, for it would mean the cancellation of my visé, for which the Czechs charge ten dollars, American money. I go on to Budapest, the Danube fortunately being international, and we cross the line from Czechoslovakia into Hungary unmolested.

My Magyar fellow passengers send a few choice curses upon the government which now controls the city hallowed by the tombs of Magyar kings, and every stone of which is eloquent of Magyar history. The Danube broadens as we leave Bratoslava, the luxurious plain of Hungary spreads before us, broad-skirted and picturesque peasants are at work in the fields, town and cities peacefully rural in their aspect are left behind, and as the night comes we pass Margareth Island and land in Budapest, which like all cities that have tasted of the Bolshevik terror, is nervous, and the traveler is met by excusable suspicion.

The police, the hotel porter, innumerable loyal citizens, formerly army officers, "watch your step," and the city in which one formerly breathed so peacefully and happily, smells of the prison, till one can almost hear the clanking of the chains. The white terror is a real terror, and a gloom has settled over the city.

Budapest seems to me the least peaceful spot on the globe, and no one disguises the fact that the vanquished Magyars are gathering strength for another blow. It is not merely wounded pride which makes them build monuments that cry out for vengeance; not only is there a loss of peoples and of territories—millions of their own race are now the subjects of nations which are upstarts in history, and thus far have remained culturally beneath them. The feeling of France for her lost provinces, the Italian passion for its Irridenta were never as strong as the cry of Hungary for her abducted children.

Incapable as the Magyars had shown themselves in governing the minor nationalities, stupid and venal as were their officials, they did display a certain attractive chivalry. In spite of the fact that one could get anything for money in the Hungarian courts, there was a freedom from sordidness. The Magyar was an aristocrat, too indolent to be severe, too pleasure loving to be industrious; he was what the Americans call a "good fellow." Defeat and revolution have left their mark upon him, the good fellowship is gone, the government is sternly militaristic, and the officials are the former army officers; there are repression and unspeakable cruelty. The Hungarian Government at the present time is a militaristic government at its worst.

My visit coincided with the futile attempt of the former King Charles to regain his throne, and while the houses were not flagged for his welcome, the people were ready

for him, and had the Little Entente not threatened, he would have been received in triumph. Hungary is incurably monarchic, because historically it is an aristocracy, and tho this last of the Hapsburgs is not even an inch a king, either physically or mentally, he is the constitutional heir to the crown of St. Stephen, and it will be kept for him until Hungary is strong enough to defy her encircling foes. For that purpose she is seeking an alliance with Poland, and for that reason she is guided by France in her plans.

It was a pleasure to find that one of the strong influences for good in Budapest is the American Red Cross, especially as I have found much criticism against it in other places, largely because of its bureaucratic spirit. The Red Cross, because it was so closely identified with the war, has retained somewhat of the militaristic spirit, and its workers are regarded as the least approachable among our relief organizations. This evidently is not true in Budapest, where the humaneness of its chief has permeated the entire staff, and a peculiarly tender affection for America has been the result.

English and American Quakers are at work among the University students, feeding and clothing them, and one can but wish that something of their international spirit may be infused into the altogether abnormal nationalism of the Hungarians.

I did not leave Budapest with regret, tho I was again thrilled by this modern European city which is still typically Hungarian, its architecture born out of its national life. I felt the majesty of the Danube, its beauty enhanced by its monumental bridges, its shores undesecrated by the waste of industry and the clutter of commerce. I visited the old haunts, heard gypsy music at its best, and American jazz (played in my honor) at its worst. I wandered thru its picturesque markets, my eyes gladdened by the sight of gorgeous peasant costumes, my hands itching for their possession, and my nose tickled by the sharp odor of paprika lavish and unconfined, offered for sale. In spite of all these joys it was painful to live there even the forty-eight hours the police allowed me; for between the Red terror and the White, there is little difference to a liberal like myself.




THE PARTITION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

**In this map the heavy black lines are the old boundaries of Austria and Hungary, and the shaded areas show the new nations which have cut it down to a feeble remnant**

I found nowhere regrets, but for having lost the war no hope for the future but in reconquest, no aim but in reëstablishing a discredited monarchy, and making permanent the rule of the privileged class. In Budapest reaction is in the saddle and it is riding rough shod over liberal thought. I experienced a peculiar feeling of relief when my passport was viséed for my departure, and when the city was lost in the level plains as my train crawled reluctantly toward the Czechoslovak border. My joy in leaving Hungary was hightened by my anticipation of returning to my native country, which, strange to say, I was visiting for the first time; as ten years ago there was no Czechoslovakia, not even in President Masaryk's dreams. An autonomous Bohemia and a Slovakia in which the Slovak tongue was recognized as the official language, was the most even such an ardent patriot as myself expected.

I thought that I would fall upon my knees at the border, in the ecstasy of seeing my young dreams more than realized, I thought that I would kiss the soil of Czechoslovakia, freed from the rule of the Hapsburgs, and now forever sacred; but there was no triumphal arch thru which to pass, no ornamental gateway opening wide its portals to the returning patriot worshipper; only a rough, uninviting shed, surly looking soldiers and customs officials who have become famous in all Europe for the relentlessness of their search. If the judgment day holds half the terrors of the Czechoslovak borders, then, oh sinners, haste and repent!

I should have been prepared for a certain disillusionment, for freedom is not in new flags and repainted barriers, but in men's souls. The landscape was unchanged, and Slovak goose girls and geese were as ubiquitous as ever, and the straw-thatched villages as monotonously alike as of yore; but I did expect a thrill, and I feel cheated because I did not have it. I did not anticipate that the *gentleman* who examined my passport would fall about my neck, and call for a robe and a ring and the fatted calf; but he might have sensed the situation when he saw an American passport, and read that I was born in this new country, and he might at least have been civil. Perhaps the official who examined my meager bag could tell from my few belongings that I was a returning patriot, breathless to enter my native country, and he may have wished to show me special courtesy by compelling me to undress myself in a room which was a good many degrees below comfortable warmth; but when he poked his fingers into my armpits I thought he carried his joyous welcome too far.

Fortunately or unfortunately, my experience was no exception; for men came out of other such torture chambers, pale and trembling or flushed and wrathful; one woman grew hysterical, and one fainted, and had to be revived by a physician. The few *kronen* of revenue which are added to the treasury because of this superior vigilance, cannot compensate the republic for the ill will engendered, and such super-zeal ought to be curbed for the sake of the good will the new country needs.

At last I was free, or at least I thought I was, to kneel down and kiss the earth or give vent to my emotions in a less ardent way, when I was accosted by two minor officials who demanded a tax on my bag, just because it was a bag. Having no Czechish change, I had to return to the station to get the proper *kronen*, and by the time that formality was over and I had relieved my feelings, my patriotism and my enthusiasm had vanished, and I entered my new native country with my much dampened stock of joy at low ebb.

[*Continued on page 110*

# The Irish of It

## By Preston Slosson

THE attention of the world is now centered on Ireland, where a great experiment in national self-determination is being undertaken. The experiment can no longer be postponed; on that point all are agreed. But what methods shall be pursued and what results may be expected; it is here that doctors disagree. With logic somewhat too simple and narrow Dr. De Valera reduces everything to a syllogism:

Major premise: All nations should be independent.

Minor premise: Ireland is a nation.

Conclusion: Ireland should be independent.

But political problems cannot be solved by geometry. Geometry deals with points, lines, planes and solids that are always regular and standardized. Politics deals with shifting clouds of popular prejudices and desires, with nations that blend into other nations, with independence which is always a matter of more or less, with the intricate entanglement of economic, political, racial, religious and historical factors. Is Finland a nation, or only the Finnish-speaking part of Finland? Is India a nation, or a group of nations? Is there a definitely defined Ukrainian nation? Is Canada a mere colony or an independent nation allied to Great Britain? Is Haiti really independent during American occupation? How far is Iceland independent of Denmark? Is Egypt a sovereign nation or not? Are small nations, dominated by the diplomacy of the Great Powers, really more independent than remote self-governing colonies belonging to these Powers? What is the exact meaning of "mandate," "protectorate," "autonomy," "sphere of influence"? The only thing one can say in advance about the Irish national question is that, like all other such questions, it must present features peculiar to itself; it must be *unlike* all other national questions! An Irish bull, this, but a true one.

The Irish nationality is a product of history. It is not a question of race; there is no Irish race. The dark aborigines of the Neolithic age, the ruddy Kelt, the fair Scandinavian, the warlike Norman, the dour Scotch Puritan in successive waves of invasion have contributed their best pioneer blood to the peopling of this lonely western outpost of Europe:—

> Where Patrick and Brandan westerly
> Looked out at last on a landless sea
> And the sun's last smile.

All of the racial elements that enter into the modern Irishman are found, in slightly different proportions, in England. It is nonsense, therefore, to repeat the old cant of the Irish as an inferior race "incapable of self-government." It is equally nonsense to find some mysterious wickedness in the "Saxon" conqueror. Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, and American of British descent are all close blood brothers.

And they all speak the same language. No doubt Irish patriots have endeavored with some success to revive the ancient Gaelic. But the common tongue of Ireland is English and it is in English that Ireland has made its great contributions to literature: Swift, Steele, Moore, Shaw, Yeats, Dunsany, Synge and so many other masters of the common Anglo-Keltic world speech. Gaelic will never be to Ireland what Polish is to the Pole, the inmost essence of nationality.

Nor is Ireland the product of geography. Ireland is not an isolated island; it is part of an archipelago. Geographically, as well as racially and linguistically, the British Isles are a unit. It is for this reason that the British will never consent to complete Irish independence. We have our Monroe Doctrine, that for our safety we will not permit further European conquests on American soil. With even more reason, the British insist that for their safety the British archipelago must be part of the same Empire and be policed by a single fleet. Moreover, the Irish nationality does not even cover the whole island, for in the north there is a small but compact settlement determined to raise civil war rather than to submit to separation from the British Empire.

Two historical events have made Ireland a distinct nationality; unwilling to accept, as Scotland and Wales have accepted, union with England in a common Parliament; unwilling even to agree upon a measure of home rule. One of these events was the English conquest and the manner of English rule; the other the Protestant Reformation.

Conquest by England is not always a misfortune to a country. Next to the Americans the English have been the mildest of rulers over distant colonies and barbaric or half-civilized peoples. No one who knows the facts can question that British Asia, British Africa and the British Pacific islands are far better off under English administration than under native despots or the harsh colonial rule of the nations of continental Europe.

But the English regarded Ireland neither as a colony to be gently lifted to prosperity, nor as a kindred people, like the Scotch, to be taken into full partnership as rulers of the Empire. To the English Ireland was a mere military rampart on the west; a door to be closed against invaders from the continent. As long as the door remained closed the English did not actively oppress Ireland; they simply let the country go to ruin thru neglect and economic decay. When an enemy tried to force his way thru the door and was aided by a popular insurrection of the Irish (as has happened time and again from the time when Spanish soldiers were landed in Ireland in the days of Queen Elizabeth down to the Sinn Fein insurrection at a crisis of the war with Germany) the English, with a muttered curse, would slam the door shut with abrupt severity. Bismarck told the people of Alsace-Lorraine that Germany had annexed them not for the sake of ruling them but merely as a bulwark against France. Ireland was England's Alsace-Lorraine, and was ruled repressively for the same reason.

BUT Ireland was not a mere bulwark, it was a nation of upstanding, proud, warlike Europeans. The English rule in Ireland, to which Englishmen, intent on vaster issues the world around, gave hardly a thought, simply blocked the whole sky for Ireland. It was not until after the great famine in the middle of the nineteenth century that the kindly but ignorant and indifferent mass of the British public gave any serious thought to Irish affairs, whereas the Irish had been brooding over their wrongs for centuries. The British could not realize how deep a chasm of resentment had sundered the Irish national consciousness from any loyalty to the British crown. They offered concessions: Catholic emancipation, disestablishment of the Church, protection of the tenant against the landlord, and, at last, home rule bills. They were quite honestly hurt and surprized to find that no reforms and no concessions could turn the edge of Irish wrath. The English weakness for half-way measures and belated, inadequate reforms collided with the Irish weakness for extreme demands and abstract principles. There was a time when Ireland might have accepted home rule, but when the English were ready to grant it the Irish rejected mere "states' rights" and insisted on full recognition of their national status.

To make matters worse, the misunderstanding between Ireland and England was complicated by the division

within Ireland itself. The Protestant Reformation which cleft Christendom in twain divided Ireland also. Belfast will not submit to Dublin and Dublin will accept no measure of home rule which does not include Belfast. The same geographical fate which condemned Ireland to be a near neighbor of Great Britain, condemned the "orange" minority to dwell on the same island with the "green" majority.

Since the British cannot be compelled or persuaded to agree to complete Irish independence, and since Ireland is determined to be a nation, the only alternative to continued civil war is the discovery of some method of reconciling these claims. Is there such a possibility?

During the nineteenth century the British made a number of useful inventions; some by foresight, more by accident. Among these was the Dominion. There is nothing quite like the Dominion outside the British Empire, and, like most British institutions, it is not in the least what it appears to be. In theory a Dominion is a mere colony with a form of government much like that of an American territory. It sends no members to the Imperial Parliament and has no direct share in the government of the Empire. It has a local legislature, but its Governor is appointed from Great Britain. Ireland, which at present is represented in the House of Commons even beyond its proportionate population, would at first thought only lose to accept Dominion status.

But in actual fact the Dominion has come to be virtually an independent republic permanently allied to the rest of the Empire. As a Dominion Ireland would, as Lloyd George says, "enjoy complete autonomy in taxation and finance; that she will maintain her own courts of law and judges; that she will maintain her own military forces for home defense, her own constabulary and her own police; that she will take over the Irish postal services and all matters relating to education, land, agriculture, mines and minerals, forestry, housing, labor, unemployment, transport, trade, the public health, insurance and liquor traffic"—not much else left is there? England would retain, what alone she has a right to demand, military guarantees against Ireland's becoming a hostile nation, or the tool of a hostile nation.

But that is not all. Ireland would not only be wholly self-governing in domestic matters, but as a Dominion she would have the right to participate in the great Imperial Conferences when the Prime Minister of Great Britain meets with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, not to give them orders but to learn their point of view on foreign affairs and the concerns of the Empire as a whole.

More yet. Ireland as a Dominion would presumably have the right enjoyed by other British Dominions of separate representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations. Surely that is recognition of Irish nationality. And, incidentally, it would put an end to the silly argument that the separate representation of the British Dominions in the League Assembly means that "Great Britain casts six votes to our one." Does anyone think that the *Irish* member of the League Assembly is going to vote just as Lloyd George tells him?

But how about Ulster? Does Dominion government offer anything to satisfy the claims of orange Ireland? Well, orange Ireland is a minority and minorities must yield to majorities. All Ireland has a smaller population than New York City. To make Ireland an independent nation would be like the secession of New York from the United States, but to make Protestant Ulster independent of the rest of Ireland would be like making Manhattan island independent of the rest of New York! In consideration for remaining within the Empire, orange Ireland must consent to be part of the Dominion of Ireland. But there may be conceded to this irreconcilable alien enclave a local legislature within the Dominion, just as Quebec has its own provincial legislature subordinate to that of all Canada.

There is no perfect solution for any problem so tangled as that of Ireland. But the best that statesmen have yet devised is this:

The British Empire, a league of the free and equal nations of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, Ireland and (some day) India.

Ireland, a nation within this league.

Protestant Ulster, a state, with states' rights within the Irish nation.

## The Changing Hour

FIVE years ago Uncle Sam was heartbroken because he had no merchant ships; now he is bowed with grief because he can't get rid of them.

## "Going Over" the House

WHAT a revolution is to the nation, what an earthquake is to the city, that a moving day or a general renovation is to the home. When the closets yield their skeletons and the bureau drawers give up their dead; when attics and cellars make both ends meet; when lamentations are upon the air and wrapping paper on the beds—then the heart of man is open to receive new truths, to reëxamine philosophies and creeds.

The old doctrine that things should be kept "because they will come in handy some day" receives a staggering blow. The Japanese, so it is said, live in houses so simple and void of furniture that to us they look as tho the inhabitants had just moved out; we live in houses so clut tered up that to a Japanese they seem as tho a family had just moved in and had not yet had time to put things away. On moving day how one envies the Japanese who is content to furnish his home with six screens, five mats, two fans, three vases and one flower. No doubt the Japanese often suffers from the lack of some convenient article. But so do we. The only difference in principle is that the Japanese did not have the thingumbob in question, whereas we have it but cannot find it.

We open the Chamber of Horrors, more commonly called the spare room, and find in it everything that we have carefully stored away for future use for the past fifteen years. Item, a painting by second cousin Carrie, which we kept in order to hang up in a prominent place when she visited us three summers ago. Of course when she *did* come we couldn't find the picture.

Item, the camp chair we mislaid four vacations since. Also one tennis racket.

Item, an address book ten years old. Of course, half the people listed in it have moved since we lost it.

Item, five envelopes of clippings on the Russo-Japanese war.

Item, forty old magazines with useful articles carefully marked with blue pencil and then filed away for safety. Too "safe" alas!

Item, about five miles of cord and string. And we couldn't find an inch when we had to do up packages last Christmas!

Item, a perfectly good brief case. And we had to buy another one because we couldn't find that.

Item, a scrap book full of photographs in all stages of preservation, but mostly without dates or names or explanatory titles.

Items, a china dog; a Roosevelt and Johnson campaign button; a subway transfer (vintage of 1913); five Korean postage stamps; a bag of sometime walnuts; a college banner; a "Votes for Women" banner; a cook book without a cover; a pocketbook with six pennies in it; an odd shoe; a bag of Indian arrowheads; art calendars for 1909, 1911, 1916 and 1918; an avalanche of picture postcards; a Latin

grammar; a bathing suit; a blanket; a shoestring; a bottle of castor oil; a tax receipt; an uncashed check for $2.53; a letter of introduction to a Governor long since out of office; three notebooks; four diaries; a heap of "winter flannels"; a disused oil stove; a hopelessly moth-eaten overcoat; a file of the Chicago *Tribune* for the month of June, 1914; a leaky hot water bottle; a not-at-all leaky but hitherto missing Thermos bottle; a pair of opera glasses; a rickety hat stand; the long-lost key to the big trunk; and dust enough to make a mountain range.

No doubt the doctrine of spontaneous generation was started by someone who had just been house-cleaning. It seems impossible that so many things were ever actually acquired by us (we don't buy very much, now *do* we?) and kept. They must have grown in the dark corners of their own accord.

We resolve that next time we start housekeeping we will file everything carefully away—in the oubliette—where we know it will be lost anyhow and we won't have to worry hunting for it.

## Hard Times and Harder Times

MANY parts of the United States have been heat-stricken and it may cause a dangerous rise of temperature to suggest that even this year the United States is the best of summer resorts. But that seems to be the case. We hear of a thermometer in far Quebec standing at 96 degrees Fahrenheit; of serpents and butterflies—strange companions, surely!—invading the lofty summits of the Swiss Alps from the plains below; of a rainless summer in the usually soggy British Isles; of Eskimo bathing parties in Arctic Spitzbergen. The hot summer seems to be world wide, and the sun to touch us more gently than countries much nearer the pole.

And is not the same true of the economic "bad weather" we are experiencing? There is much poverty and unemployment, strikes are frequent, bad feeling exists between different classes, the tax burden is heavy, trade is stagnant, politics is on a low level of partizan opportunism. All very true. But compare the United States in any of these respects with other countries at the present time, and we should feel ashamed of our worries. The times are hot and the times are hard; but they are hotter and harder elsewhere.

## The Spirit of Independence

### By Hayne Davis

THE American Declaration of Independence in 1776 won the world war of 1914-1918. If the thirteen colonies had remained under British sovereignty the people of other European countries could not have come here as they did. Canada today with a larger area than the United States has fewer people than the State of New York. Europeans did not truly flow from subjection to their own dynasty into subjection to the German House of Hanover, on the English throne. But they did fly from subjection of their own dynasties into the freedom and equality of the United States of America, where rights and opportunities were equal, not only among Europeans of all nationalities, but among the individuals of these races, regardless of antecedents, personal or national.

In consequence the population of the United States greatly enlarged itself from without at the expense of European countries as well as from within from natural increase. And the power of the people, individually and collectively, whether immigrant or native, continued to increase, in consequence of their living under institutions which necessarily increased their well-deserved self-confidence.

The people who came here were adventurous characters to start with, preferring to "fly to ills they knew not of rather than bear the ills they had." Here they were constantly subjected to the influence of recognized equality of right. They had to become self-respecting, self-confident, efficient, or go down under the stress of competition. No governmental agencies and hoary institutions lent support to the less capable. The survival of the fittest became the political as well as the natural law of the land. And it is not self-glorification to say that the representative American, regardless of his extraction, stands on a higher level of deserved self-confidence and respect than the corresponding people from whose ranks he came in Europe. And practically all Americans came from some European country except the ten million negroes and the quarter of a million Indians. While Asiatics are here they are negligible, Asiatics of all kinds in this country being fewer in number than the living descendants of the original North American Indians.

The spirit of liberty which proclaimed the Declaration of Independence here in 1776, found its next expression in France, and out of that convulsion came one of the greatest manifestations of national power ever seen in this world. Out of that ordeal France emerged as the great democracy of Europe, standing high above her own former self, not only in political status but in individual worth, notwithstanding the terrible destruction wrought by the Revolution. The part played by France in the World War is proof of where the French people stand today. But for our Revolution, and the part of the French in it, and but for their Revolution and the victory of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," despite the concerted opposition of all Europe and the perfidy of the Napoleons, the French people would not have been what they now are. And if they had not been what they are they could not have done what they did in 1914-1918.

In consequence of the American Declaration of Independence, the Revolution in France and the resultant convulsion of Europe, the Spanish colonies of America declared to achieve their independence, and were recognized by the United States.

When the European powers of the day thought that the principles of liberty, which had successfully lifted their head in America, had been brought thoroly into subjection in Europe by the restoration of the monarchies of France, Spain and Naples, by the concert of all the European monarchs and their governments, these monarchs conspired to re-subjugate America by concerted action. Great Britain had participated in stamping out youthful democracy as it appeared on the European continent, but faltered at joining in a concerted movement of Europe against America, and so this unholy design, as fomented by the Holy Alliance with the Emperors of Russia and Austria as the chief conspirators, was communicated to the American Minister at London by the then Foreign Secretary of Great Britain. This information was passed on to President Monroe, together with Connings's proposal that the United States and Great Britain make a joint declaration against the proposed plan. The United States did not take time to come to an agreement with England as to a proper course in this crisis, but staked its own existence upon turning against any combination of Europe that dared to undertake the suppression of achieved liberty in any part of America. England then announced her own policy, which was, that, in case that scheme was carried forward, England would take such action as her interest might seem to require.

Thus all Spanish America which had, previously, declared and achieved its independence, was established as free and independent, and the people of these lands were raised on a higher level of individual and national capacity. Into these countries also there has flowed from Europe a continually increasing stream of adventurous people until the number of republics in the New World, fashioned in the likeness of this nation, is about equal to the number of monarchies of the Old World, and the population of

these republics is constantly augmented at the expense of European countries, in addition to their own natural increase. The population of Europe still exceeds that of all America, but man for man the capacity and power of the American, North or South, exceeds that of her European brother, and the population of America is gaining so on that of Europe that the day is in sight when there will be more people in America than in all Europe, and a great deal more power, a direct outcome of the daring which proclaimed the independence of the thirteen colonies in 1776 and the Monroe Doctrine in 1822.

The next notable appearance of the Spirit of 1776 was in Germany and Hungary, when the Revolution of 1848 convulsed those countries. That Revolution failed of success in Hungary in consequence of the fatal intervention of Russia on the side of despotism at the crisis of the conflict. But this opened the floodgates from those parts of Europe for an influx of the very best of Hungarian and German people into the United States, where they found already awaiting them the liberty they had failed to achieve at home. It is needless to mention any names beyond Louis Kossuth and Carl Schurz. They speak for and represent multitudes. I will mention one other. Gottlief Bartholdt—love of good Bartholdt was exiled from Germany for his part in that revolution, but his son Richard achieved the ambition of his life, which was born of that Revolution, to be an American citizen. His recognized worth placed him in due time in the House of Representatives from the Tenth District of Missouri and kept him there for about two score years. Perhaps one of the greatest achievements of any German-born person in the United States was the delivery of the address by Hon. Richard Bartholdt when the French Society of Saint Larus was celebrating the Fall of the Bastile in 1904. The French people in America inviting a man born in Germany to deliver the address when they celebrate the overthrow of autocracy at Paris!

This is an incident for which our whole country, and indeed the world, can well be grateful, for it proves what the solution of racial and national animosities is, and that this solution is found and is actually operating here in America. From here it will ultimately spread to the whole world.

The movement which brought Richard Bartholdt from the principality of Reuss to the city of St. Louis, to the halls of the House of Representatives, to the July 14 celebration at St. Louis, as spokesman of the House, made its original entry into human affairs long before America was discovered, but its great modern initiative was at Philadelphia in 1776 and its latest achievement at Chateau-Thierry and the Argonne, where men of German as well as of British extraction hailing from the United States united with the French, British, Belgian, and other Allies in the overthrow of autocracy at Berlin and Vienna.

TO what extent did the American Revolution of 1776, and the resultant German Revolution of 1848, have a bearing upon the success of this endeavor? The vital statistics kept at Washington since the middle of the last century give aid in answering the question. They show that only 40 per cent of the present man power of the United States had its origin in the British Isles, and that 20 per cent. had its origin in Germany. In other words Germany has contributed to the present population of the United States half as many people as England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

Twenty per cent of American man power is about 33 1/3 per cent of the man power of Germany. So that the Revolution of 1776 in America and of 1848 in Germany subtracted from the German body of Europe about one-third of its size and more than a corresponding proportion of its power, and added this power to the United States. Suppose this per cent of its power had not been withdrawn from Germany, but had remained there to be put forth on the Teutonic side, instead of being here and most of it available for use of the Allies. What difference would that have made when Haig's back was against the wall?

Suppose you subtract an additional per cent of power which would have been lacking, if the British in America in 1776 had not been moved by the Spirit of Independence to revolt in 1776, if the French of that day had not responded to the same spirit by assisting the Americans and then going thru the ordeal of applying our principles to their own home affairs. Subtract also an additional per cent of power acquired by England herself as a consequence of the success of the American Revolution. That was a lesson well given, and in time (after 1810), well received. A good per cent has to be added to the present power of the British Empire, as a result of the effect within that empire of the truth uttered thru the Declaration of Independence and made good in fact when Lord Cornwallis surrendered the sword of Britain into the hands of the United States of America, at Yorktown in Virginia, on the nineteenth day of October, 1781.

This historic incident did the people resident in the British Isles good. They stood thereafter on a higher level, after this defeat of their proud government in its efforts to go along a bad way. It exalted the people who still remained within the empire, tho resident in the distant possessions. When the crisis came in 1914 these dominions were peopled with strong self-respecting, self-confident, almost self-sufficient citizens, made so by long exercise of self-government and yet devoted to their mother country. Their aid was no small factor, and a good per cent of the power possessed by them is an outcome of our Declaration of Independence. All things considered it is perhaps a fair estimate that our Revolution and the love of liberty which it fathered and the power which it subtracted from the agents of autocracy and aggression during the intervening century and a half and then placed on the side of right and justice in the recent world convulsion, at the very crisis of the conflict, was about 50 per cent. What would have been the result if the Germans had had 50 per cent more power than they did have and the Allied and Associated Powers from 30 to 50 per cent less than the power they possessed.

It was indeed well that Pershing could say, "Lafayette we are here." It was the Declaration of Independence which made that word possible. It was also well that the ace of the aces was a Rickenbacker and the chairman of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives a Kahn. The Declaration of Independence made that possible also.

The issue was a move of good people of the British, French, German, indeed of all races, for the overthrow of autocracy and aggression, as manifested at Berlin and Vienna and Petersburg in 1914, even as they had striven individually against autocracy and aggression as manifested at London in 1776, at Paris in 1790, at Berlin and Vienna in 1848, at Petersburg all the time.

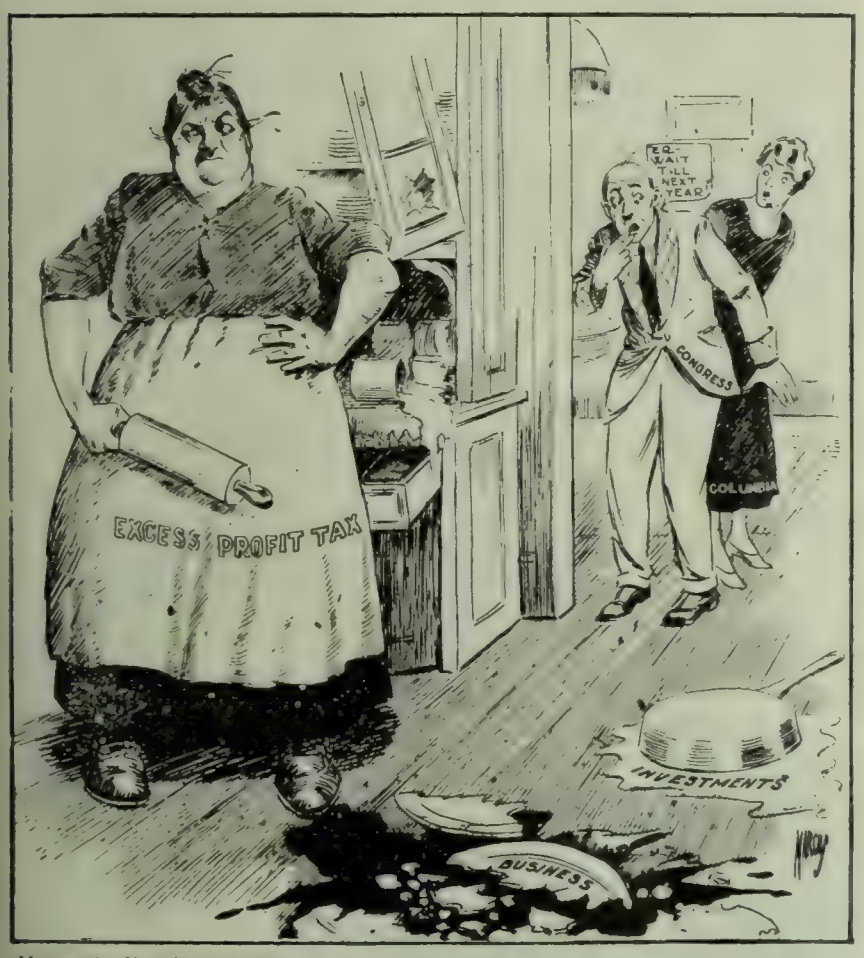
It was not food that won the war as Hoover said. It was not ships that won the war as many said. It was not men that won the war as most people believed. It was not France, nor Britain, nor the United States of America that won the war. It was the spirit of Independence, of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, which found appropriate expression in the Declaration of Independence, and of the Monroe Doctrine, on this side of the water, and of the French and German Revolutions on the other side, and which has been transforming Britain from the days of King John and before down to the present moment.

These are some of the ripened but generally unrecognized fruits of the Spirit of Liberty whose voice was lifted on high at Philadelphia in 1776, and which will never again be silenced. The spirit which accomplished these things is equal to the work that remains to be done, in dethroning evil and enthroning good, everywhere, for all time.

# The Story of the Week

## Here Come the Taxes!

ON August 20 the House of Representatives passed the internal revenue bill substantially as it had been worked out by Chairman Fordney and the Republican majority of the Ways and Means committee. The final vote of 274 to 125 closely conformed to party lines. Three Democrats, two of whom were from Louisiana, supported the Republican tax revision, and nine Republicans, all from the Middle West, joined the Democrats to oppose it. But the real test of strength was on a motion to return the bill to committee with instructions to restore the high surtaxes on large incomes. This motion was defeated by a majority of 230 to 169, but included in the minority were fifty Republican insurgents who feared that the revised revenue plan would not tax the rich sufficiently. The new revenue bill is expected to yield $3,200,000,000 during the present fiscal year and $2,800,000,000 the year after. The excess profits tax is abolished completely and the surtax on personal incomes reduced to a maximum of 32 per cent. But neither change is to take place until January 1, 1922. The Republican caucus had a warm discussion over the delay, the western Representatives contending that to fix any earlier date would be retroactive legislation, since it would be late in the present year before the new revenue law could be put into final effect. On the motion of Representative Mann of Illinois the delay was voted by a majority of 96 to 87. The original program of the committee, in advance of the Republican caucus, had been to repeal the excess profits tax and to reduce the income tax as from January 1, 1921.




*Marcus in New York Times*

**Firing the cook**

This change involved the postponement of the increased income tax on corporations also to January 1, 1922. The original plan had been to increase this tax from 10 to 15 per cent, but the committee decided to make the tax only 12½ per cent. The present $2,000 exemption is retained.

Many changes were made in the administrative details of the personal income tax, tho existing rates are maintained except for the surtaxes on the highest incomes. Exemptions to married and family men have been substantially increased. Under the existing law bachelors and persons without dependents are exempt to $1,000; married men to $2,000, with additional exemptions of $200 for each dependent child. Under the proposed law heads of families are exempt to $2,500 and the exemption for each dependent child is increased to $400. This will afford a very great relief to persons with large families and modest incomes, and its effect should be reflected in a rise in the marriage rate!

Other deductions are generously increased. There is a provision by which a taxpayer, other than a corporation, may deduct a net loss sustained in a bad year from his income of the following year. Allotments of the veterans' bureaus to ex-soldiers and their dependents are tax exempt. The first $500 of income derived from stock in building and loan associations is exempt from the income tax. Traveling salesmen are granted increased allowances for expenses. The President and the Federal judiciary are exempted from all income tax on their salaries.

A 15 per cent tax is imposed on profit derived from the sale of capital assets, if the taxpayer's net income and capital asset gain together exceed $32,000. A 25 per cent tax is imposed on undistributed earnings of corporations, in addition to other corporation taxes, in cases where the corporation impounds earnings to enable its stockholders to escape surtaxes on dividends. The present tax of 8 cents on each $100 of insurance policies is repealed and insurance companies are brought under the regular corporation income tax schedules. Transportation taxes are repealed. Many changes are made in the miscellaneous luxury taxes.

Some general administrative provisions in the revenue law are of interest. Tax disputes must be settled within a maximum period of three years hereafter. A tax simplification board is created to recommend improvements in the revenue laws. To meet possible deficits the authorized short-term indebtedness of the Government is increased by $500,000,000.

## Who Wants a Ship?

CHAIRMAN Lasker of the Shipping Board testified before a committee of the House of Representatives that the board must have an appropriation of $100,000,000 to carry on its current operations. It would be impossible for the Government to sell out immediately to private owners, and thus end once for all the experiment of a national merchant marine, because there is at present no market for the ships. Chairman Lasker said:

> When the world's shipping gets buoyant the avarice of men will make them want to increase their fleets, and we will sell the ships, and that day is sure to come. The Government has got to keep the ships going and put confidence either in ourselves or some others to keep them going as efficiently as possible under the circumstances, until such time arrives.

Director of Operations Small endorsed Chairman Lasker's opinion that the ships should be sold when there is a good market. "Getting these ships into American ownership is the best plan, and that will be done as soon as the market will absorb this tonnage and give us any kind of price which will let us out at all." The next best alternative to outright sale would be a "bare-boat charter," under which

the entire expense of operation would be borne by the charterer; but world trade today is so poor that no shipping operator would take such a contract. The third best method of operation, said Director Small, "would be to work out some plan by which the operator would accept some of the responsibility for the losses as well as the profits." The Shipping Board will try to operate for the future on this plan, requiring shipping companies to put in some of their own money, instead of throwing all the risk on the Government as at present. Rather than continue the present system, he intimated, the ships should be held in port until business revives to such an extent that operators can be found willing to agree to contracts which protect the Government.

The shipping business is under so heavy a cloud of depression and inactivity at present that the Shipping Board has accepted bids for 205 wooden vessels at $2,100 each. These vessels cost the nation from $300,000 to $800,000 each when built during wartime, and the sacrifice is an almost unprecedented one. But no better bid could be obtained and the Government was unable to find any way of making the boats pay or even meet the expenses of their upkeep.

# Rockefeller Founds Health School

JOHN D. Rockefeller, the world's greatest wholesale philanthropist, has put his hand in his pocket and drawn out from thence a gift of $1,785,000 to found a School of Public Health at Harvard University. The public health has always been Mr. Rockefeller's "hobby," just as the free library was Mr. Carnegie's favorite philanthropy. He has interested himself particularly in scientific research, such as has been carried on by the Rockefeller Institute. The official announcement of the new gift to Harvard defines its purposes:

> The new school will provide opportunities for research, will unify existing courses, and will offer new openings for extended teaching in public health administration, vital statistics, immunology, bacteriology, medical zoology, physiological hygiene, and communicable diseases.
>
> For the housing of the school, the university hopes to secure an existing building of very suitable character immediately adjacent to the Medical School. Funds for the purchase and equipment of the building will be drawn from the gift of the Rockefeller Foundation.
>
> The cost of maintenance and development of the school will be met from endowment funds in part set aside by the university and in part contributed by the foundation. The foundation's immediate appropriations will aggregate $1,785,000. The arrangement also provides for further gifts, if the growth of the school seems to demand it, to any amount which shall not exceed $500,000.
>
> Tho the School of Public Health at Harvard will have its headquarters in a well-equipped building of its own and have its own separate faculty and administration, it will be developed in close relations with other divisions of the university, especially the Medical School.

# Out of Work

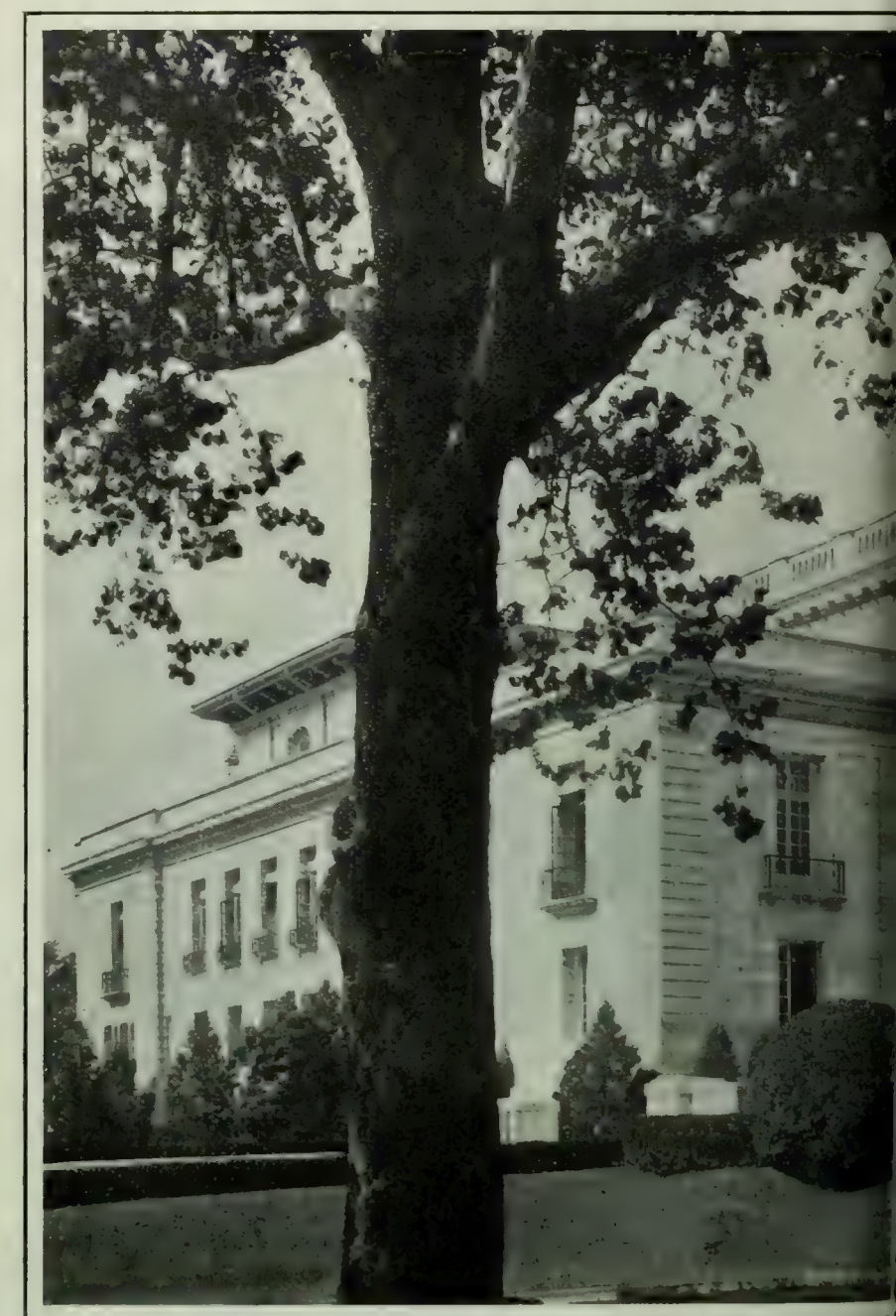
SECRETARY of Labor Davis has published an estimate of unemployment in the United States which confirms the worst fears of business men and trades unionists. He reckons 3,900,000 unemployed in the manufacturing and industrial trades; 250,000 in mining; 800,000 in transportation; 450,000 in trade and in clerical positions; 335,000 in domestic and personal service—a total of 5,735,000, not including agriculture. There are probably 2,825,000 factory workers alone in the ranks of the unemployed. The figures in Secretary Davis's statement were compiled by Commissioner Stewart of the Labor Department and represent the best official estimate to the present.

Owing to the widespread unemployment there has been a rapid reduction in wages. Another cut has been made in the wages of employees in the steel industry, in which wages had attained an exceptionally high level during the Great War as a consequence of the almost limitless demand for munitions. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has advised the local trades unions to resist any further reductions on the ground that the cost of living to the average family had not decreased much below the war-time level, and that under pretense of deflating wages employers were really trying to establish as the standard of living a mere subsistence wage.

# The Eagle on the Isthmus

THE long continued correspondence between Panama and the American Government over the Panama-Costa Rica boundary has drawn to an end with an ultimatum. The United States has insisted that the award made by the late Chief Justice White, an award received with more favor by Costa Rica than by Panama, should stand. Panama delayed for years in putting the new boundary into effect, and this spring it seemed probable that Costa Rica would seize the disputed territory by force of arms and that war between the two Central American republics would result; a war which the United States, owning the Canal across Panaman territory, naturally could not tolerate. Early stages of the controversy were summarized in The Independent for March 12, March 19, April 2 and May 14 of this year.

Washington has now notified the American Minister to Panama that the United States would be no longer justified in urging on Costa Rica any further delay in "taking jurisdiction over the territory which is now occupied by



© *Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson*

**HEADQUARTE**

**The Pan-American building in Washington has been chosen as th by President Harding and is to b**

Panama and which was adjudged to belong to Costa Rica." In other words, since Panama will not gracefully yield the property which is hers by possession but not by legal right, Costa Rica is now free to help herself to it. In order to prevent hostile action by Panama the United States has increased its force in the Canal Zone to 7500 men. Marines were embarked on the battleship "Pennsylvania" to overawe recalcitrant Panama and to reinforce the troops already on the Canal.

## Invitation Cards Sent Out

HAVING sounded the Powers invited to the Washington conference on disarmament and Pacific problems, and learned that there was no objection in any quarter to participation, Secretary Hughes, with the authorization of President Harding, has issued his formal announcement of the intent and scope of the conference. The American invitation to Britain, France, Italy and Japan is thus worded:

The President is deeply gratified at the cordial response to his suggestion that there should be a conference on the subject of limitation of armaments, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions should also be discussed.

Productive labor is staggering under an economic burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced. It is idle to look for stability, or the assurance of social justice, or the security of peace, while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress. The enormous disbursements in the rivalries of armaments manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity; and avoidable or extravagant expense of this nature is not only without economic justification, but is a constant menace to the peace of the world rather than an assurance of its preservation. Yet there would seem to be no ground to expect the halting of these increasing outlays unless the powers most largely concerned find a satisfactory basis for an agreement to effect their limitation. The time is believed to be opportune for these powers to approach this subject directly and in conference; and while, in the discussion of limitation of armament, the question of naval armament may naturally have first place, it has been thought best not to exclude questions pertaining to other armament to the end that all practicable measures of relief may have appropriate consideration. It may also be found advisable to formulate proposals by which in the interest of humanity the use of new agencies of warfare may be suitably controlled.

It is, however, quite clear that there can be no final assurance of the peace of the world in the absence of the desire for peace, and the prospect of reduced armaments is not a hopeful one unless this desire finds expression in a practical effort to remove causes of misunderstanding and to seek ground for agreement as to principles and their application. It is the earnest wish of this government that through an interchange of views with the facilities afforded by a conference it may be possible to find a solution of Pacific and Far Eastern problems of unquestioned importance at this time—that is, such common understandings with respect to matters which have been and are of international concern as may serve to promote enduring friendship among our peoples.

It is not the purpose of this government to attempt to define the scope of the discussion in relation to the Pacific and Far East, but rather to leave this to be the subject of suggestions to be exchanged before the meeting of the conference, in the expectation that the spirit of friendship and a cordial appreciation of the importance of the elimination of sources of controversy will govern the final decision.

To China was sent a briefer note, inviting her to the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern affairs, but not to the disarmament discussion. Only the five great military Powers are expected to take part in the armaments debate, since they alone possess formidable armies and navies. Of course there is also Russia's Red army, very large on paper, but Russia cannot be invited to international conferences so long as there is no Russian Government which other nations can recognize. Germany, once the greatest of military powers, has been disarmed by treaty. Austria-Hungary has been dissolved into states too small to rank among the Powers.



DISARMAMENT
eeting place of the coming disarmament conference, which was called representatives of the great military powers.

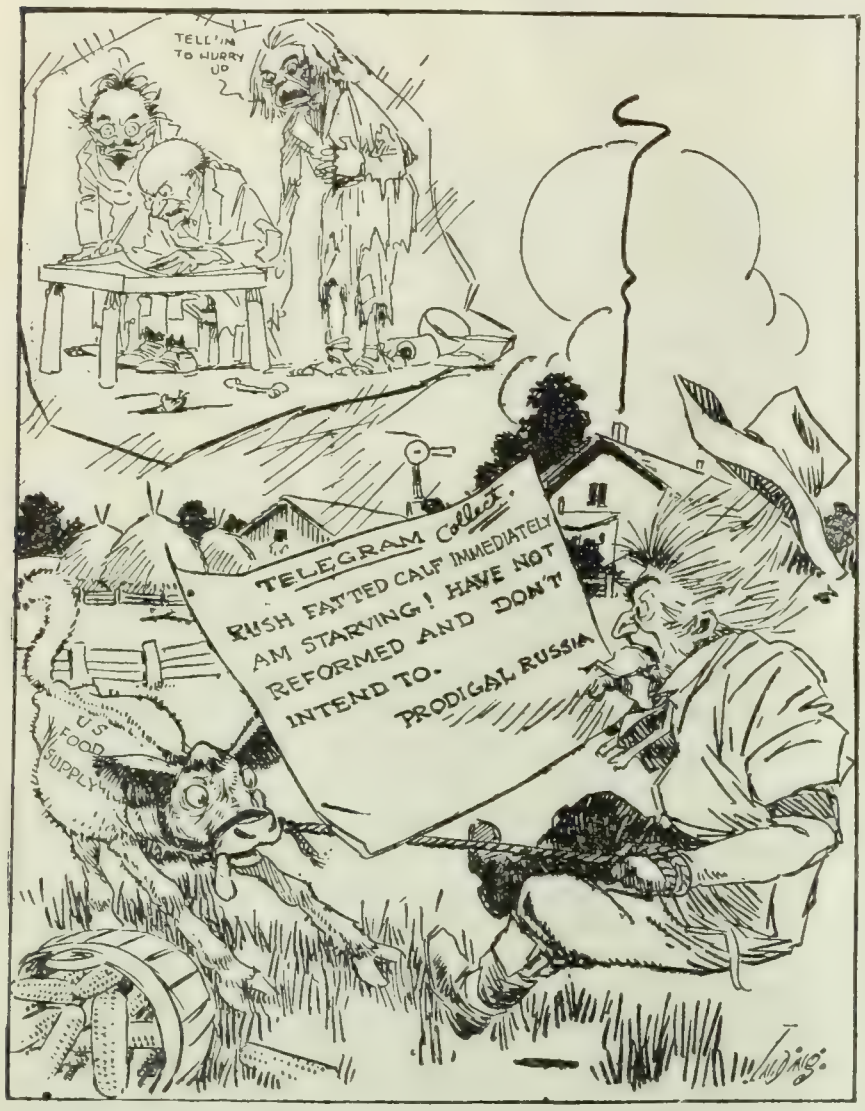
## Russia Gives Hoover Free Hand

AT Riga, the chief city of the tiny republic of Latvia, Walter Lyman Brown, representing the United States, and Maxim Litvinoff, on behalf of Soviet Russia, signed an agreement for the extension of American relief work to Russia. The Bolsheviki decided that, as a choice between two evils, it was better to grant the American demand that the administration of relief be in the hands of the American authorities rather than the Russian than to provoke popular indignation by obstructive tactics.

The American Relief Administration is to enjoy diplomatic immunities, free transportation, free use of the telegraph and other means of communication, and the right to establish sanitary control in districts where there is an epidemic of disease. The food is to go only to the children and the sick and only to those districts where Russia is unable to send food enough to support the population. Food is to be distributed without regard to race, religion, class or political affiliations. The Russians are permitted to inspect supplies sent into Russia at the customs office, and to demand the removal of American agents who misuse their power to engage in private business or in political propaganda. Either party may terminate the agreement in case the other party refuses to abide by its terms. All of these conditions are similar to those demanded by the American Relief Administration in its dealings with the recognized Governments of Central Europe, so they can hardly be considered as excessively onerous in dealing with the unrecognized Bolshevist Government in Russia. The re-

lease of American prisoners has thus far been carried out in good faith by the Soviet authorities.

Colonel William N. Haskell has been appointed to superintend the relief work in Russia. He has had extensive experience in organizing relief work in Armenia and the Caucasus region at the end of the Great War. The American Relief Administration will buy its food in the United States and will probably spend, when the relief work in Russia is at its maximum, about $1,500,000 a month.




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**It used to be customary for the prodigal son to return home before killing the fatted calf**

## The Quarrel of the Lions

THE Persian lion and the British lion are not speaking as they pass each other. Lord Curzon announced to the House of Lords on July 26 that he would not make any move for the present to renew the Anglo-Persian agreement which, while establishing British influence as predominant in Persia, would at the same time afford Persia British aid in upholding the stability of her government and in organizing her national police. In short, the British plan was to play the part of benevolent "big brother" to Persia in much the same manner that the United States has done to Cuba.

The rift within the lute was Persia's special agreement with Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviki played foreign politics with uncommon astuteness. They realized that the very name of Russia was hated in Persia on account of former aggressions of the Czar's Government. Hence they agreed to surrender to Persia all of the special privileges and concessions formerly exacted by force from Persia. They conciliated the religious sentiment of the people as well as their national patriotism by surrendering also all the lands, buildings and properties of the Russian Orthodox missions to the Persian Government. Since concluding this agreement the Persian Government has been more and more drawn to the side of the Soviet Government until Persia has practically become a "buffer state" protecting the Russian frontier against Britain instead of being, as Lord Curzon had intended, a buffer state to protect British India and Arab Mesopotamia against Bolshevism.

Persia covers a vast area in western Asia, nearly three times the size of Germany, and has a population of nearly ten million. But in spite of great size, a considerable, tho not proportionate, population, and an ancient tradition of civilization, the country has been so weakened by bad government and economic stagnation that she ranks merely as a petty buffer state, a pawn on the diplomatic chess-board. Had the Russian Government not been overthrown, Persia would have been divided between Russia and Britain (it was already partly partitioned off into "spheres of influence"), or else, in the event of a German victory, have become a dependency of Germany's eastern empire. But Germany no longer figures in the situation; Russia renounces territorial gains and seeks a conquest by propaganda; Great Britain is weary of expensive colonial ventures. So Persia is left to self-determination, conditioned only by the workings of Bolshevist propaganda within her body politic. But Persia has oil; which means that sooner or later there will be either domestic reform or foreign domination. No weak or backward country can long remain unmolested these days if there is any valuable mineral wealth within its borders.

## Yugoslavia Changes Rulers

THE Crown Prince Alexander has succeeded his father, King Peter, as ruler of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. King Peter died of lung disease on August 16. His death will make no great change in Yugoslav politics, as King Peter has been in ill health for many years and Prince Alexander has acted as Regent of the Kingdom in his place ever since the close of the Great War. Apart from a small republican party in Croatia and a still smaller group of separatists in Montenegro the whole kingdom is united in its support of the Serbian dynasty.

For many decades Serbia was afflicted by two rival dynasties which divided popular sympathy between them, much as British sympathies were divided between the Stuarts and the Hanoverians from 1688 to 1745. In 1903 King Alexander Obrenovitch, Queen Draga and a number of their followers were brutally murdered in a military insurrection. The throne passed to the rival dynasty of Karageorgevitch and King Peter was crowned. For several years the great European monarchies refused to recognize the new ruler on the ground that if he had not actually shared in the murderous conspiracy at least he was willing to be its beneficiary. The shadow of this crime darkened all of his reign, but his success in the two Balkan wars, his courage and devotion during the Great War, and the magnificent fruits of victory which Serbia won in the peace combined to strengthen his prestige and make his throne secure.

## England's Offer

IN a letter to Mr. De Valera, dated July 20, but not made public until August 14, Premier Lloyd George offered to grant Ireland national recognition as a Dominion of the Empire. He pointed out that other nationalities had found full freedom and self-determination within the Empire, and that the bitter traditional racial conflicts between the English and the French in Canada and later between the Dutch and English in South Africa had been harmonized by the grant of Dominion self-government:

> Moved by these considerations, the British Government invite Ireland to take her place in the great association of free nations over which His Majesty reigns. As an earnest of their desire to obliterate old quarrels and enable Ireland to face the future with renewed strength and hope, they propose that Ireland shall assume forthwith the status of a dominion, with all powers and privileges set forth in this document.
>
> By adoption of the dominion status it is understood that

Ireland shall enjoy complete autonomy in taxation and finance; that she will maintain her own courts of law and judges; that she will maintain her own military forces for home defense, her own constabulary and her own police; that she will take over the Irish postal services and all matters relating to education, land, agriculture, mines and minerals, forestry, housing, labor, unemployment, transport, trade, the public health, insurance and liquor traffic and in sum, that she will exercise all those powers and privileges upon which the autonomy of self-governing dominions is based, subject only to the considerations set out in ensuing paragraphs.

Ireland is guaranteed in these liberties, which no foreign people can challenge without challenging the Empire as a whole, since the Dominions hold each and severally by virtue of their British fellowship, standing among nations equivalent not merely to their individual strength but to the combined power and influence of all of the nations of the commonwealth. That guarantee, that fellowship, that freedom, the whole Empire looks to Ireland to accept.

But to the British offer were annexed certain formal limitations and conditions. The first, and most vital to British interests, was that in view of the geographical proximity of Ireland to Great Britain and the dependence of the British public on sea-borne food:

It is essential that the Royal Navy alone should control the seas around Ireland and Great Britain, and such rights and liberties should be accorded to it by the Irish State as are essential for naval purposes in Irish harbors and on the Irish coasts.

Three other military conditions were imposed: that the Irish land forces should be kept within "reasonable limits," that "Great Britain shall have all necessary facilities for the development of defense and communications by air," and that voluntary recruiting for the Imperial forces be permitted in Ireland. Apparently the British Government foregoes any claim to impose conscription on Ireland at any future time.

There are also two financial stipulations. One is a mutual agreement of the British and Irish Governments not to impose protective duties on each other's goods; the other is that Ireland shall assume a fair share of the present national debt of the United Kingdom; the share to be determined, in default of direct agreement, "by an independent arbitrator appointed from within His Majesty's dominions." The latter condition is one that has always been recognized in principle when part of a nation broke off from the rest, the only difficulty will be the determination of a fair basis for deciding what is Ireland's share of the British national debt. The provision against protective tariffs will cause more trouble. It is certainly economically justified by the geographical unity of the British Isles, but it is politically objectionable in that it limits the legislative freedom of Ireland to a greater extent than other Dominions. Canada and Australia, for instance, can fix their own tariffs, even as against England.

As a final condition, there must be no "coercion" of Ulster. England desires to see all Ireland united in a common Dominion, but the assent of the Protestant counties of Ulster must be obtained by negotiation or else the arrangements will apply only to southern Ireland:

The form in which the settlement is to take effect will depend upon Ireland herself. It must allow for full recognition of the existing powers and privileges of the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland, which cannot be abrogated except by their own consent. For their part the British Government entertain the earnest hope that the necessity for harmonious cooperation among Irishmen of all classes and creeds will be recognized thruout Ireland. And they will welcome the day when by these means unity is achieved.

But no such common action can be secured by force. Union came in Canada by a free consent of the Provinces. So in Australia and so in South Africa. It will come in Ireland by no other way than consent. There can, in fact, be no settlement on terms involving on one side or the other that bitter appeal to bloodshed and violence which all men of good will are longing to terminate.

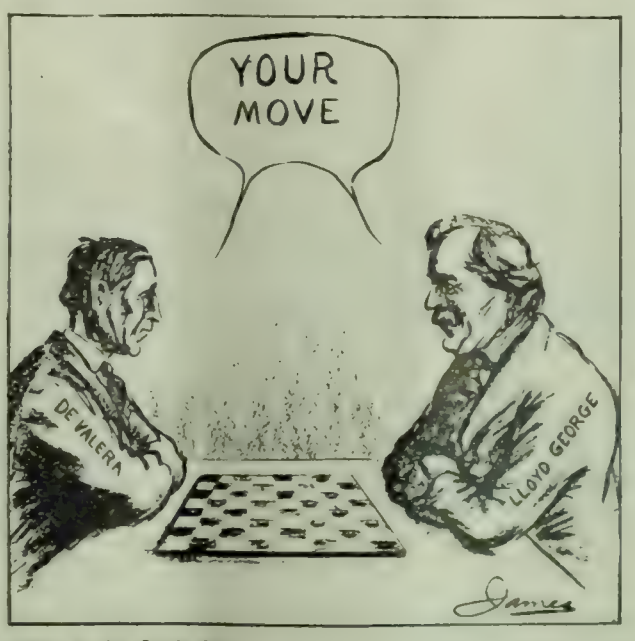
# Ireland Hesitates

MR. De Valera, "President" of the Irish Republic, replied on August 10 to Premier Lloyd George's offer. He began by proclaiming an unconditional right to Irish self-determination. This right of self-determination was, in his opinion, not sufficiently recognized by giving Ireland the status of a Dominion. It was the deep conviction of himself and his party that the only solution would be found in "amicable but absolute separation."

But he added that the independent Irish Republic would be willing to enter an "association with the British commonwealth group," provided that "entry of the nation as a whole into such association would secure for it the allegiance of the present dissenting minority, to meet whose sentiment alone this step would be contemplated." This language is rather vague, but it seems to mean that Ireland would be willing to become a British Dominion on two conditions: one that Ireland's absolute and abstract "sovereignty" and "right of self-determination" be recognized as a condition precedent to any such arrangement; the other that the whole of Ireland should come under a single rule. This interpretation is further supported by De Valera's statement that Ireland would only feel secure in her liberties if granted "Most explicit guarantees, including the Dominion's acknowledged right to secede." In other words, Ireland would be like South Carolina before the Civil war, content to remain in the Union provided that her right to secede at any moment be unconditionally conceded.

De Valera protested against any conditions being attached to the British offer of Dominion home rule. He intimated, however, that he was willing that treaties for free trade and for mutual limitation of armaments should be negotiated between the British and Irish Parliaments, each acting in its sovereign capacity. He declared himself ready to submit the question of Ireland's liability for a portion of the British debt to "a board of arbitrators, one to be appointed by Ireland, one by Great Britain and the third to be chosen by agreement." He suggested that the President of the United States might be asked to designate the third member. With regard to the Ulster question he said that it was one for the Irish people alone to settle and that "We cannot admit the right of the British Government to mutilate our country either in its own interest or at the call of any section of our population." But he added the reassuring statement that "We do not contemplate the use of force. If your Government stands aside we can effect a complete reconciliation." He proposed "external arbitration" to settle questions existing between Great Britain and Ireland which could not be settled by direct negotiation.

Much disappointed at De Valera's attitude, Lloyd George replied on August 13 that the facts of history and geography "permit of one answer, and one only, to the claim that Great Britain should negotiate with Ireland as a separate and foreign power." He could not consent to refer any aspect of the Irish question to "foreign arbitration." The status of a Dominion within the Empire was the utmost offer which Great Britain had ever made or ever could make to Ireland, and he invited De Valera to resume negotiations between Ireland and Great Britain on that basis.




*James in St. Louis Star*

**What next?**

# A Little of Everything



## What the Japanese Housemaid Wants

The greatest trial, the greatest pleasure, the favorite amusement and the first request of two thousand servant girls of Tokyo have been summarized by questionnaires of the Kaji Kairyo Kai (Household Affairs Reform Society). To the three thousand questionnaires sent out, answers were received to two thousand or over. The questions and number of answers are:

Question 1. *Tell us your greatest trial.*

Answers: Unreasonable scolding, 1,625; kept up too late at night, 1,056; lack of sympathy when ill, 128.

Question 2. *Tell us the experience that gives you the greatest pleasure.*

Answers: Heartfelt thanks from our employer, 1,858; our moments of freedom, 105; a special gift of money, 105.

Question 3. *Tell us your favorite amusement.*

Answers: Motion picture shows, 1,376; Japanese theatre, 250; some form of work, 7.

Question 4. *Have you any request to make? If so, tell us what it is.*

Answers: A desire to be treated as a member of the family, 1,073; a desire to be treated with love and kindness, 723; a desire for one day of rest each month, 260.

Question 5. *Do you wish this society to hold meetings for the promotion of your moral and cultural welfare?*

All answered "Yes."

The answers are interesting especially because they throw a sidelight upon the domestic life of the Japanese.

## Plans for the Channel Tunnel

Tentative plans for the Channel tunnel to connect Britain and France have been advanced. If constructed, this tunnel will, with the exception of the Panama Canal, be the most stupendous engineering enterprize yet attempted. The total length, including the approaches in England and France, will be thirty miles, of which more than twenty-one and a half miles will be under the sea.

The first work on the tunnel was accomplished in 1874, when a French company sank an experimental shaft in France. In 1881 the South-Eastern Railway Company's chairman, Sir Edward Watkin, obtained an act permitting him to sink a shaft on the English side. A boring was driven for 2105 yards toward the Channel, when in 1882 the construction was stopped by the Government. Since then the scheme has been in abeyance, but in 1913 the British Government called for reports from naval and military authorities with a view to permitting the construction if they were favorable. Then the war came and nothing more could be done.

The present plans call for the building of two tunnels, each eighteen feet in diameter, connected by cross galleries at intervals of 200 yards. The lines would be worked by electricity as in the case of the Simplon tunnel, which is twelve and a half miles long and at present the longest.

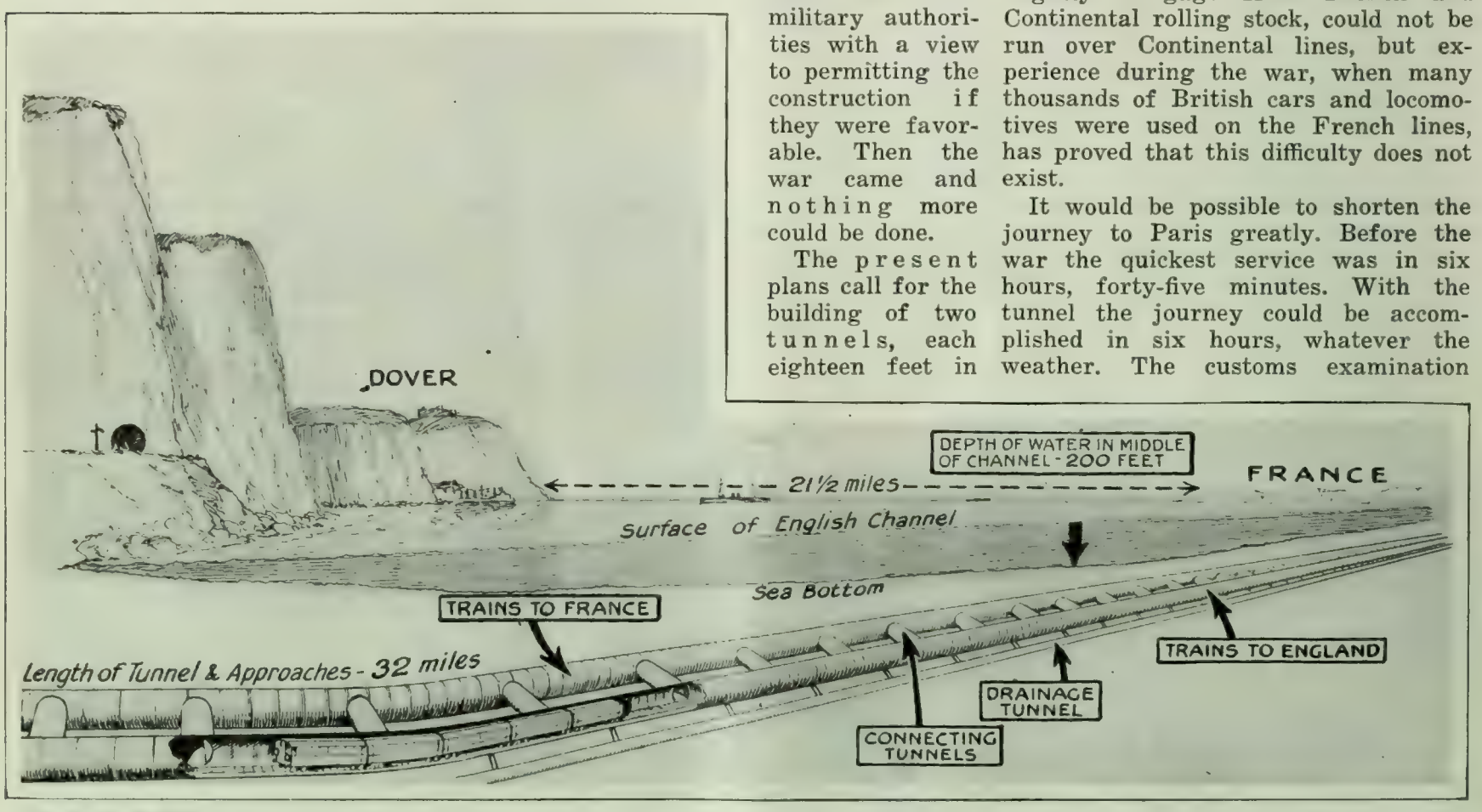
The maximum depth of water on the route is 180 feet, and a cover of chalk 100 feet thick would be left undisturbed above the crown of the tunnel to provide against any danger from an enemy or the sea, so that the tunnel would descend to a level of about 280 feet below the sea's surface.

Iron tubes will be built up as the tunnel advances, precisely as in the London tubes. Owing to the extraordinary advance in the art of tunneling in recent years the work could be done quickly and it is estimated that the tunnel itself could be completed in five or five and a half years.

The cost before the war was estimated at $30,000,000, which amount now probably would have to be considerably increased—to $100,000,000, or even $125,000,000. The working expenses before the war were calculated at $2,100,000 a year and the income at $7,750,000, but both estimates probably would now be exceeded.

Before the war it was thought that British rolling stock, which differs slightly in gage from French and Continental rolling stock, could not be run over Continental lines, but experience during the war, when many thousands of British cars and locomotives were used on the French lines, has proved that this difficulty does not exist.

It would be possible to shorten the journey to Paris greatly. Before the war the quickest service was in six hours, forty-five minutes. With the tunnel the journey could be accomplished in six hours, whatever the weather. The customs examination




© London Daily Mail

**For some time the project of a tunnel under the English Channel has been thought of as work for unemployed ex-soldiers. This diagram shows clearly one of the plans under discussion. If such a scheme is carried out, a trip to Paris will be a matter of only six hours, in any weather. And expediency aside, many would prefer six hours underground to passage on a Channel steamer**




*New York Herald Service*

**This chart shows the natural conditions which will have to be reckoned with in a tunnel under the Channel between France and England.**

**The strata of gray chalk and gault clay, both impervious to water, will form a natural insulator about the tunnel. Notice that the trains obey British rules of the road—keeping to the left!**

could be carried out on the trains.

London would be in direct communication with every part of Europe where the gage is similar to the British. Thru cars could be run to every Continental capital except Petrograd, as in Russia the gage is too wide.

The Bagdad line and its connections, now in process of construction, will give a complete route from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf. This line is connected by tracks of varying gage, some of which will not admit standard rolling stock, with Jerusalem and Cairo, and from Cairo eventually a railway is to be carried to the Cape.

Ultimately the Indian system will be connected with the Bagdad railway, and a line has already been carried some distance west from the Indian system thru southern Baluchistan, so that it is no mere dream that one day trains will run from London to Calcutta or Bombay.

# The Missing Link

To search for the most primitive human remains, the "missing link" between man and the apes, will be the object of a great expedition to be sent out by the American Museum of Natural History in coöperation with the American Asiatic Association and *Asia Magazine*. The expedition will be the greatest of its kind which has ever been organized by any institution in the world and will work for five years with a large party of scientists in various remote regions of central Asia. It will be under the direction and leadership of Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews, associate curator of mammals in the American Museum of Natural History, who for the last ten years has been carrying on zoölogical explorations in various parts of the Far East.

When in the year 1891, a Dutch army surgeon, Eugene Dubois, while excavating for fossils in central Java, discovered near Trinil part of a skull, two molar teeth and a thigh bone, he had unearthed one of the most perplexing conundrums in the study of human ancestry. Were the remains those of an extremely early type of prehuman manlike animal? If so, this ape-man must have lived approximately five hundred thousand years ago. This momentous discovery has been supplemented by that of other indisputably human remains of which the most ancient, found in southern Germany, is the jaw of the so-called Heidelberg man who may be two hundred and fifty thousand years old.

With the exception of the Java specimen, all fossil human fragments have been discovered in Europe or England. Nevertheless, the leading scientists of the day believe that Asia was the early home of the human race and that whatever light may be thrown upon the origin of man will come from the great central Asian plateau.

The subject is one that makes a universal appeal to the imagination. The causes that led to man's evolution from the apes, how that evolution was first accomplished, what primitive man looked like and how he lived—these are all subjects upon which there is much theory, but as yet very little fact.

One of the reasons why so little is known of the fossils of China and interior Asia is that material of this sort is of considerable value to the Chinese. Fossils are supposed to have wonderful medicinal qualities. They are known as "dragon's bones" and whenever a fossil yielding locality has been found, it is carefully concealed. Nevertheless during the last three years Dr. J. G. Anderson, mining adviser to the Chinese Republic, has been carrying on investigations on behalf of Swedish institutions and has made some remarkable discoveries. Dr. Anderson is practically the first scientist who has ever collected fossils personally in China.

We know almost as little about some of the living natives of Asia as about the fossil history of the country. Long before the Chinese arrived, China was inhabited by aboriginal tribes, which were pushed south and west just as the Indians were driven westward by the white men when they advanced across the American continent. The remnants of nearly thirty of these ancient tribes, such as the Lolos, Mosos, Lisos and others, are rapidly disappearing and yet almost nothing is known of their origin, life or customs.

Altho many of the aborigines were scattered among the mountains of Yunnan and Kweichow and along the Tibetan frontier, the Lolos still maintain an independent territory in Szechuan, one of the richest and most populous provinces of China. No Chinese is permitted to cross the invisible lines of their "kingdom" without the probability of incurring a violent death. Continual raids are carried on back and forth along the border. Perhaps the Chinese will capture a score or more of Lolos who have ventured to glimpse the world beyond their wild hills and valleys. In retaliation, a few nights later, the Lolos will burn a whole Chinese village, kill all the men and carry the women into slavery. Thus the Lolos have earned a reputation as barbaric savages. And yet a French explorer who crossed their territory, properly "chaperoned," reports them to be a charming people, of hospitable temper and high mentality. He is one of the few scientists who have penetrated the land of the Lolos and live to tell the tale. Mr. Andrews, who has hunted with Lolos in Yunnan, found them independent, to be sure, but delightful in their native courtesy and simplicity.

He says: "It is impossible not to be interested in this strange people. They are totally unlike the Chinese, for they are tall and slender, with long faces and patrician noses, and they show every indication of Caucasian blood. If they have it, where did it come from? This is one of the questions that should be answered before the Lolos disappear, as the other tribes are rapidly doing."

## In Brief

The present population of France, not including Alsace-Lorraine, is less by two million than it was in 1911.

***

The 1920 census shows that of the 6,488,366 farms in the United States 3,925,090 are operated by their owners.

***

In the United States Assay Office in Wall Street, New York, is stored about one-fifth of the world's supply of gold.

***

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has solemnly decided that a cat has a right

to scratch in self-defense and that the owner is not liable for damages.

***

The winning airplane at the Pulitzer race maintained a speed of 178 miles an hour for 132 miles. No automobile or railroad train has ever approached this record.

***

During the months when America was actively at war more civilians were killed in street accidents in the United States than the number of soldiers killed in battle.

***

A citizen of Chicago refused to apply for a passport on the ground that to have his photograph taken would violate the Scriptural commandment against the making of "graven images."

***

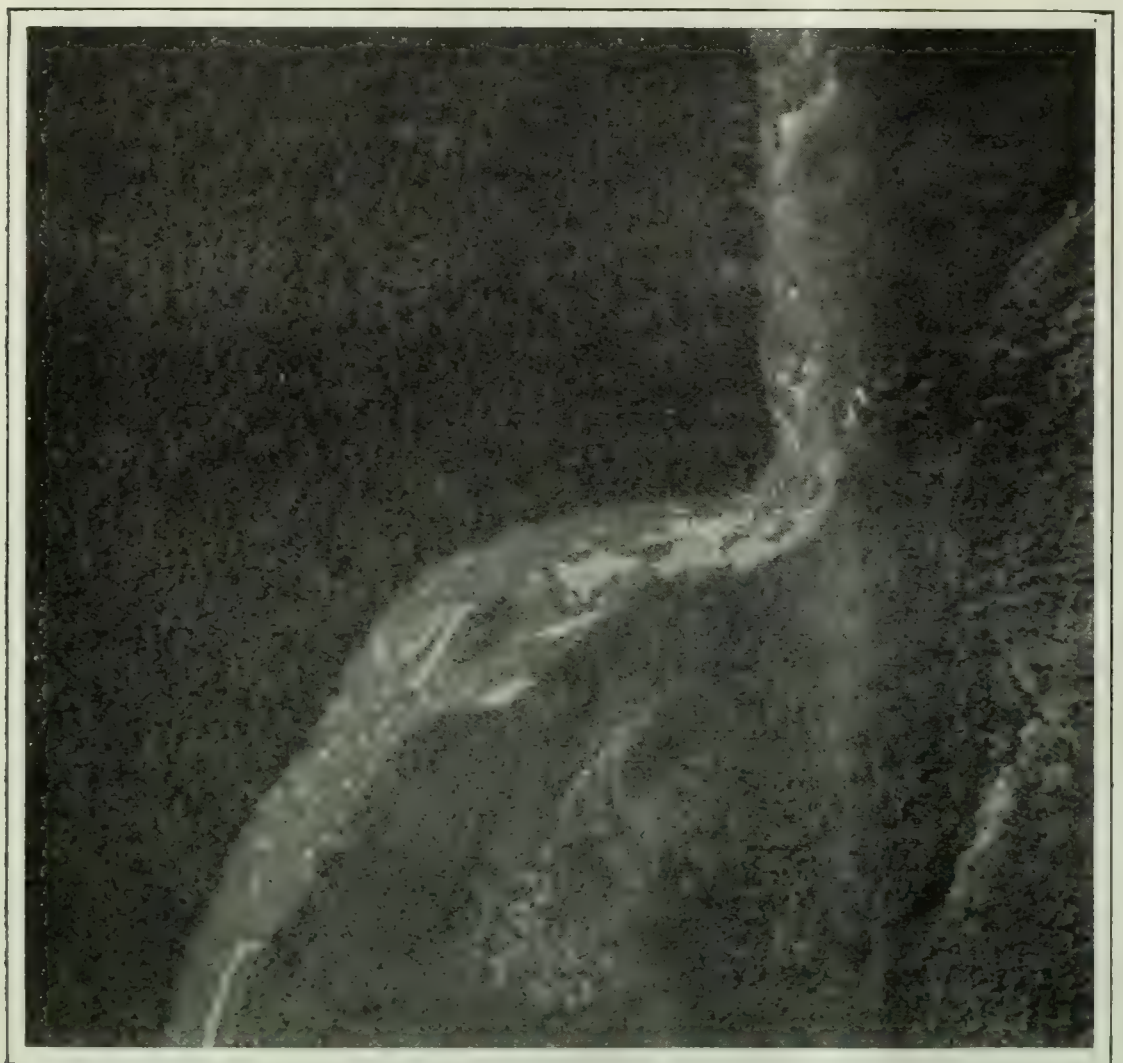
Dr. McKenzie, of the University of Pennsylvania, says that the average college girl of today is an inch taller and six or seven pounds heavier than the average college girl of 1860.

***

There were more Cohens than Smiths in the army from New York City. The record for the whole of New York State was 5,000 Smiths, 2,500 Cohens, 2,000 Sullivans and 1,800 Joneses.

***

An uncommon feature of Smith College commencement this year was the awarding of the degrees of bachelor and master of arts to a young colored girl graduate, Eunice Hunton, of Brooklyn, N. Y.



The Laurentide Lumber Company in Quebec has for two summers employed an aviator, Lt. Stuart Graham, to fly over the north woods of Canada inspecting lumber operations and surveying new developments. In this time he has covered more than 16,000 miles in the air, taken upwards of 5000 photographs, carried nearly 150 passengers to and from points in the woods that they could have reached otherwise only by tiresome days or weeks of travel, has reported scores of forest fires, discovered incipient log jams in time to break them up and made valuable reports on the quality and quantity in unsurveyed territory. He uses two flying boats fitted with Packard-built Liberty motors. The cost of maps made from the air is only about one-sixth of ground survey and the results are much more detailed and accurate. This photograph shows a part of the Gros Cinque Rapids down which millions of tons of logs go every year. The long straight white marks in the river are log jams, and the four white tents of a logging crew show just above the curve of the river, at the right

# A Port of Missing Men

Thousands of seafarers find their land home between voyages at a large institute for sailors on the North River waterfront, maintained by the Seaman's Friend Society, with offices at 76 Wall Street, New York.

But these thousands who come and go are no less remarkable than are the hundreds of letters that come yearly to James C. Healey, chaplain and assistant superintendent of the home, inquiring for missing sailors. There are letters from wives, sweethearts, mothers, creditors, lawyers, police departments and clergymen. In all of them the question is, "Where is he?"

Recently these appeals have arrived in very great numbers. There is a letter for each day in the week; sometimes three or four arrive in one day. Altho the society has no bureau for the location of missing sailors, there are registration lists, at the institute, of those who have had lodgings there or who have been helped by the society when shipwrecked or in want. From this information and the broad acquaintance of those men who happen at the moment to be quartered in the home, Mr. Healey is able in the case of about ten out of thirty letters received within a month to give valuable suggestions on the whereabouts of missing sailors. Occasionally the man is one of the hundreds staying at the society's building at the time.

Mr. Healey makes the interesting observation that he can locate practically 100 per cent. of the men asked for if the men themselves are willing to be located, but none when they are not willing. He says also:

It has been somewhat simpler to locate missing seamen since the requirement for passports has been imposed. Because of this, there have been fewer changes of name. Many sailors in days gone by would change their names as often as they would change ships.

Then, too, it is remarkable to us to observe the similarity of names among sailors. Frequently we have several men of the same name registered at the Home and Institute. Only the other day, a letter of inquiry for one William Shaw came to us, when there were three William Shaws living with us. None of them was the missing Shaw. When one sees the happiness of those who have recovered the missing relative or friend, one feels amply repaid for the effort expended.

The seaman is usually an infrequent letter writer, and besides, his letters are sent from the ends of the world and many times never reach their destination. He is not indifferent to his home folks or as a general rule irresponsible. We are called upon to handle many thousand dollars that are being passed from the sailor's envelope to the home of his family. Many of them have regular intervals of payment to their folks.

## What Students Read

The political science faculty of the University of Michigan has "checked up" on the reading of newspapers and magazines by 453 students. It appears that the average student spent six hours and thirty minutes a week reading current topics in the press. Practically all students read the college daily and about one-half the Detroit *Free Press* (Detroit is the nearest large city). One student in every seven reads the New York *Times* regularly, in spite of the distance of Ann Arbor from New York.

Turning to the magazines it appears that the *Saturday Evening Post* is the popular favorite. The average student, we learn, spends about one-third of his entire periodical reading time on its copious pages! The *Literary Digest* appears to rank second among the general weeklies and The Independent third, with eight men and three women subscribers. The *Outlook* and the *Review of Reviews* have nine readers each, but only of the men students. Only men read the *Scientific American* and *Popular Mechanics;* only women students the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Woman's Home Companion.* The weeklies "of opinion," such as the *Weekly Review,* the *Nation,* the *Survey,* the *New Republic* and others; also the more frivolous periodicals, such as *Judge, Life* and *Smart*

*Set*, have very few patrons among the 453. Thirty-two collegians are willing to tackle the *Atlantic* for their monthly reading, which shows up very well relatively to the more popular monthlies, such as seventy for the *Cosmopolitan* and forty-three for the *Red Book*. It is significant to learn that the average student from so large a group spends practically an hour a day the year around in reading newspapers and magazines. This is equivalent to two extra college courses with respect to time taken and may be equally important in its educative influence.

## Independent Opinions

Edward Earle Purinton's inspirational discussion of "Big Business," in The Independent of April 16, inspired one reader to the following burlesque:

Why are big business men?
Because they are *Big*—
Why are they big?
Because they are *Busy*—ness men.

It is idleness that kills. Of course many people fuss themselves to death making believe to work, but that is because they have never learned the secret of efficiency. One man will spend fifteen hours a day at his desk. He is inefficient, and therefore in reality idle. It is with justice that he is paid only twenty cents a week. But, on the other hand—

I was spending a forenoon interviewing a file of Captains of Industry (who are, by the way, better ministers than Saint Paul and better lawyers than Blackstone and better physicians than doctor Hippocrates). I entered the offices of Bluffum and Splurge. As I crossed the threshhold strains of sweet music greeted my ear (the big business man is a truer musician than Paderewski). Mr. Barnum K. Bluffum was snatching a moment's rest playing on his accordion. As I entered he removed my hat with lightning efficiency, took one glance at his desk, swept sixteen letters into the wastebasket, stuck thirteen memos on file, dictated into three waiting dictaphones simultaneously and snatched his overcoat. I grabbed the collar of it just as it was disappearing thru the transom. "Hold on," I said, "give me an interview." "I have just finished my day's work," he answered, "in fifteen minutes. Do you think I am going to waste an hour on an interview? I hold down thirty-seven other jobs, to each of which I devote just fifteen minutes and I am already due at my next one. But take my pamphlet and my blessing." The pamphlet was a model of efficiency. I quote it in full to save my own labor:

"Do the other fellow first, and do him brown.

"Anyone worth doing at all, is worth doing well.

"Push is the motto of success; Pull is the motto of failure.

"Every night, just before going to bed, I ask myself Have I lived the Efficient Life today or have I *failed*?"

A reader takes the occasion of a picture which appeared in The Independent for Dec. 25, 1920, to make a brief and pointed comment:

The device of attaching mail boxes to street cars which so startles one of your writers who observed it in Hamburg, Germany, has been in use in the Dutch-Polish city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, for I don't know how long.

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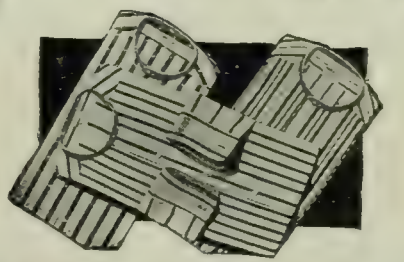
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# Well Said!

## The Meat of Many Minds on Many Matters

### A Word to the West

Even today there are many people who fail to grasp the essential facts of this situation. They do not realize that in Asia the average brain is not one whit inferior in quality to the average European brain; that history shows Asiatics to be as bold, as vigorous, as generous, as self-sacrificing, and as capable of strong collective action as Europeans, and that there are and must continue to be a great many more Asiatics than Europeans in the world. It has always been difficult to restrain the leakage of knowledge from one population to another, and now it becomes impossible. Under modern conditions world-wide economic and educational equalization is in the long run inevitable. An intellectual and moral rally of the Asiatics is going on at the present time. At the present time, for example, for one Englishman who knows Chinese thoroly, or has any intimate knowledge of Chinese life and thought, there are hundreds of Chinamen conversant with everything the English know. The balance of knowledge in favor of India may be even greater. To Britain, India sends students; to India, Britain sends officials.

From *An Outline of History*, by H. G. Wells, published by Macmillan.

### It Might Have Happened to You

#### By Coningsby Dawson

That I should write in this spirit, pleading for our late enemies, may cause a slight amazement in a public who have read my war books. My reason—I will not say my excuse—is that I have visited our late enemies' need and in the presence of human agony animosity dies. One ceases to question how far their suffering is the outcome of their folly; his sole desperation is to bind up their wounds—especially the wounds of their children. When witnessing death and starvation on the wholesale scale now prevailing in Europe, he forgets his austere self-righteousness and substitutes mercy for justice. "It might have happened to me," he says, "these women might have been my wife, my mother, my sisters, and these children, save for the grace of God, might have been my children. . . ."

There is even a likelihood that it will happen unless we learn to have compassion. Central Europe will not die patiently of starvation indefinitely. Nations which civilization has condemned to starve to death have nothing to lose by giving way to violence; they may have something to gain by it. The more desperate their need becomes, the more likely they are to risk the gamble.

So, however fanciful it may seem to say in writing of Central Europe, "It might have happened to you," there is a grim possibility about the final statement, "It may happen yet." . . .

Today I visited one of the strategic points where the battle against hunger is being fought. It was a former barracks, now a soup-kitchen of the American Relief Administration, situated in the poorest district of Vienna, where meals are daily prepared for 8000 children. There are 340,000 under-nourished children in Vienna—a total of 96 per cent out of the entire child population. But these, whom I visited, were all hand-picked and medically certified as being sufficiently near to extinction to be admitted. Funds are too low to feed any save those who are within measurable distance of dying. . . .

Within the building at wooden tables sat an army of stunted pigmies, raggedly clad and famished to a greenish pallor. . . . They didn't talk. They didn't laugh. They were terribly intent, for each had a roll and a pannikin of cocoa over which it crouched with an animal eagerness. And the stench from the starveling bodies was nauseating. . . .

As I stood in that dingy hall and watched the overwhelming tragedy of spoliated childhood, my memory went back three years. The last time I had witnessed a misery so heart-breaking had been at Evian, where the trains entered France from Switzerland, repatriating the little French captives who had existed for three years behind the German lines. It had seemed to me then that those corpse-like, unsmiling victims of human hate had represented the foulest vehemence of the crime of war. Yet here today in Vienna, two years after our much prayed for peace, I have been confronted by the same crime against childhood, being enacted with a yet greater shamelessness, for the war is ended, four-fifths of the world has an excess of food and there is no longer any excuse of military necessity. Today our only possible excuse is hard-heartedness and besotted selfishness.

From *It Might Have Happened to You*, by Coningsby Dawson, published by John Lane.

### Keeping Genius in Chains

#### By Charles L. Edson

They've got to keep you chained or you wouldn't be worth a dang. It reminds me of the time when I was traveling with a Southern circus, attached to the menagerie—as a wild man. They had me dyed red with cochineal, and I wore a pair of ivory tusks or fangs sticking out of my mouth. With an iron collar around my neck they had me chained in front of the side show. Kids used to throw peanuts to me to tease me, and the ladies used to shudder and say: "Wouldn't it be terrible if that creature should ever break away!" I used to dash at the crowds, gnashing my tusks (turshes, the natives called them) and the chain would jerk me up short. That was very exciting while it lasted.

But one day when we were showing in Half Moon mountain, I made my customary rush at the crowd and the darn chain broke. Here was a wild man free of his tether. I had to make good. Amid shrieking kids and fainting women I started to eat up the crowd. A gentleman shoved a gun in my face. I said: "Ladies and gents, I wouldn't harm a fly. I've been feeling kind of playful, but I don't even feel that way any more."

The circus paid me off. No chained attraction is any good after it breaks its chains. . . .

From *The Gentle Art of Columning*, by Charles L. Edson, published by Brentano.

### A Hard Teacher Makes a Bright Pupil

*In Stephen Graham's recent study of the negro problem in America he quotes a striking speech by a negro orator, who pointed out that the very discriminations against his people might, tho not so intended, work to their ultimate advantage:*

What is the result of all that inequality? Why it is making us a more moral, less criminal, less violent people than the whites. Once at a mixed school they were teaching the black and white boys to jump. The white boys jumped and the black boys jumped. But when it was the black boy's turn the teacher always lifted the jumping stick a few inches. What was the consequence? Why, after a while every colored boy in that school could jump at least a foot higher than any white boy.

From *The Soul of John Brown*, by Stephen Graham, published by Macmillan.

### In the Good Old Stone Age

#### By John M. Tyler

Could we have sat on one of these village platforms of a summer afternoon and looked out to the wheat-fields on the shore, and seen the canoes come on with fish or game, and the cattle returning from the mainland pasture; could we have watched the men fashioning implements and all manner of woodwork, and the women grinding the grain or moulding pottery, or spinning and weaving; we should have found a great deal to please and interest us. The fruits and berries, the smell of roasting fish and baking bread, of cakes well flavored with the oil from beechnut or flax, or perhaps sifted over with the seeds of poppy or caraway, would have been far from disagreeable. We should have felt that it was a goodly land, and that life was well worth living. We should not have

been disturbed by shrieking steamboats, puffing and groaning locomotives, or honking automobiles, or by telegraphs or telephones, by letters which must be answered or books which must be read. There were no stocks and bonds, bills or notes, strikes or lockouts. There was no labor question; all simply had to work. No one went to school, except to nature, and there were no lectures. "The name of that chamber was peace."

We ought not to forget in our comfort that everybody could not live in a lake-dwelling, that all over Europe there were other settlements or dwellings, more lonely or isolated, where food was never abundant and sometimes very scarce, where labor was unremitting and the reward scanty. But even in those less civilized regions there was probably usually much rude comfort; and if there were times of scarcity and want, there were also times of feasting and abundance. All over Europe there were, even in Neolithic time, children, boys and girls, playing around the houses; and young men and women looking out on life with the same inexperience and illusions, courage and hopes, which lure us onward today.

From *The New Stone Age in Northern Europe*, by John M. Tyler, published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Coming Back to "Civilization"

### By Sir Ernest Shackleton

*Perhaps the most graphic passage in Sir Ernest Shackleton's account of his Antarctic expedition is the moment of his first contact with civilization after nearly two years of isolation in the ice desert.*

Shivering with cold, yet with hearts light and happy, we set off toward the whaling station, now not more than a mile and a half distant. The difficulties of the journey lay behind us. We tried to straighten ourselves up a bit, for the thought that there might be women at the station made us painfully conscious of our uncivilized appearance. Our beards were long and our hair was matted. We were unwashed and the garments that we had worn for nearly a year without change were tattered and stained. Three more unpleasant-looking ruffians could hardly have been imagined. Worsley produced several safety-pins from some corner of his garments and effected some temporary repairs that really emphasized his general disrepair. . . .

Mr. Sorlle came out to the door and said "Well?"

"Don't you know me?" I said.

"I know your voice," he replied doubtfully.

"My name is Shackleton," I said.

Immediately he put out his hand and said, "Come in. Come in."

"Tell me, when was the war over?" I asked.

"The war is not over," he answered. "Millions are being killed. Europe is mad. The world is mad."

From *South*, by Sir Ernest Shackleton, published by Macmillan.


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THERE'S something almost human about the ostrich. Rather than face the unusual, he buries his head in the sand—thus exposing himself, rather recklessly, to the whims of happenstance.

Isn't that just like the chap who ducks under the sheets the minute the furniture creaks?

Lots of folks shut their eyes when they need them most. In the matter of buying something, for instance—the important business of spending hard earned dollars.

*Who gets the most for his money?* The man who buys blindly—or the fellow who reads advertising and discovers the things he really wants and needs?

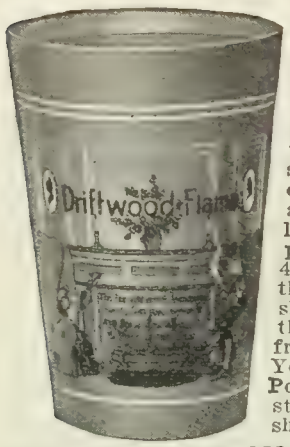
*Who is the most economical housekeeper?* The woman who buys haphazard, or the one who reads advertising and puts her household purchasing on a business basis?

There's no denying the great value of advertising to those who read it. It protects you against fraud and inferiority. It tells you what is new and good, making you a wise buyer. It saves you money by pointing out for your consideration only the best products.

*Don't be an ostrich.*

***Read the advertisements***

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sprinkled on your log fire will give forth wonderful colorings — the beautiful effects produced by burning driftwood. In the fascinating flames can be seen the blue of the sky, the green of the sea and the red and gold of the setting sun. Package containing 10 oz. lasts a long time. Sent postpaid $1. Ask for No. 4306. This is just one of the many novel things shown in our catalog of thoughtful gifts, sent free on request. You will find the Pohlson things in stores and gift shops.

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# MANUSCRIPT

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# New Hates for Old

(*Continued from page 94*)

Bratoslava, formerly Poszony and still more formerly Pressburgh, thrilled me nevertheless. It has grown to be a national capital and shows it. Magyar soldiers are displaced by Slovaks. French influence manifests itself in color, cut of uniform and in the presence of French drill masters. Business seems to be "booming," the stores are crowded, new and numerous banks lure the investors, and members of the *Szokol* parade the streets in their picturesque uniforms. There is a haughty air about these new citizens of a new republic, quite in contrast to their modest if not cowed spirit when they lived under Magyar rule. Bratoslava was, however, always more German than Magyar, and is now more Magyar than Slovak, and the haughty masters are met by the defiant spirit of their new subjects.

As formerly the Slovaks spoke their language in defiance of their Magyar rulers, so now the Hungarian language is spoken in the spirit of revolt. The German language still lives. Two daily papers are published, there are occasional theatrical performances and concerts, and the influence of German Austria is felt, if anything, more than before the war.

No one in Bratoslava seems to love the new masters, or speak well of them, and I know one hotel where it is wisest not to speak Czechish when one asks for a room. There are many restaurants where the waiters pretend not to understand orders given in that language.

However, the Government seems stable if not always wise, and there is order, even tho the former privileged classes call the new order "Bolshevism." The railroads and post offices function with regularity, industry and commerce are fostered and are thriving, and the contrast between Czechoslovakia and reactionary Hungary and ruined Austria is great enough to make one patient with the lesser evils.

Slovakia is a lovely country and its people so dear to me that I soon forgot the unpleasantness at the border. The stations and towns thru which I passed had unfamiliar names, as one of the first acts of the new Government was evidently this rebaptism of the landscape, a sacred ceremonial dear to nationalists everywhere.

My native town came off easily, for it remained the same, except that it wears a new suffix which is not at all unbecoming, and it is the same dear "stuck in the mud" drab-looking town it has always been. I could show it to a stranger in fifteen minutes. There are four more or less straight streets meeting at the town square, two churches sadly wanting in beauty, and in need of repair, a synagogue, the most unique building in town, one house of two stories which is called a castle, half a dozen stores, the three cemeteries, two uninviting inns, and the tour of the town would be over.

I could have tarried days, for I wanted to see the old modest house where I was born, on whose damp walls I wrote the alphabet those cold mornings when the damp had turned into frost. I wanted to climb up into the garret and smell the apples and pears which were buried in the grain to keep, as long as my keen appetite would allow. I wanted to visit the room where Uncle Joe, the "three-quarters of a man," an erstwhile Union soldier, showed me the picture of Abraham Lincoln, and made me an American and a patriot. I wanted to visit the yard where Uncle Joe drilled us, and Yanczy Pal's orchard where we swore to deliver our Slovak people from the yoke of the oppressor, Abraham Lincoln was responsible for some very severe whippings that I got after a Fourth of July celebration, when we nearly burned down the town.

After all, this coming back to one's childhood home is a sad experience. No one cared or knew that I had organized an army of seven boys, one of them lame, to march against our enemies, and I had to report at the police station the same as everybody else, and the chief of police had as little consideration for my feelings as had the custom house officers.

The new order has not rejuvenated anything or made anybody happy, now that freedom is won and the new masters have made themselves at home. I used to see happy faces, and I saw none. Shops have been plundered twice. Magyar sympathizers, and there are not a few, have been imprisoned and the new officials are if possible more arrogant than their Magyar predecessors. The agricultural laborers have unionized and were on a strike; taxes are of course much heavier, the value of the *krone* is low, tho much higher than the Austrian. Freedom of movement is restricted by exacting passport regulations. "We have more freedom," an old time friend said to me, "but we have less room to move in."

My people used to do their shopping in Vienna, which is three hours' distance by railroad. Now they must shop in Prague, which is at least ten hours by fast train and infinitely more expensive. Even severe illness is capitalized for the good of the Czech capital; for no one can go to see a specialist in Vienna without a passport, which is refused, and the sick person is told to go to Prague where the physicians are "just as good." Of course passports are granted, but one must have "puli" and know whose palm to "grease." No wonder that the average citizen of Slovakia does not enthuse over the new order. The fact is, the Czechs, like most of mankind, have learned nothing from history. They are repeating the blunders of the Magyars. They are accused of being repressive and chauvinistic, and are too eager to press the Slovaks into their linguistic and cultural mold.

The Peace of Versailles named the new republic Czecho-slovakia, and the Czechs are eager to do away with the hyphen, while some of the Slovaks want to widen it and create of their country an autonomous government. Czech officials have given Slovakia a carpet-bag administration, and while they are no more corrupt than their Magyar predecessors they are rude where the Magyars were civil. One could get favors from Magyar officials with good words; they count for nothing now. The Czechs want money, and plenty of it. This may be merely the gossip of enemies; but I have tested the new masters and I have not had a civil word in all my contact with the new officials.

Perhaps civil words are of little consequence, but I wish that the young man whom I approached at the station of Bratoslava to buy my ticket back to Vienna had not shouted at me, asking whether I could not read that his window was for tickets to Czechoslovakia only; and he might have given me a civil answer when I asked him to direct me to the right place. I wish also that I had suffered less at the hands of the officials in leaving my native country. I wish they had not broken every one of the six eggs I carried across the lines, and had not confiscated the meat which was to sustain me on my journey. I wanted to say that I was happy in coming home among my people and that I was eager to come again, which I regret I am unable to say. I still love the Czechoslovak republic and wish it well. I still believe that President Masaryk is the Abraham Lincoln of his people and one of the greatest statesmen in Europe; but to quote a Slovak patriot, "What does it profit us if the landlord is a good man, and the agent and janitor are rascals?"

Czechoslovakia cannot rely upon military strength to keep it safe from its antagonistic neighbors, Poland and Hungary. It needs inner strength and a spiritual solidarity, and that it does not yet possess. The Czechs need to pray for grace to soften their harsh nationalism, to modify their exuberance, and to help them forget the ancient wrongs they suffered; or if they must remember, to remind them of how cruel a political yoke may be, and that it is not softened by the fact that they and the Slovaks are a kindred race. Even with the Slovaks completely loyal, the new republic has three or four million Magyars, and six or seven million Germans to reconcile, and I have seen little evidence that it is doing it.

I fear that the Czech nationalist is a poor reconciler, and I am not too sanguine in believing that when I again return to my native town it will be a part of that new republic which began its career with the good wishes of every American, especially those of us who have served the cause of Slovak freedom and have suffered for it.

# Pebbles

Once price was an indication of value; now it is an indication of nerve.—*Associated Editors.*

The Anti-Saloon League's kick is that the U. S. A. is taking to prohibition with too much cellarity.—*Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.*

Bibles are now printed in 538 languages, so that no resident of New York need be without a book in his native language.—*Detroit Free Press.*

It's a great misfortune that Lenin didn't recognize the worth of the capitalistic class until after he had buried most of 'em.—*Columbia (S. C.) Record.*

Guide—"What did you keep shooting at me for when I shouted I wasn't a deer?"
Would-be Sportsman—"How did I know that you weren't lying?"—*Stanford Chaparral.*

"Bill is going to retire from business for five years."
"Oh, I've heard him say that before."
"Yes, but this time the judge said it."—*London Opinion.*

Gusto—Did you notice any change in me?
Vevo—No; why?
Gusto—I just swallowed a dime.
—*Frivol.*

"I don't see why you call your place a bungalow," said Smith to his neighbor.
"Well, if it isn't a bungalow, what is it?" said the neighbor. "The job was a bungle, and I still owe for it!"—*Pearson's Weekly.*

Old Lady—Oh, conductor, please stop the train. I dropped my wig out the window.
Conductor—Never mind, madam, there is a switch just this side of the next station.—*Octopus.*

Teacher—What is the Presidential succession law, John?
John—The Presidential succession law provides that if both President and Vice-President die the Cabinet members will follow in succession.—*Boys' Life.*

"I hope you are not afraid of microbes," apologized the paying-teller as he cashed the school-teacher's check with soiled currency.
"Don't worry," said the young lady. "A microbe couldn't live on my salary."—*The Seamen's Journal.*

There was a young man whose faith in girls
Was beautiful and sublime.
He put his girl's picture inside his watch,
For he thought she might love him in time.
—*Pelican.*

The profiteer and his wife were in the first flush of their prosperity, and they had taken rooms at one of the most expensive hotels in London.
Next morning he saw in front of him a silver sugar basin containing lumps of white sugar. He was on the point of helping himself when his wife whispered, "Don't use yer fingers; use the tongs. Ain't you got no sense?"
"Orl rite!" he retorted as he complied with the admonition. "But' 'ow was I to know the bloomin' stuff was 'ot?"—*New York Globe.*



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Last summer I was an official delegate to the Pilgrim Tercentenary Celebration in Holland, and was made one of the three American members of the Leyden Pilgrim Fathers Society. This society has just published the large, handsome, and sumptuously printed and illustrated memorial volume briefly described above. I have consented to act as the agent of the society in placing this unique historical volume in the hands of the American people, and I am prepared to fill orders up to the limit of the edition, at $25 per volume. The edition is limited to four hundred copies, of which over one hundred have already been sold above, so if you care for one of the 250 odd still available I would advise you to send in your order to me at once.

HAMILTON HOLT
311 Sixth Avenue
New York City

# Bone-Dry Utah

## By J. Marinus Jenkins

### Another winning story in the contest on "The Best Man or Woman in Your Town"



*The man who gave prohibition to his state has a good claim to the title of "best man" of his town.*

THE enactment of Utah's "prohibition law" came after a long and fierce fight. Leaders became discouraged and lost interest. But there was one man who would not give up. He could neither be bribed nor bullied. Gibes and jeers were hurled at him on the street. He was threatened with business ruin, but not for one instant did he quail. The man was George Startup of Provo, Utah, candy manufacturer.

I knew him twenty-seven years ago when he was the inky-faced "devil" on the Provo *Enquirer*. He had an abundance of energy and determination and before many months he was at the case, a full-fledged compositor.

When the panic of 1893 struck the town the paper had to cut down its force, and George's services were dispensed with. He went home and hunted up some old English candy molds that had been left by his father. He was soon busy making red and yellow candy fishes and selling them to the stores of the town. In a short time he opened a candy shop, employed his sister as clerk and retailed his own and other candies. Next a small factory was built and the services of his two elder brothers were enlisted in the business.

But there were other thoughts than those of business in the mind of this man with the prominent nose and keen gray eyes. "Any fool can make money," he said the other day. "I would like to do something worth while."

While the fight was on he organized in Provo City the Betterment League. It proved a virile factor in the interests of prohibition, and Startup decided to extend its influence by making it a state organization. Like all strong, aggressive characters, he had made enemies; and had he been president he knew these enemies would seek to destroy the organization and render its efforts of no effect. A resident of Salt Lake City was therefore made president, but Startup remained on the job. He was the "big push" that made things go. The league played an important part in the political campaign of 1914. Largely thru its influence a strong prohibition legislature was elected.

FROM the time of the election in November until January, 1915, Startup was busy studying all the state prohibition statutes of the country. With the aid of an attorney and in consultation with members of the league he prepared a prohibition statute that was most thoro and drastic. It was introduced by a member of the state Senate. During the entire legislative session it was the center of interest and bitter controversy. Near the close of the session, it finally passed both houses by satisfactory majorities.

But now a new danger appeared; it was feared the Governor would veto the bill. It could probably be passed over his veto if it were returned to the legislature; but unless it were presented to him at once he might hold it until after adjournment and veto it.

On the passage of the bill it was hurried to the office of the engrossing clerk, but the clerk had disappeared. The event, however, had been anticipated. Startup had himself prepared a copy of the bill with all amendments incorporated. When it was promptly presented to the president of the Senate, a strong opponent of the measure, for his signature, that official was greatly surprised. He took ample time, however, for thoro examination of the document.

When finally he had attached his signature the bill was immediately taken to the Governor's office, but that important official had left a few minutes before. When found at the Hotel Utah he was highly indignant at being "hunted up," and refused to receive the bill until it should be presented to him at his office during office hours. The bill was formally presented to him the next day, but the delay enabled him to hold it until after the adjournment of the legislature, when he vetoed it.

Startup swallowed his disappointment, and went home and began to plan for the next campaign. In 1917 a new legislature passed the Startup bill, and a new Governor signed it.

*Provo, Utah*

# The Independent

## Remarkable Remarks

CHARLIE CHAPLIN—Short skirts are awful.

A. H. WOODS—I do not care to be known as a thinker.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE—Fifth Avenue is essentially a woman's street.

ARTHUR BRISBANE—Man's minimum working life should be 144 years.

MRS. LESLIE CARTER—The Old Fifth Avenue—that was the street I loved.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.—Not one of us is working as hard as he used to.

LOUIS STERN—Short skirts and bobbed hair have nothing to do with morality and efficiency.

LOUISE FAZENDA—Everything in New York is charming except the subway and thunderstorms.

ROY K. MOULTON—If it gets money at the box office it is a good show, whether it is or not.

PROF. PATRICK GEDDES—Civilization is high or low according as women are at a premium or a discount.

MISS LILLIAN BAKER—The great need of our times is to give the women who can never marry something else to fill their lives.

## Pebbles

Room—I see Jack had to have his dog shot. Was the poor brute mad?

Mate—Well, he didn't look very pleased 'bout it.—*Princeton Tiger.*

"Do you want a job diggin' potatoes?" asked the farmer.

"Yes, provided it's diggin' 'em out of gravy."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

Ikey—Are you de young man vot safed my boy's life from drownding?

Pat—Yes, but don't mention it; I just did my duty.

Ikey—Vell, vere's his cap?—*Stanford Chaparral.*

"I believe," said the impatient man as he put aside the telephone, "that I'll go fishing."

"Didn't know you cared for fishing."

"I don't ordinarily. But it's the only chance I have of finding myself at the end of a line that isn't busy."—*Boys' Life.*

The Sultan was broke. The Grand Vizer had just informed him that the treasury was empty.

"I must have money!" he roared in his rage. "Somebody will have to cough up."

"But, Heaven-born," murmured the Grand Vizer, "the coffers are empty."—*Princeton Tiger.*

An old colored man was burning dead grass when a wise guy stopped and said: "You're foolish to do that, Uncle Eb; it will make the meadow as black as you are."

"Don't worry 'bout dat, sah," responded Uncle Eb. "Dat grass will grow out an' be as green as you is."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

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A HISTORY QUIZ WE MIGHT PASS.

1. When was the war of 1812?
2. From what province of France was Joan of Arc?
3. Who is the author of Macaulay's history of England?
4. What two countries were participants in the Spanish-American war?
5. In what season of the year did Washington spend his winter at Valley Forge,
6. Tell about the Swiss navy.—*The Scalper.*

## Opening Nights

*Six Cylinder Love*, by William Anthony McGuire, is a capital light comedy of two families who mortgage their homes to buy an auto. Wholesome, funny and well played. (Sam H. Harris Theater.)

*The Wheel*, by Winchell Smith, is a well wrought, serio-comic gambling play in which virtue vanquishes vice and all ends "comfy." Good, but hardly likely to repeat the popularity of the author's previous success "Lightnin'." (Gaiety Theater.)

*The Poppy-God.* Somewhat gruesome portrayal of Oriental revenge by the opium route upon a weak-willed but shame-faced coward, acted by Ralph Morgan. Several phases of the plot are now outworn. Colorful and effective Chinese settings. (Hudson Theater.)

*Personality*, by Philip Bartholomae and Jasper Ewing Brady. Even with such stars as Louis Bennison and Henry E. Dixey this modern play depicting personality as the key to success is not lifted above the average. Pleasant and clean, however. (The Playhouse.)

*Get Together* has a cast of entertainers of international reputation. Fokina and Fokine, with their beautiful ballet dances; Charlotte and Nicholson, unexcelled on the skating rink; and Julia, Roxie, Lena and Jennie—the most distinguished four-legged comedians of the day—compete for honors with other fine performers. (The Hippodrome.)

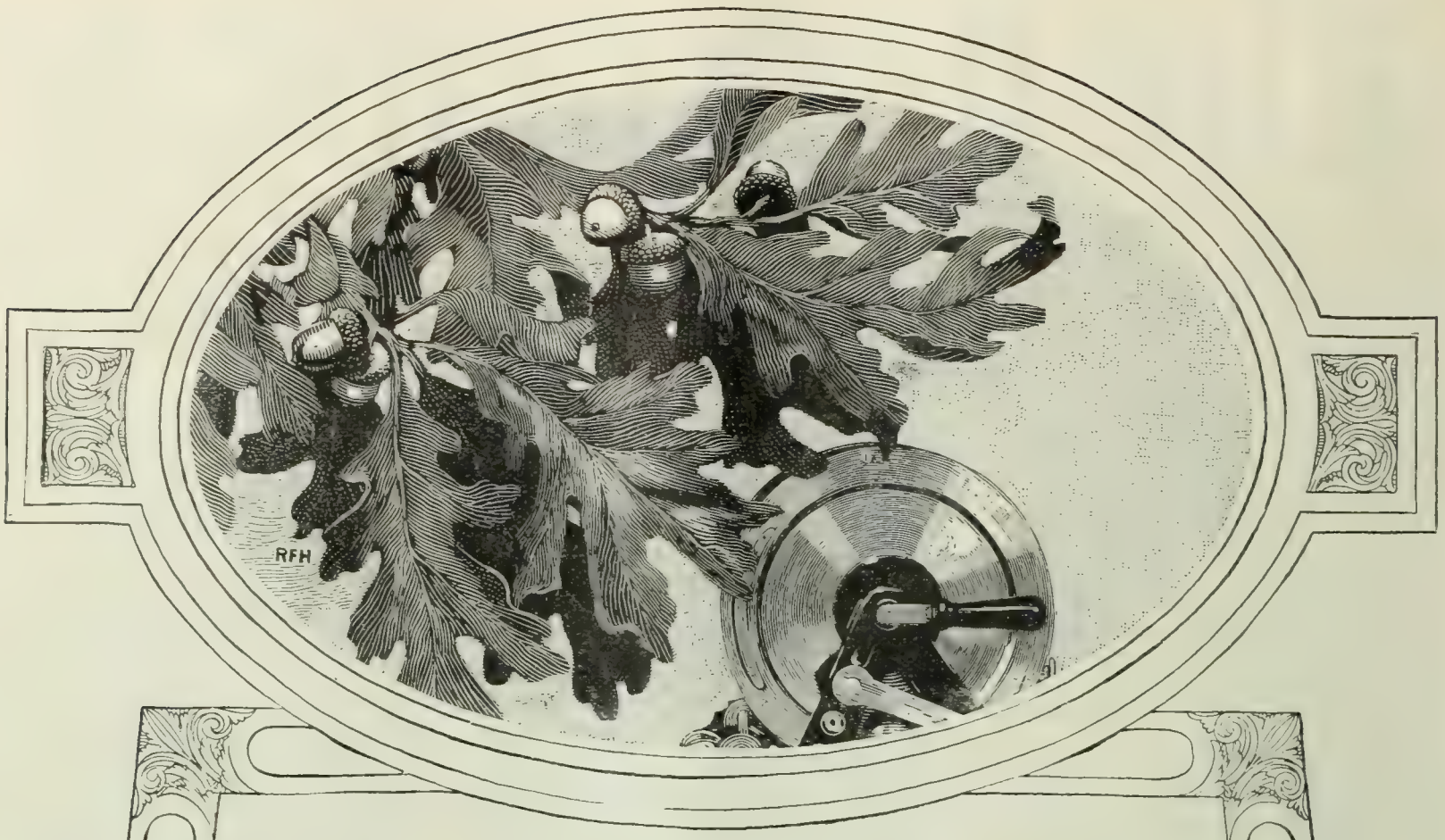
*The Detour*, by Owen Davis. A truthful, very human play of life on a tax-ridden farm. Augustin Duncan's portrayal of the careworn, "land poor" farmer is excellent; Effie Shannon as the farmer's wife brings a lump in one's throat as she counts her lifetime's savings from the jar on the kitchen shelf. (Astor Theater.)

*Tangerine* stands at the head of the musical comedy class this season. Sets and costumes have the colorful charm of the South Seas; there is a real plot with some delightful satire on modern society; John S. Hazzard and Frank Crumit supply a laugh a minute; and Julia Sanderson dances and sings and smiles more entrancingly than ever. (The Casino.)

*The Triumph of X*, by Carlos Wuppermann, is an effort to discover the determining factors in the destinies of the human race in some unknown influence different from both heredity and environment. Unconvincing as it is, the play has moments of delightful humor and some splendid acting by Helen Menken and Frank Morgan. (Comedy Theater.)



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The Independent
September 17, 1921

# Tarred and Feathered

## A First-hand Story that Every American Should Read

*The two communications that follow should be read and pondered by all Americans who have the honor of their country at heart. The first was written at my suggestion by the Rev. Philip Sidney Irwin, a white man and a British subject, who since the early part of the war has been archdeacon of the colored work of the Protestant Episcopal Church on the east coast of Florida. The second is an open letter to the people of Miami, Florida, written by Mr. Irwin's immediate superior, Rt. Rev. Cameron Mann, Bishop of South Florida, and published at the time of the tar and feathering.*

*I can personally vouch for any statement that Mr. Irwin would be willing to sign. For several years before he was called to Florida he served as rector of the Episcopal Church in Pomfret, Conn., four miles from the town where I am accustomed to spend my vacations, and during his rectorship we were on terms of friendly intimacy.*

*This is Mr. Irwin's first account of the barbarity inflicted upon him. Atrocious as it was, it pales into comparative insignificance when one considers the action of the Mayor, Judge, and Commander of the American Legion, who permitted this man, who had broken no law, or done aught to merit censure, let alone punishment, to leave town under the circumstances he did. These gentlemen and all other constituted authorities of Miami should have guaranteed Mr. Irwin whatever protection he needed in carrying on the lawful and laudable work of his Master even tho they had to call out the state militia and the whole United States Army, and even tho they lost their own lives in the performance of their duty.*

HAMILTON HOLT

## The Facts: Told by Archdeacon Irwin Himself

ON returning from St. Agnes' Church in Miami, Florida, after evening service on Sunday, July 17, in my Ford car, I was stopped at the entrance of the road leading to my garage by a touring car drawn across the entrance—the hood of the car was up and their seemed to be some engine trouble. Another car with men in it was drawn up, in front of a house, immediately behind the first car.

There was nothing unusual about the appearance of the men, or the cars being drawn up there. A man came from the first car and asked me if I had a monkey wrench, as they had engine trouble. I told him I had and got out of the driving seat and got the wrench from under the rear seat and gave it to him. I then said, I may be able to help you, and went over to their machine and stooped over the engine to see what was the matter. They then pinned me by my arms, put a gag in my mouth, blindfolded me, and then put handcuffs on and threw me into the car. As well as I can judge they drove for about half an hour. While driving thru the city they sang songs, as tho, I suppose, to suggest they were a joy-riding party. When out a little way they loosened up the gag a little and commenced to ask questions. They asked me if I was not a member of the Overseas Club. I said "No." They said, "You're a d——d liar. We saw your name in their pamphlet." They said, "You formed a branch of the O. S. Club here." I said, "No, I had not." They said, "You are a friend of Higgs" (a Methodist preacher, colored, in Key West, and a British subject whom they maltreated and sent out of the country a week before). I said "No."

They said, "You are a friend of Garvey and are going to bring him here to preach to the niggers and members of the United Negro Improvement Association." I said "No, I have opposed the movement." "Well," they said, "you're a d——d liar. Anyway you're a white man preaching to niggers." I said "Yes." "Well, you've got to get back to Nassau in forty-eight hours. Will you go?" I said, "No, I am a British subject and my home is in Ireland." "Well, no matter where your home is," they said, "you've got to get out of this place in forty-eight hours. Will you go?" I said, "No! I am here under orders from superiors in Orlando and New York." "We don't care whose orders you are under," they said, "you've got to get out of this in forty-eight hours or we'll hang you, and all the kings in England and Ireland can't save you. Will you go?" I said, "No!"

By this time they had reached their destination and they took me from the car and after some whispered conversation they again asked me if I would go. I said I had given them the answer and there was no other. They then proceeded to strip me, they took the handcuffs off and the gag from my mouth, but still kept me blindfolded, and threw me on the ground and proceeded to flog me, I think with a heavy strap. From time to time they would ask me if I would go. I merely shook my head. Then they would lay on again and curse me for an obstinate pig. After a while they thought I had fainted; then they held up their castigation and consulted together in whispers. After that they lifted me up and applied a coat of tar-coal oil and feathers, wrapped me up tight in some sacking and suggested they had a good mind to hang me, and would I go. I shook my head and said they could only hang me once. Again they cursed me and then threw me in the bottom of the car and covered me up and drove away. The other

car went ahead as a scout car, and from time to time would hold us back, I suppose till some traffic had passed. I did not know in the least where we were. They slowed down a little and drove close to the sidewalk, opened the door and shoved me out. I rolled over once or twice to loosen up the bags around me, and then got the bandages off my eyes. I then saw a city policeman coming toward me. He soon recognized me and asked what had happened, and then we proceeded to the police station where they took all the particulars I could give them. I asked for some gasoline to remove the tar and feathers, but they said they had none, but that one of the men would drive me home. He did so, and I asked him to drive me to the back entrance and I could drive my Ford into the garage. He did so. They had asked me at the police station if I could identify any of the men in the party. I said "No." Or if I had any evidence who they might be. I said "No." When the officer (Miller) put me down by my Ford I remembered the wrench. It was of unusual make and I asked Miller to wait a moment till I looked in the Ford and round about to see if the scoundrels had left it. They had not. I told Miller of it and that it might help to give us a clue if found. What was my surprize to see in the morning papers no mention about the wrench! I drove the Ford into the garage, and then went upstairs to wake Kathleen (it was 12 o'clock) and ask if she had any gasoline or kerosene in the house. She had not. What her thoughts and feelings must have been to be waked up to see her father in such a condition I cannot say.

I went down and drew off about two quarts of gasoline from the Ford and proceeded to get off my coat of tar and feathers; after that a good bath, in the midst of which the sheriff and assistant sheriff were shown up and wished to get all particulars and any evidence I could give them on which to proceed. Next morning, July 18, I was at my office at the church at 9 o'clock. Numbers of people of course were coming in, Revs. R. T. Phillips and R. Palmer amongst others. They talked matters over and decided to send a telegram to Bishop Mann at Orlando, asking him to come as soon as possible. At 11 a. m. I was summoned before the grand jury. They had been charged by the foreman to inquire into the case and the charges, which some had made against me, of teaching, or advizing, inter-marriage and social equality between the races. The grand jury seemed to give most of their time to sifting evidence of these spurious charges and very little to the endeavor to trace the instigators or perpetrators of the crime. I was summoned to meet the grand jury again on Tuesday, the 19th. On arriving at the courthouse at 9 a. m. I found Bishop Mann and Mr. Phillips in the sheriff's office, the bishop earnestly urging the officers to pursue every clue and uncover the perpetrators of the deed, and they confessing their helplessness in the case in the absence of any evidence to guide them.

The bishop appeared before the grand jury about 11 a. m. Finally at 12 o'clock the grand jury adjourned for lunch and told me that they were satisfied and did not wish me to appear before them again. The grand jury found no evidence to substantiate the allegations made against me.

At 12.30 p. m. I was waiting in the courtroom while Bishop Mann and Mr. Phillips were in consultation with the mayor of the city in an adjoining room. While waiting, Judge Branning saw me there and came over to me. He said he was just about to send me a message, and asked me to come into his office for a moment. I went with him and there I found A. H. Hubbard, British vice-consul, and Jack Cleary, commander of the "Harry Leeds Post" of the American Legion. Apparently on the representation of Mr. Cleary, Judge Branning had sent for the British vice-consul and he (the judge) told me that he had asked the British vice-consul to take me under arrest for protection at the British vice consulate, for as represented to him by Mr. Cleary the gang which assaulted me were going to "get me" tonight and lynch me. I thanked the judge and informed him that the sheriff had very kindly offered me a lodging in the county jail. Mr. Cleary thought that the best thing to do was for me to leave the city on the 4.40 train this afternoon. I would not give them my consent. I said that the bishop and the mayor of the city were discussing the subject in another room. We then went over and joined them. Mr. Cleary made the statement that secret service men of the American Legion had found out that the gang who assaulted me were determined to get me that night and that the best thing to do was that I should decide to leave and that he might publish that fact before the issue of the evening paper. For the sake of Miami, and for the sake of respect for law and order, I hesitated to give such consent. It seemed such a miserable thing, and would bring such reproach on the city, to say that an inoffensive resident and worker in the city could not be protected from a cowardly set of lawless ruffians. I said, "Mr. Mayor, I am sorry for you that you have just been called to rule over a city which cannot protect a harmless resident against a lawless mob." He replied, "I can and will protect you. I shall set an ample armed guard around your house to protect you."

Mr. Cleary interposed and said if such a thing took place that probably the infuriated gang would set fire to St. Agnes' and shoot up the colored town, and there would be a riot with the loss of many innocent lives and destruction of property; in fact another Tulsa.

The bishop said he could not ask me to stay in the face of such conditions.

What could I do! I could not sacrifice the lives, or even risk it, of those committed to my charge and amongst whom I had loved to work. And yet to confess that mob law was supreme in Miami! Well, that was the burden for the constituted authority to bear. I said I would go by the 4.40 p. m. train and with two hours' notice my daughter and I packed a few things and left Miami.

# Bishop Mann Sums Up the Case

Fellow Citizens—I have just come to the city of Miami upon hearing of the recent and most deplorable event, the atrocity perpetrated by a band of ruffians upon one of your notable and most useful citizens, the Venerable Archdeacon Irwin of the Episcopal church.

I am confident that you all must agree with me in feeling the utmost horror and regret over this occurrence.

But I imagine that the great majority of you do not completely realize it, inasmuch as you have no personal acquaintance with Archdeacon Irwin, nor with the details of his work in this region.

There have been statements floating around to the effect that he had been indiscreet in this and that way, that he had said this or that dangerous thing, that he had taken this or that obnoxious attitude. These statements, unsupported and unverifiable, have probably had some effect in making people think that while, of course, the outrage upon him could not possibly be justified, nevertheless it was not without some color of cause.

Permit me, therefore, to make a statement to you with regard to the archdeacon and his work, to tell you how he came here, what he has been doing here and what I trust, by God's grace, he will continue to do here.

When I came to South Florida as bishop, one of the greatest problems that lay before me was the work among the colored people. It so happens, [*Continued on page 130*

# The German-American Irreconcilables

## Another Side of the New Hyphenism That Is Growing in New York

### By Rollin Lynde Hartt

THE *Fatherland,* now styled the *American Monthly,* declines to recognize any such being as a German-American. Instead, it sees German Americans. Happy thought! If hyphens annoy, remove the whole embarrassment by not printing them.

Nevertheless, the *Fatherland's* editor said to me recently at his office in East Forty-second Street, New York, "German Americans have been made conscious of the hyphen by the war," and a circular from the Steuben Society declares, "In this country the American elements of German origin or descent, after two hundred years of loyal and unselfish coöperation with the British-American elements, have been driven into conditions of racial self-consciousness and deep resentment whose full measure can as yet hardly be gauged."

In New York—today the third German city of the world, with 750,000 Germans and children of Germans and with a German-American vote approximating 1,250,000—resentment goes especially deep. What wonder? Roebling, a German-American, built the Brooklyn bridge. Lindenthal, a German-American, built the Hell Gate bridge. Leutze, a German-American, painted "Washington Crossing the Delaware." Zenzer, a German-American, won the freedom of the press. Acting-Governor Leischer, a German-American, was the first to suffer martyrdom in the cause of American independence. Bergh, a German-American, founded the S. P. C. A., August Belmont, a German-American, founded the Manhattan Club. Drexel, a German-American, created the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. Steinway, a German-American, established the famous piano factory. The Waldorf-Astoria is so named because John Jacob Astor, a German-American, came from Waldorf near Heidelberg.

Just now we talk of "blue laws." It was German-Americans who gave New York its continental Sunday and, within the recollection of New Yorkers still in middle life, taught half its saloons to spell "beer" b-i-e-r, while the red, white and black waved over vereins and turn-vereins, and "leedle Cherman bands" played joyously in the streets of a city as German as it had once been Irish and as German, proportionally, as it is now Jewish.

Not unnaturally, the war-time collapse of Deutschtum in New York brought pangs unutterable. Imagine the bewilderment among German-Americans when the New York *Sun* cried, "The Germans are not human beings in the common acceptance of the term," and the New York *Herald* advocated the hanging of German-Americans to lamp-posts, and New Yorkers remarked to one another, "The only good German-American is a dead German-American." Imagine their indignation when Mrs. William Jay, an American of German descent, led off in a triumphant crusade against German music, German plays, German opera! Meanwhile numerous German-Americans were scared into changing their names, buying Liberty bonds, shouting "Ve haf always sidudt mit de Alleys," and ordering "Liberty cabbage" instead of sauerkraut. German-Americans saw Albert Paul Fricke tried for high treason. They saw Paul C. Hennig accused of tampering with gyroscopes manufactured for the Government. According to German-American records, "a woman was knocked down in the streets of New York for speaking German, and the courts discharged the brute without a reprimand." Albeit in a milder form, the rebellion against Deutschtum continues. Only seven New York high schools now have classes in German, and only 532 pupils studied German in New York last year.

Mr. George Sylvester Veireck, thanks to his exuberant pro-Germanism in war-time, endured what still seems to him a most unmerited succession of annoyances. Says he, "Bookstalls, coerced and intimidated, no longer dared to display my magazines or my writings. It was made difficult for me to obtain office space in New York. My publishers suddenly requested me to take back my books. Mobs were inspired by insidious newspaper campaigns to menace my house in a peaceful suburb misnamed Mount Vernon. After their visit the family council determined upon a strategic retreat to New York. My employees were alternately threatened with internment and tempted with the offer of lucrative situations to bear false witness against me. The Vigilantes, a band of literary war profiteers, issued almost daily bulls and bulletins against me. The Poetry Society of America struck my name from its roll. My expulsion from the Authors' League preceded the action of the Poetry Society."

Americans, and indeed a somewhat numerous minority among German-Americans, think Veireck got off with considerable less discomfort than he had reason to expect. Viewing the entire category of pains and penalties inflicted upon enemy aliens, they call them mild. To the German-American irreconcilables in New York, however, they appear monstrous. Not long ago these same irreconcilables demanded that a German-American be assigned a Cabinet portfolio in recognition of their "heroic services before, during, and after the war."

In New York City today you are seldom made vividly aware of Deutschtum. German liners, long since rechristened, bear new flags, new funnel marks. Germans, when seeking employment, introduce themselves as Czechoslovaks. No German uses his Muttersprache in public. Yet twenty-seven German-American Masonic lodges, one more than 125 years old, still thrive. German-American newspapers—*Morgen Journal, Deutscher Journal, Staats-Zeitung, Volks-Zeitung,* and *Herold*—pay their compliments to "Praesident Harding" on the one hand and to the "Bolschewiki in Soviet-Russland" on the other. Occasionally the old spirit of German-American New Yorkers [*Continued on page 127*

**New York is:**
**The largest Negro city**
**The largest Jewish city**
**The largest Italian city**
**The largest Irish city**
**The third largest German city in the world.**

**Mr. Hartt has already sketched what this means in the cases of the Negroes, the Jews, the Italians and the Irish, in "I'd Like to Show You Harlem" in The Independent for April 2, "New York and the Real Jew," June 25, "Made in Italy," July 23 and "More Irish than Ireland," August 20. This article on the German-Americans carries on the study of "The New Hyphenism," and uncovers some of the hate that still smoulders beneath our "peace with Germany"**

# The Three Russias

## By Preston Slosson

ONE Russia we know; the Russia that actually came into being in 1917. Territorially, it is a huge, sprawling empire, and yet seriously curtailed by secessionist movements here and there. Diplomatically, it is a nation without a recognized government and without any discoverable consistent foreign policy. Politically, it is a class despotism, resting on a narrow franchise and a complex and indirect system of election which removes even the voter from any direct influence on the central government. Economically, it is a nation with practically no foreign trade, with its industries running on one-tenth the normal schedule, with diminished agricultural output, and suffering from the greatest famine of modern times.

Russia stood at the crossroads in 1917. Three roads stretched before her. One was the old path trodden for so many centuries, the traditional despotism of the Czars. Another was the highway of constitutional democracy. The third path was the new despotism of Bolshevism. It is not too much to say that the fate of the whole world was bound up in Russia's momentous choice. We can never know exactly what would have happened had Russia chosen the first or the second path. But some consequences would have been fairly certain, and it is worth while to examine these for the moment in order to measure the effect of the Bolshevist revolution.

Suppose that the Russians like loyal, honorable men had rallied around the Constitutional Assembly which they themselves had elected and which was based on the freest suffrage Russia has ever known. Suppose that the Bolshevist insurrection, originally the work of a minority, had been put down and that Russia had remained loyal to the cause of the Allies for the remainder of the war. What would have resulted?

Not much in the military way perhaps. Germany was pressing forward into Russia like a knife cutting thru butter even while Kerensky yet held power. It is probable that in any case Germany would have dominated Poland, Finland, the Baltic Provinces and the Ukraine during the early months of 1918. Perhaps Petrograd would have fallen to the invader. But even if the Russians were compelled to fall back on Moscow, the mere fact that they remained "in the war" would have compelled Germany to keep a large army in eastern Europe. The tide of war would have turned sooner in the west and the armistice would have come some months earlier than it did. Brest-Litovsk was Germany's greatest victory in the war, tho it was a treaty and not a battle.

But the real advantage to the world of a Russia loyal to the allies would have come after the armistice. Russia would have entered the Paris Conference as one of the Allied and Associated Powers and deliberated on a footing of equality with England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. Turkey would not have been permitted to massacre the Armenians, to keep Constantinople and to reëstablish her military strength in Asia Minor. A victorious Russia, always the enemy of Turkey, would have seen to that! Poland would not have been forced to extend her boundaries into countries where there is only a small minority of Poles; a democratic Russia would have agreed to Polish independence but would have insisted that the eastern frontier of Poland go no farther than the limits of Polish speech. Japan would not have had reason and excuse for occupying eastern Siberia. France, allied to a powerful Russia, would have been less afraid of a German "revanche" and would have agreed with England that Germany must have a fair chance to recover prosperity. Best of all, the League of Nations would have been strengthened immeasurably by the addition of another great Power with some 150,000,000 white inhabitants.

No doubt a democratic Russia would have had internal troubles enough. Plotters, both Czarist and Bolshevist, would threaten her overthrow. There would have been some shortage of food and much shortage of transportation. The little nationalities of the Baltic and the Caucasus would have threatened secession. But there would have been a steady current of foreign trade between Russia and friendly and allied nations which would have done much to restore prosperity. There would have been less industry-wrecking communist experiment. The present famine, if not wholly escaped, would not have been aggravated by the short-sighted Bolshevist policy of confiscating the crops to feed the cities. Whatever measures of repression might have been adopted, it is not probable that liberal-spirited rulers would have suspended all civil and judicial liberties as ruthlessly as the Bolsheviki. Russia would have escaped thousands of executions and lynchings of her best citizens, and many intelligent "bourgeoisie," now in hiding or in exile, would be using their talents to solve the problems of reconstruction.

IT is sad to reflect how much Russia and the whole world have lost by Russia's failure to take the path of enlightenment, democracy and civil freedom. But perhaps what the world lost in Russia's choice of Bolshevism is no greater than what the world gained by Russia's rejection of Czarism. Suppose that the old régime, unmodified, unrepentant, had been represented at Paris. Can we doubt that, elated by victory, Russia's diplomats would have demanded the reannexation of Poland and Finland? Local parliaments might have been granted to these provinces, but such parliaments have been granted before—and taken away later on! The tide of Czarism and Rasputinism would have swept over all eastern Europe to within a few miles of Berlin, and it would threaten at any time to inundate Bohemia, Hungary and the Balkans, perhaps even the Scandinavian countries. Germany, confronted by the terror to the east, would remain militarist and perhaps monarchist. Sooner or later, England might be forced to save India or to preserve the balance of power on the continent of Europe by a war with the Russian bear as vast and terrible as was the war with the Prussian eagle.

Russia, under the Czars, was strong but not free.

Russia, under the republican régime of 1917, was free but not strong; after recovery from the wounds of war it would have been both free and strong.

Russia, under Bolshevism, is neither free nor strong.

We all want to see Russia both free and strong, but so long as she is not free perhaps it is well for the world that she is weak. Bolshevism has many faults, but it has the redeeming virtue of paralyzing its own power to do evil.

## The Peace of Berlin

IN 1919 the United States took part in making a treaty, signed at Versailles, which united us with other nations in sustaining each other's rights and privileges and in upholding the general peace of the world.

In 1921 the United States negotiated at Berlin a separate peace which secured our own "rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations and advantages," while at the same time repudiating any obligation toward our comrades of the Great War or toward the welfare of the world at large.

It is fitting and proper that the treaty of victory should have been signed at a city of the Allies while the separate

peace "without victory and without honor" should have been signed in the citadel of Prussianism. The Prussian spirit of national selfishness has defeated us.

## Defiance to the Skies

THE big airship wreck in England has several morals for technicians. It may mean that construction has been insufficiently rigid, or that some less inflammable gas than hydrogen must be used, or that (as the experience of German Zeppelins in the war indicated) the airplane is a safer vehicle than the dirigible balloon. But there is just one moral for those of us who are not technicians: that man will never rest until he has conquered the air as thoroly as he has conquered land and sea. On the face of things it is absurd to hitch on to a big soap bubble and dive upwards into the illimitable seas of air. But it was just as absurd to cross the ocean in big iron tubs, or to be carried forty miles an hour behind a steam boiler, or even to mount that strong and ramping beast, the horse. Men will dare anything in the quest of some new way of moving farther and faster than their forefathers.

# War Liquidations

## By Talcott Williams

WAR liquidation is the great problem which people and party have so far dodged in personal plans and in party policy and platforms.

The wisest example the Republican party can follow is its own policy after 1865. The Civil War closed with 1,000,000 men under arms, a larger force under one command than the European world had known save when Napoleon marched on Moscow. Our fleet mounted more guns than England's and had a larger tonnage of ironclads. The army was reduced to 50,000 men until the French left Mexico, and then to 25,000. After Custer's defeat (1876) it was raised to 27,500 and remained at this force until 1898. For fifteen years no new war vessels, worth counting, were built and in 1880 our fleet was smaller than Turkey's. Annual expenditures were reduced, taxes repealed and the debt reduced from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 a year. In twenty-five years three-fifths of the war debt was paid off. Direct military and naval expenditures were kept so low that military experts held them too small for safety; but the display of military efficiency in the Civil War proved adequate production for a generation as will the record of the Great War.

Individually, we have all had a hope that war taxes would disappear and diminish as they did after 1865, when the income tax went in two years. The war taxes now are here to stay. Secretary Mellon is right in saying that at least $4,000,000,000 a year will be needed. This means high taxes. A very large share of this will be paid by about 1,000,000 families, of whom those who take The Independent make a much larger fraction than they realize. You, gentle reader, will probably make a return on this tax as long as you live.

By waiting and not going in at once we greatly increased the money cost of the war and greatly decreased the tax on life. We saved the Allies from utter bankruptcy and history will probably rate the $10,000,000,000 we loaned the Allies as more than Chateau-Thierry and the Argonne, tho without these last the Allies could not have won.

President Wilson and his Cabinet not only dodged any plan for paying for the war, they enormously increased its cost. Being late, they hurried and hurry in war is colossal waste. By regulating prices the last administration could have prevented, for instance, Steel Trust profits. President Wilson refused to follow a plan, laid before him, to do this in the Shipping Board. This would have cut the costs of the vessels built about one-half. He had no knowledge of big business. Neither had any of his Cabinet but Mr. McAdoo and his contact was not starred with success. Contracts on the "cost plus 10 per cent" led to needless outlay. We did no worse than England, but we could have done better.

The Republican party has now the task of liquidating liabilities not even yet fully known. There is at least $2,000,000,000 to be defined and decided upon, a quagmire of floating debt, already incurred or to be incurred if we keep our flag on the seas and loan money by the hundred million to western farmers, cotton planters, exporters caught long on invoice and short on sales and to states that want lavish expenditure on roads, schools and to all the demands of the maternity, health crusades, pellagra, sleeping sickness, an Idaho canal to the Pacific, unlimited nitrogen from Muscle Shoals. No one knows where we shall be. Three weeks ago no one in Washington knew that the Shipping Board—an eight-day clock if there ever was one—had been left wound up by the last Administration, so that the cuckoo would suddenly pop-out and peep: "I want $380,000,000 for the fiscal year, 1921-22, or I'll stop!"

A tax bill is not to be made in a day under these conditions. Congress is wise in leaving current taxes until the end of this calendar year. The Fordney bill was a necessary stop-gap, just as the old-fashioned day-laborer used to spit on his hands as a sign that he was going to lift it, whatever it was. Democratic party papers are making the use we all do in any controversy, family, political or business, of Republican delay on tariff and tax bill; but in the uncertain condition in which Federal liabilities were left March 4, no comprehensive tax system can be worked out until Federal needs are known.

FUTURE policy grows clear as reports are made and votes are taken. The same national feeling which gave the overwhelming Republican majority a year ago is as strongly in favor of keeping this country a favored region apart, with high wages, high prices and high profits and high duties. This is hard on the seaboard which wants foreign goods cheap and can get them cheap by sea. Railroad freights make them dear for the interior. The western farmer and the southern planter want the factory as close as possible to the farm and their Representatives and Senators are voting that way. Labor is of a like opinion. So is the eastern manufacturer. This is hard on the small fixed income in our cities and on the hope of foreign trade; but a poverty-stricken world is going to send out the cheapest goods we have ever seen. A laboring family in England is expected to live on $5 or $6 a week at present prices and 8,000,000 wage-earners, more than three-quarters of the whole, get this or less. German goods are offered lower than before the war. The British Board of Trade showed in a report before the war that for all our tariff raised prices our wages were still higher and gave the American laborer 100 per cent more purchasing power.

The system which brought this about will not be abandoned and a protective tariff is certain. The farmer as well as the manufacturer is for it for the first time. Such a tariff will, like all taxes, help and hinder. It is nonsense to say that the duty is always paid by the consumer. If the world supply is larger than the demand the producer will pay the tax to get the market. If not, the reverse. This country has a fifteenth of the world's population and barring a few staples of tropical origin produces from a fourth to half of the world's products. It draws prosperity from protection, when an island like England would be ruined by it.

The excess profit tax is gone with the profits. It did not raise prices. It was wise when war profits were big. They are gone. A corporation tax is better. The surtaxes of the income tax ought not to be abolished. In the end they will

not be. A probate tax with heavy surtaxes is the best way to reach large fortunes and bonds, now exempt. Andrew Carnegie, who was qualified to speak for great fortunes, favored a probate tax of 90 per cent for fortunes over $100,000. Not having Mr. Carnegie's experience, I agree with him, tho I would not go quite so far. The abolition is wise of meddlesome taxes on sodas, sweets and so-called "luxuries."

But these are general matters. The root of the present situation is that Congress cannot enact a new tax system without waiting to know what revenue is needed. The Disarmament Conference may reduce demands. If, as the Republican policy proposes, Secretary Mellon be given full authority and responsibility for settling foreign debts, this is far better than casting this delicate issue into the cauldron of Congress.

This country can have ships at sea if it pays a subsidy. American labor will not work at English wages. If cheap foreign labor is permitted our mercantile marine will not be American. Even with a subsidy the ships would pay nationally, but the flag and American wages cannot be had without it. Does a department store get any direct revenue from delivery wagons? Each is run at a loss.

## Drawbacks

NOTHING is perfect here below; every rose has its thorn; honey bees have stings; big dinners mean big bills; industrial civilization has its slums and strikes; the greatest city of the Western Continent has a mayor who doesn't know arithmetic. Such is life!

## Economics: Lesson I

THE great problem in public finance is the incidence of taxation. This means, how to make the other fellow pay it.

# The Wisdom of Viscount Bryce

### By Franklin H. Giddings

THE occasional combination of age with vigor, and of the wisdom of age with unflagging interest in the world and its destinies, sustains our faith in the possibilities of life. It has not often been seen in proportions so impressive and so satisfying as in the career of Viscount Bryce. A student whose historical scholarship was recognized and certified before most of the men now prominent in research were born, a man of affairs who carried international responsibilities after most of the men who started with him had wearied and retired, he yet contributes to new knowledge, and yet stands among the pilots on the bridge of a fog-bound ship of state.

The completion of a work of such magnitude as "Modern Democracies" after the allotted three score years and ten was a great and altogether remarkable achievement; for the touch is firm, the memory sure, the vision clear. If, however, we supposed that it was Viscount Bryce's last word, or last important word, we were altogether mistaken. His addresses at Williamstown have been more than merely adequate to an exceptional occasion and worthy of it. They will stand among the most substantial reflections called forth by the European war and the attempt to create a League of Nations to prevent another devastation like it. They have been more than informing, more than interpretive; they have been compact of wisdom.

It is the wisdom of Viscount Bryce that is impressive, and in these addresses he has shown us the nexus of his wisdom. It is revealed in three of his chief contentions.

He unequivocally insists (against current prejudices) that ability is more necessary than education and programs for the safety of the world; nature, as the psychologists phrase it, is precedent to nurture. The world looked in vain after the armistice of 1917 for the adequately great man to inspire and intellectually to command its spent and bewildered peoples. Democracy is workable only if it begets and selects ability and ability retains ascendancy.

Behavior, Viscount Bryce in a further contention warns us, is imperative. Good intentions are not enough. Disarmament must be disarmament, not talk, and it must begin now, or the bankruptcy of civilization is in sight.

And third, Viscount Bryce declares that discussion is more vital than devices. A mechanism for adjusting international relations has become necessary, but the pattern of it is a secondary matter. The essential thing is continuing and responsible discussion (thinking aloud) by a representative body of men whose judgments will command that respect and the assent which will be the only enforcing agency that we can count on.

In these contentions Viscount Bryce discloses the core of his wisdom. He has principles, which he believes in and stands for; which he sees the grounds and implications of, and knows how to defend. He is a skilful diplomatist and in the good sense of the word an experimentalist or opportunist, but he knows that some things have been settled. His principles are inductions from experience.

Mr. Canby the other day in a thoughtful review of Mr. Paul Elmer More's latest essays strongly defended the experimental mood (and habit) against the assertion of principles. Whether there is a real issue here or not depends on what we should understand by principles. The day of absolutist, *a priori* principles we may hope has gone by; but inductive principles are relative. Between them and experimentalism there is no conflict in theory; to make none in practice is wisdom. Viscount Bryce has seen no such conflict in political theory; he warns us to make none in policy.

## When Ireland Is Free——

THEN, maybe, critics will not refer to George Bernard Shaw as "the famous *English* dramatist";

Kitchener of Kerry County and Wellington of Dublin will not go down to history as English generals;

Tammany Hall will take its tiger away from New York;

English statesmen will have leisure to attend to their business of ruling England, instead of spending their time in measures to conciliate or coerce John Bull's other island;

The Hearst papers will have to spend all of their time in fighting Japan instead of dividing their attention between Japan and England;

Admiral Sims can turn his attention to naval affairs;

American politicians will have one thing less to worry about.

## Ireland and the League

IF the British Government and the Irish revolutionists agree that Ireland shall have what is called "Dominion Home Rule," one consequence will be that Ireland will be eligible for separate representation in the League of Nations Assembly, as are Canada, Australia and other British Dominions today. Some interesting consequences will follow:

1. The League of Nations will have given Ireland a national recognition which would not have been possible had the Covenant never been written.

2. Irish-American opponents of the League will have to choose between repudiating Ireland's new international dignity and abandoning their own hostility to the League.

3. We will hear less nonsense about Great Britain "controlling the votes of the Dominions," for it is obvious even to the dullest that the Irish member of the League of Nations Assembly is not going to vote just as Lloyd George tells him to! The vote of the Dominion of Ireland will be more apt to subtract one from the number of delegates voting with Great Britain than to add one to that number.

# The Story of the Week

## The War in West Virginia

TROUBLE smouldering for several years in the Mingo mine region of West Virginia has burst again into active conflagration. The miners of Marmet, about ten miles from Charleston, the state capital, assembled on August 23 to the number of about five thousand. The man whose name was signed to the original call for the meeting of miners disclaimed that he was responsible. President Charles F. Keeney, leader of the union miners of District 17, issued a statement on August 24 declaring that he and his district officers heard nothing of the call to armed organization. From Marmet in Kanawha county the miners began a march south across Boone toward Logan and Mingo counties with the ostensible purpose of assisting the miners of Mingo county to form unions. A decided difference of opinion seems to exist as to whether or not the Mingo miners wish to form a union, to become part of the United Mine Workers of America. The marching miners say they do. The operators of the mines in Mingo county say that the miners there signed petitions in June asking the Senate Committee on Labor and Education to make no finding that would commit the Mingo field to the domination of the United Mine Workers of America. The miners of Mingo county have issued no direct statement. The contention of the armed marchers is that the petition mentioned by the mine operators does not represent the independent and uninfluenced preference of the Mingo workers.

C. F. Keeney and Fred Mooney, tho indicted by a special grand jury for alleged responsibility in the deaths last May of Ambrose Gooslin and Dan Whitt, have done what they could to stop the march of the invading union miners. This action was taken on the insistence of Brigadier-General Bandholtz, who arrived in Charleston early in the morning of August 26. By 3.30 in the afternoon the two officials reported by telephone that the marchers had agreed to disperse and return home. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, on August 29 issued a statement from Indianapolis that he was "more than willing to join Governor Morgan in any sincere attempt to prevent civil war in West Virginia and to lend aid to the constituted authorities in securing respect for the State and Federal laws."

He continues: "As the first and logical step in this direction I suggest to Governor Morgan that he compel the surrender and disarmament of the Baldwin-Feltz private army now operating in the coal fields of the state. If this army of thugs lays down its arms to the Governor, he should also insist that they also surrender all their privately owned munitions of war, including huge stores of ammunition, rifles, sidearms, machine guns, mobile field pieces, and armored cars. Governor Morgan can disarm and disband this private army of thugs if he will, and if he is really sincere in the desire to avoid civil war in West Virginia he will do this. Governor Morgan has publicly admitted that the employment of an army of detectives in the coal fields is reprehensible and indefensible. Having such convictions, his obvious duty is to drive them out."




*Rollin Kirby in New York World*

**The call for Uncle Sam**

On August 30 President Harding, after a conference with Secretary of War Weeks, Generals Pershing and Harbord, and a delegation of citizens from West Virginia, issued a proclamation calling upon the armed marchers, who took up arms again, saying the state constabulary had broken faith, to disperse and return to their homes by noon of September 1. This action was taken after Governor Morgan had acknowledged the inability of the state constabulary to deal adequately with the situation. At the same time instructions were issued to officers in charge of Camp Dix to have one regiment of infantry, comprising 1000 officers and men, in readiness for dispatch to the threatened territory.



© *Keystone View*

**This tent on Lick Creek is typical of the homes of West Virginia miners who have been holding out on strike against the coal companies**

Active hostilities occurred in the deaths of a deputy sheriff and a miner on August 31 at the boundary line of Boone and Logan counties. On the Logan side the defense against invasion was taken over by hastily organized volunteer bands consisting largely of clerks, business men, teachers, preachers and house-holders. Guerrilla warfare continued for several days, with no conspicuous loss of life, the rumors were afloat that over fifty of the miners had been killed. Airplanes, one of which fell to the ground with the death of four of the five occupants, were sent to reconnoiter the scene of hostilities and to drop printed copies of President Harding's proclamation. The "battle-line" was

reported to extend for twenty-five miles along the boundaries of the two directly interested counties. Machine guns were in operation. Trains were commandeered by the miners and sent back of the lines to bring up more of the attacking force. A deputies' patrol was repulsed by the miners. General Bandholtz on September 3 telegraphed the War Department requesting that Federal troops be sent at once to Mingo County.

Affairs then on September 4 took a decided change for the better. Four hundred miners surrendered their arms and returned to their homes. All factions united in welcoming the coming of the Federal troops, and the establishment of law and order. Fighting ceased along the Boone-Logan county lines. Deputies captured by the miners were freed. The two thousand Federal troops had not been required to fire a single shot, and on September 5 Brigadier-General Bandholtz reported to Secretary Weeks that the situation was under control, and the miners' army entirely dispersed.

## As Idle as a Painted Ship

HOW is the United States Shipping Board to put into operation the 700 idle vessels of its 1400 wooden fleet? Chairman Lasker announces that in a fleet of 280 he received a bid of only $2,100 for each ship. These vessels originally cost the Government between $300,000 and $800,000. So far only five vessels have actually been sold, and those five ships for $5,000 each.




*Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

**"Spurlos Versenkt"**

As to the "bare-boat charter" plan, one president of an operating steamship line thinks that the expenses are too high to permit more than a hundred vessels being taken over by charter from the Government. Ultimately, perhaps enough companies will be willing to undertake the supplying of crew, fuel and stores, and the making of repairs necessary to keep the boats in condition. In addition the bare-boat operator must pay charter hire, insurance, and interest on his investment, and the insurance is fixed on the valuation of the vessel, not upon the market price of tonnage. Chairman Lasker has said that the Government in 1920 lost $220,000,000 while operating the fleet. Only when business revives will the individual operator dare risk the investment.

Another large steamship operator advocates a subsidy by the Government, arguing that before the Civil War the prosperity of the American Merchant Marine was created by a subsidy in the form of customs rebates on imports carried in American bottoms. Some members of the Shipping Board itself are of the opinion that to dismantle the ships altogether is the most profitable way of securing any kind of immediate return on the Government funds.

Some of the attacks on the methods of the new Shipping Board center upon the fact that Congress in its appropriation bill declared that not more than six officials of the board and fleet corporation, exclusive of the seven commissioners, may be paid more than $11,000 a year. These criticisms have been answered by Elmer Schlesinger, general counsel of the United States Shipping Board, who declared that only twenty men, instead of forty as stated by critics of the Board, are receiving more than $12,000 a year.

When the public takes into consideration that the ships cost $3,500,000,000 and that at least 600 are now being operated, the stupendous task before us demands that we obtain the best men in the United States to conduct the board on a business basis. That was the fault in the past, it was not conducted on business lines.

A new manager for the Shipping Board district comprising New York, Boston and Philadelphia has been appointed in the person of August F. Mack, former president of the Cosmopolitan Line, whose management of his own company had resulted in a credit of $12,000,000 with the Shipping Board due to his successful operation of ships taken on assignment. No immediate changes in policy are contemplated except a drastic reduction in the New York office force of the Shipping Board.

The nine vessels originally operated by the United States Mail Steamship Company, after various adventures in receivers' hands, are henceforth to be run by an advisory committee appointed by Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board, the committee to act under the name of the United States Lines. The managing operators are W. Averell Harriman, A. V. Moore, and Kermit Roosevelt. T. H. Rosbottom has been appointed general manager. Under the supervision of this committee the liner "George Washington" sailed on September 3, flying the flag of the United States Lines. The other ships belonging to the newly transferred fleet will be operated as liners as rapidly as they can be put into condition. President Harding has approved the payment of another million dollars by the Government for tickets sold by the former operating company to prospective immigrants, and not redeemed when bankruptcy proceedings were filed against the United States Mail Lines in the Federal court.

## Child Labor Law Challenged

ACTING under its power to regulate interstate commerce Congress passed in 1916 a law forbidding the transportation between the states of factory products produced by child labor. This law was challenged in the Federal courts and finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In consequence of this decision another law was passed to attain the same end, not directly forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, but levying a special 10 per cent tax on the firms engaged in the exploitation of child labor; a tax nominally for revenue but really meant to be prohibitory. It was thought that the law in its new form would meet the technical objections raised by the courts.

But Federal Judge Boyd of North Carolina, who had also opposed the first child labor law, now declares its successor likewise invalid as an invasion by the Federal Government of the powers reserved to the states. This probably means that a test case will be carried before the Supreme Court to determine whether Congress can constitutionally use the taxing power to discourage an admitted public evil.

There are so many precedents of prohibitive Federal taxation that most lawyers believe that the new law will be sustained in spite of the adverse verdict in the lower court.

## The Bonus Found Unconstitutional

THE New York Court of Appeals at Albany on August 31 ruled that the State law providing for the payment of a soldiers' bonus is unconstitutional. The ground taken is that the State Constitution in Section 9 of Article VII declares: "The credit of the State shall not in any manner be given or loaned to, or in aid of, any individual, association or corporation." Five judges concurred in the majority report, written by Judge Andrews. Judges Cardozo and Pound dissented in separate opinions.

By a majority of over 700,000 the citizens of New York State had voted on referendum to grant all ex-service men a bonus of $10 for each month of service, with a minimum payment of $60 and a maximum payment of $250. The total amount of bond issue was estimated at $45,000,000, and preparations had been made by State Controller Wendell to float the first ten millions of the amount. The bankers, however, on advice from their lawyers, gave their opinion that it would be unsafe for them to purchase any of the $10,000,000 issue until action had been taken by the Court of Appeals to establish the constitutionality of the issue threatened in the State Constitution by Section 9 of Article VII. At the same time the financiers gave assurance that as soon as the constitutionality of the bond issue was guaranteed by court decision, they would proceed to purchase them.




*Stinson in Dayton News*

"I can't eat flowers"

Judge Andrews takes the position that the Bonus Bill, tho passed by both houses of the Legislature, signed by the Governor, and ratified by a 700,000 majority vote of the citizens of the State, is "clearly a gift of the credit of the State unless it is a payment of some obligation which the State owes." He insists that the bonus is not the payment of an obligation to the soldiers from the State. The claim, if any, he asserts, is against the Federal Government. Judge Cardozo in his dissenting opinion declares that the claim of soldiers, whether wounded or not, for the bonus is founded on a moral obligation, and that therefore the credit of the State is not given away for nothing. Judge Pound holds that the credit of the State is not given away under any circumstances, since only the credit of the bondholders is involved. In financial circles, however, the decision of the Court of Appeals is received with satisfaction.

The officers of the World War Veterans and of the American Legion, tho clearly disappointed, are not disposed to resent the decision of the Court of Appeals, prefering to start at once on measures that will remove the difficulty of declared unconstitutionality. One measure suggested has been to employ the method of direct tax as it was used by the State of Massachusetts, which added a direct increase of $3 to each individual poll tax, and in that way quickly raised and paid a bonus totaling $9,000,000. The objection to this method is that the taxpayers of the State of New York are already sufficiently burdened. Governor Miller is in favor of a constitutional amendment that will enable the bonus bond issue to be made in accordance with law. The chief objection on the part of ex-service men to this proposal is that such a constitutional amendment could not be lawfully completed until some time in 1923, and that so many service men are now in financial straits as a result of their war experiences that it is cruel to expect them to wait for two years more before they are relieved.

## Mexico Settles Her Oil Problem

FROM Mexico City on September 4 was issued a public statement announcing that a satisfactory arrangement had been effected of the differences between the American oil companies and the Mexican Government. Secretary of the Treasury De la Huerta declares:

> The results of the conference are not detrimental to the national policy of our Government. An agreement has been reached which is favorable to both sides. The new system for the collection of the export duty on oil provided in the decree of June 7 has been established that this payment shall be made every three months instead of monthly, as stipulated by the decree. Some minor points remain pending, which will be settled after the arrival of the oil presidents in New York, where they will be obliged to secure further data for the purpose. A definite statement of the arrangements will be published as soon as these details are accepted.

President Obregon from Chapultepec Castle gave further comment:

> I believe that the arrangements made will be highly advantageous to our country, while they show the goodwill which animated both sides thruout the conferences in the effort to solve the difficulties which had arisen in the oil question. The fact that work will be resumed in the oil regions immediately is indeed cause for great satisfaction. It will benefit the entire republic. Besides, this establishes a precedent that, no matter what difficulties may arise, this question will be settled at once directly with the Government, without any intermediary. It is easy to understand that this constitutes a great advance over what has been done in the past. The presidents of the oil companies were here tonight to say farewell. I am under the impression that they are satisfied with the results they obtained.

The news of the successful termination of the conference was received in Tampico with rejoicing. The immediate result will be the resumption of oil operations in the Tampico region by American petroleum companies and the payment of postponed taxes, with the lifting of the Government embargo on the companies' fund and oil in storage. In Mexico City the following day the national exchange rates struck a new high level in the general optimism that follows the announcement of the success of the conference.

## Our Separate Peace

PRESIDENT Harding's peace program has reached its second stage. The first was the resolution declaring the state of war between the United States on the one hand and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other at an end. The second stage is the separate treaty of peace with Germany, necessitated by the failure of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty was signed at Berlin on August 25, Foreign Minister Rosen acting for Germany and Commissioner Ellis Dresel representing the United

States. The third stage will, of course, be the disarmament conference at Washington, which it is hoped will in some way, as yet undefined, lead to an "association of nations" replacing the repudiated League.

The peace treaty with Germany in its preamble recites the Congressional peace resolution which "reserved" American rights acquired under the Treaty of Versailles. Then follows Article I, by which Germany accords to the United States "all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution."

Article II contains the gist of the treaty. It selects from the Treaty of Versailles all articles relating directly to American interests and confirms them as between Germany and the United States, while refusing to underwrite any articles of mainly European interest or any articles which relate to the League of Nations. The first clause grants to the United States the use of the provisions of Part IV, Section 1, of the Treaty of Versailles; also Parts V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, and XV. Part IV, Section I, provides that Germany renounces all right and title to her overseas colonies; it was necessary to include this section in the separate treaty in order to confirm our rights to interest ourselves in such Pacific problems as the island of Yap. Part V relates to German disarmament; Part VI to prisoners of war and soldiers' graves; Part VIII to reparations; Part IX to financial stipulations; Part X to economic stipulations; Part XI to aerial navigation; Part XII to ports, waterways and railways; Part XIV to guarantees of treaty enforcement, under which we are entitled to maintain an army of occupation on the Rhine; Part XV binds Germany to recognize other treaty arrangements with the Austro-Hungarian States and with Bulgaria and Turkey, also certain miscellaneous provisions.

The second clause of Article II of the separate peace is a complete and emphatic repudiation of the League of Nations and all its works:

> That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part One of that treaty, nor by any provisions of that treaty including those mentioned in Paragraph One of this Article, which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations, or by the Council or by the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

The third clause announces that the United States "assumes no obligations" regarding other parts of the Treaty of Versailles than those mentioned in the first clause of Article II. The parts of the treaty to which we thus declare ourselves indifferent comprize, in addition to the League of Nations clauses (Part I):

Part II, delimitation of the German frontiers;

Part III, all the clauses concerning the political settlement in Europe;

Part IV, Sections 2 to 8, covering German interests in China, Siam, Liberia, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Bulgaria and Shantung;

Part XIII, all of the labor clauses.

The fourth clause recites the right of the United States to participate in the Reparation Commission and other commissions established by the Treaty of Versailles and supplementary agreements, but adds that the United States "is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so."

The final clause of Article II simply provides that treaty stipulations concerning the United States shall be dated from the coming into force of the treaty. Article III provides that the treaty shall be ratified "in accordance with the constitutional forms" of each country and take effect upon exchange of ratifications.

Somewhat strangely, Part VII of the Treaty of Versailles was not mentioned in the separate pact with Germany, either among the provisions which we endorse or those with which we refuse to concern ourselves. Part VII provides for the trial of the ex-Kaiser and other German "war criminals."




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**Two birds with one stone**

# The League in Session

THE second plenary session of the League of Nations was convened in the Salle de la Reformation on September 5 by Acting President Dr. Wellington Koo of China. Thirty-nine of the forty-eight countries in the League were represented, no delegates being present from Argentina, Peru, Haiti, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, and Salvador. The absence of representatives from six Central American States called forth a great deal of comment and speculation as to whether the abstention of the United States had affected them. Argentine withdrew last year. The delegates of Peru and Haiti are on the way. Delegations are expected from some of the other absent nations.

In his opening address Dr. Koo asserted: "Every day that passes demonstrates that the League of Nations is not in any sense a superstate. It is a union of nations for the avoidance of the appalling catastrophe of war. It is a practical means for facilitating the conduct of international business and promoting the general welfare of mankind. It does not seek to bind the members of the League against their will. Its purpose is to secure those common ends of peace and justice which the Government of every country hopes for and which the people of every land passionately desire."

At the afternoon session Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, Foreign Minister of Holland, was chosen president of the Assembly by a vote of 21 to 15, succeeding Paul Hymans of Belgium. His chief supporters were England and Japan. Gastoa da Cunha, head of the Brazilian delegation, backed by France and the other Latin states, was second in the race.

Hungary was the only new applicant for membership, but the Assembly already had before it the application of Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Lichtenstein. It was deemed possible that the Assembly might be called upon to pass upon the admission of Germany, and it was said that there were several member nations who would support her claims for admission.

Thirty-five Americans were present in the galleries at the opening of the Assembly—a larger representation than that of any other country except Switzerland. Among them were David Jayne Hill, Frank A. Vanderlip, Miss Jane Addams, and former Congressman Charles G. Washburn of Massachusetts. The United States was not mentioned on the floor during the session.



*International*
One of the first photographs of the wreck of ZR-2—it was taken only a few minutes after the big dirigible fell flaming into the Humber River

# The Downfall of a Dirigible

WESTMINSTER Abbey on September 7 opened her doors in a memorial service for the forty-four American and British victims of the wreck of the great super-Zeppelin, which occurred at Hull on August 24. Only five of the crew total escaped. From the bed of the river Humber all but four of the bodies of the sixteen American victims have been recovered. The first of these memorial services was held at Howden, where the dirigible, the ZR-2, was evidently planning to land after a trial trip of nearly thirty-six hours in the air. At Hull on September 1 the funeral procession proceeded from the Guild Hall, led by the Lord Mayor and accompanied by the American consul and by units of the British army and navy, with officers from the United States navy at Hull, and representatives from the Air Service of both countries.

The ill-fated dirigible was the mightiest airship ever built, larger than the British R-34, which flew across the Atlantic in 1919, and with a gas capacity greater than the German Zeppelin L-71, which was built during the war to bomb Paris. Her total length was 700 feet, just 150 feet longer than the hight of the Washington monument. As fully equipped almost as an ocean liner, she was the Titanic of the air, and met a Titanic's fate. There were quarters for officers and for crew, a radio set with sending apparatus of about 1500 miles, wireless telephone, and electrical control systems thruout the dirigible itself, to permit of what seemed like certain safety. The cause of the accident, however, was evidently a weakness of the great steel girders somewhere amidships. As soon as the heavy nose of the dirigible began to part company with the rest of the ship, heavy explosions of the highly inflammable hydrogen gas took place, rendering escape almost impossible for the imprisoned crew. Men with parachutes in hand were burned to death before they could work clear of the tangled and falling rigging. Most of the wreckage has now been salvaged from the shoals of the Humber river, and probably all of the bodies recovered that were not destroyed.

In the coroner's inquest it was discovered that the body of Brigadier-General Maitland was found on the airship near the water ballast controls, which in emergencies are operated to insure the safety of an airship. Similar devotion to duty was reported in the case of Wireless Officer Wicks, who sent out as his last message, "Ship broken, falling." Subsequent signals were sent out but they were unintelligible.

The accident in England is not the only disaster that has overtaken the American dirigible service. Only a week later, on August 31, occurred in the hangar at Rockaway Point Naval Air Station another fire of hydrogen gas that destroyed the naval balloon D-6, the largest and newest non-rigid dirigible possessed by the Navy. Gasoline fumes are thought to have been ignited by a stroke from a workman's hammer just twenty minutes before the airship was to have sailed for the Lakehurst, N. J., hangar, left vacant by the destruction in England of the ZR-2. The D-6 was 200 feet long and fifty feet in diameter fully inflated. She was propelled by two 125-horsepower Union type motors, and could make fifty-five miles an hour. She had a lifting power of about ten tons, carried 200 gallons of gasoline, and had a cruising radius of 1000 miles.

The fact that the D-6 was equipped with the limousine type of gondola, completely enclosed, made it possible, the authorities believe, for the men in the hangar to escape before the balloon ignited. The trip to Lakehurst would have been her maiden voyage, tho she had previously made several short test flights. Two small dirigibles and a kite balloon, not inflated, were also burned in the Rockaway hangar along with the inflated dirigible. The Navy Department has under way plans for several other ships of the D-6 type.

# The German Republic in Peril

THE assassination on August 26 of Matthias Erzberger, former Vice Chancellor and Minister of Finance, has precipitated in Germany a political crisis destined to prove a severe test for the Government. Erzberger, about to reënter politics after his victorious suit against Vice Chancellor Dr. Helfferich of the monarchistic reactionary party, was a supporter of the Wirth Cabinet and advocated fulfilment of reparation pledges. He had aroused the bitterness of the military and junker class, first by his Reichstag resolution of July, 1917, offering the Allies a peace without annexations and indemnities. His signing the Foch armistice on November 11, 1918, added to the hatred of the Junkers that of the industrial middle class, who believed that Germany could still have won the war. Several other attempts had been made to kill him, notably the one at the Helfferich trial by Ensign von Hirchfeld, who is now under suspicion of having succeeded in a second attempt at murder.

The *Freiheit* insists that primarily responsibility for the crime rests upon Herr Erzberger's leading political opponents: "The revolvers discharged in Griesbach, Baden, were loaded in the editorial rooms of the *Kreuzzeitung*, the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* and other Pan-German organs."

*Vorwaerts* is outspoken in condemnation of the National and German People's parties, their leaders and their newspaper organs, whom it charges with moral responsibility for the murder because of their "unrelenting persecution" of the former Minister, who, it declares, "when the collapse came, had the courage to stand by the Fatherland and negotiate the armistice for which Hindenburg and Ludendorff begged on their knees after William fled to Holland."

The Reichstag had been scheduled to meet on September 27 to discuss the peace treaty with the United States

and to proceed to ratification. It may become necessary to assemble the Reichstag earlier, tho the "Vigilance Committee" of eight appointed by the Reichstag to keep an eye upon the Government during recess, has already expressed a vote of confidence in the efforts of Chancellor Wirth and his Cabinet to preserve the Government against the monarchistic reactionaries. The formal attack on the Government was opened at Munich on September 2 at the annual convention of the German National Party. "Resistance to the Treaty of Versailles" was the slogan advanced by wildly applauded orators, who rejected all fulfilment of pledges therein given. "In domestic politics we must be in the bitterest possible opposition and not shrink even from the overthrow of the Ministry." Probably the real point of attack, however, on the part of the violent reactionaries is the tax program of Chancellor Wirth, which is to come up for settlement at the approaching assembly of the Reichstag. The proposal of the Government is "moderation and compromize between capital and the workers on a tax program of equitable apportionment of the inevitable reparation tax burden."

Chancellor Wirth continues in his communication to the "Vigilance Committee" of the Reichstag: "There is danger that the German nation may fall apart into socialistic and bourgeois halves, which must inevitably lead to civil war. We must counteract this danger. But I want to leave no doubt in anyone's mind. If, despite all my efforts, this break-up comes to pass, then I shall stand on the side of the working class." He holds that the reactionary and capitalistic class is seeking by overthrow of the Government to escape their just proportion of the indemnity reparation tax. In fact, the announced program of the German Right has been the popular cry, "No reparations, no taxation." The issue, then, is one which has been clearly defined.

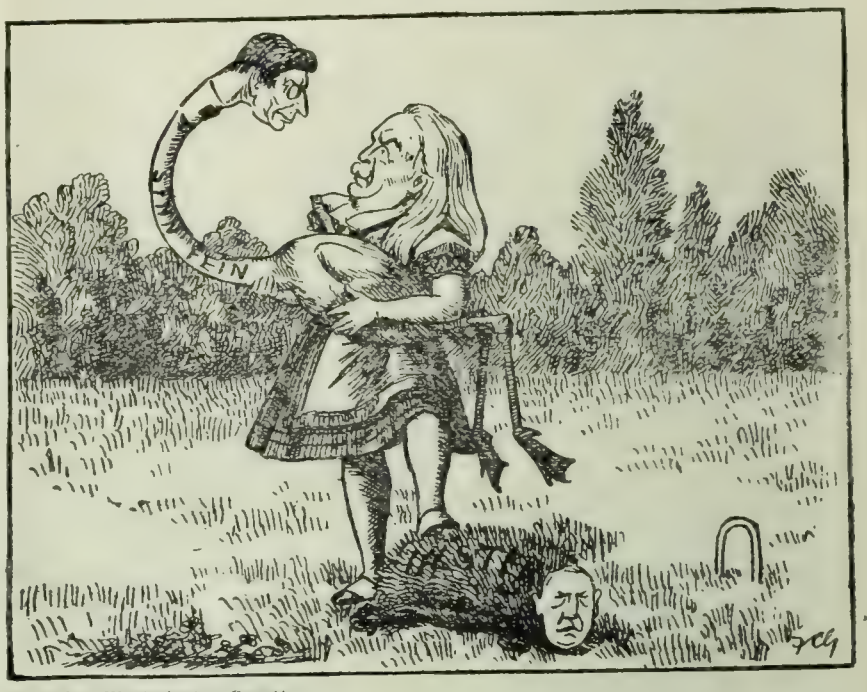
The Government is receiving solid support in its hour of peril from the members of the Social Democratic, Independent Socialist, and Communist parties. On Wednesday, August 31, the day of the funeral of Erzberger in the tiny suburban village of Bieberach, Würtemberg, a mighty procession of 100,000 men and women in Berlin made their way in an orderly fashion to the Lustgarten in front of the ex-Kaiser's palace, to pledge their loyalty to the Republic of Germany. No interference was put up by the Nationalist and German People's parties, their demonstration having been reserved for the meeting at Munich on September 2.

Simultaneously with the assembly at the Lustgarten, Chancellor Wirth and the Social Democratic President of the Reichstag attended at Bieberach the funeral of the murdered Erzberger. Some observers have advanced the shrewd suspicion that the Wirth government is using the assassination to strengthen its own position, since even had Erzberger lived to support the Republic, his many bitter political enemies would have rendered him more of a liability than an asset. At the same time, he and Chancellor Wirth were personal friends, and the German Government could not under the circumstances fail to act decisively and vigorously.

There is need of such action. The ex-officers of the First Guard Grenadier Regiment have recently held a celebration of the anniversary of St. Quentin in the Franco-Prussian war in pre-war style. The first company of Reichswehr Regiment, No. 9, was detailed as a guard of honor, inspected by Prince Eitel Friedrich, who reviewed the parade and received the homage of the monarchists. Members of the Reichswehr, or Security Police, had previously been forbidden to take part in any of the Nationalist demonstrations.

Former members of the German Imperial Army have been ordered not to appear in uniform without special permit. Publications which tend by their contents to advocate or to provoke a violent change in the Constitution of the Republic may be confiscated and suppressed within fourteen days after the offense, and the responsible parties punished by fine and imprisonment. Under this regulation several powerful Nationalistic newspapers, including the *Lokal Anzeiger* of Berlin, have already been suppressed. Meetings, parades, processions and demonstrations likely to lead to disorder may be forbidden if they seem to endanger the Republic.

The total effect of the political crisis precipitated by the murder of Erzberger seems to be favorable to the Government, which on being forced into vigorous action has found itself stronger than anticipated. Even the German People's party is said to be willing to enter a coalition Government if invited to do so. A stronger Government than ever, composed of all factions except the extreme radical and the extreme reactionary, seems about to be convoked. The German People's party, tho committed to the program of securing by peaceable means a limited monarchical form of government similar to that of England, has been forced to come out openly against extreme reaction and unequivocally for the republican Constitution and Government. If the power of the Government can quell reactionary Bavaria, the Republic will be safe.




*Saturday Westminster Gazette*

WITH APOLOGIES TO ALICE

**The porcupine is labelled "Ulster" and the goose "Sinn Fein"**

# Ireland's Refusal

IRELAND has rejected the British Government's proposals for settlement of the Irish question on the ground that they are not based on the Dominion status for Ireland. De Valera leaves the way open for further negotiations, however, by offering to appoint plenipotentiaries at once on the basis of "government by consent of the governed."

The position taken by Eamon De Valera and the Dail Eireann is that the Government proposals are not an invitation to enter into a free willing partnership with the nations of the British commonwealth, but that on the contrary the conditions Mr. Lloyd George seeks to impose would divide Ireland into two artificial and mutually destructive camps.

The real danger in the situation is the fear of revolution in Ulster. The British press, tho disappointed and even indignant over the Irish refusal, still is inclined to counsel patience and the acceptance on the part of the Government of the proposed conference of plenipotentiaries. From the south of Ireland come requests for a plebiscite.

## The German-American Irreconcilables

(*Continued from page 117*)

finds a voice. "They have been too meek," Dr. Edmund von Mach lately declared—"too willing to feed from the crumbs that fall from the table instead of proudly taking their seats at the head table where they belong."

A German nobleman, tall, striking, handsome and of rare personal charm, Dr. von Mach began his American career as an instructor in the history of Greek sculpture at Harvard. When the war in Europe broke out he became an apologist for Germany, contributing numerous weekly articles to the Boston *Evening Transcript*, which, by publishing them under a standing headline, "The German Viewpoint," enabled itself to discount charges of violent and rancorous anti-Germanism and to discount those charges without befriending Germany. Probably no other one influence tended more directly than did these articles of Dr. von Mach's to injure the German cause in New England. For example, when German artillery bombarded Reims Cathedral, he quoted *La Revue Bleue's* complaint that the French had long neglected their churches. Ergo, bombarding Reims was entirely pardonable and in fact meritorious. However, there is a point beyond which a German torpedo sunk the "Lusitania." The *Transcript* dropped Von Mach.

Today he is a leader among the German-American irreconcilables of New York. At the scandalous "Horror on the Rhine" meeting in Madison Square Garden, where Teutons united with Celts in reviling America, Dr. Edmund von Mach presided, and when I got him by telephone the other morning and requested an interview, saying that, altho I would attack his position I would at least state it, his reply was characteristic. "You can help us," he said. I took this to mean, "Our position is so logical, so righteous, so altogether praiseworthy that no possible attack can affect it."

What is that position? Before answering, let me reproduce the verses written on Armistice day by George Sylvester Veireck and entitled "The Winners":

"Never on the winning side.
Always on the right—
Vanquished, this shall be our pride
In the world's despite.

Let the oily Pharisees
Purse their lips and rant;
Calm we face the Destinies:
Better 'can't' than Cant.

Bravely drain, then fling away,
Break, the cup of sorrow!
Courage! He who lost the day
May have won the morrow."

Von Mach left town, so our projected interview never took place. I am not grieved. For one thing, I feel somewhat reluctant to meet a man for whom in pre-war days I had an affectionate regard and who is now no friend of America. For another, the projected interview was needless, as




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already we knew his position. Like Veireck and like all the German-American irreconcilables in New York, he seeks to "gain the morrow." Germany is still bent upon destroying the Treaty of Versailles, and believes that by dividing her former enemies she can destroy it. To that end the German-American irreconcilables in New York are working. Eighteen thousand people attended the "Horror on the Rhine" meeting—object, to make America hate France. The Fatherland ardently supports Sinn Fein—object, to make America hate Britain. All thru the Fatherland's gospel runs the plea for "a pure Americanism, untainted by British and French propaganda"—object, to "win the morrow."

Thus it comes about that German-Americans "driven into conditions of racial self-consciousness and deep resentment whose full measure can as yet hardly be gauged" profess "the Americanism of George Washington—America first, America only, one country, one flag," while the German-American Citizens' League of the United States opposes "the falsification of American history by the dupes and agents of Great Britain," and a German-American enthusiast exclaims, "Anglo-Saxon domination has been the bane of this country. It has poisoned our public life since 1776." Away with "Anglomania!" Gott strafe England! "More than twenty-six out of every one hundred Americans are of German origin." What said Garfield? "The real fatherland of the people of this country is Germany." If America declines to agree with its own Garfield, let the German-American be patient. "My country right or wrong; if right, to be kept right; if wrong, to be set right."

So earnest are these patriots in their desire to set us right that even Prohibition has disturbed them but little. The German-American Citizens' League, it is true, condemns "the Prohibition amendment foisted upon the American people by an unscrupulous and determined minority as a breeder of death, corruption and contempt for law," and the guests at Scheffel Halle and Alt Heidelberg gaze wistfully at magnificent steins now empty; yet why waste lamentations upon vanished Loewenbräu when confronted by the far more heart-breaking tragedy of an America calling England the "mother country" and still speaking "the King's English"? The *Fatherland*, when expressing its devotion to "one country, one flag," professes also its adherence to "one language—the language of truth spoken in any tongue."

I have no doubt that Mr. George Sylvester Veireck spoke "the language of truth" as he talked with me at his office in East Forty-second Street. He said, "I consider America's participation in the war a crime." He said, "Germany lost the war by her mistakes." He said, "The 'Lusitania' was a mistake." He added, "It was in reality much less cruel to kill a few babies by sinking the 'Lusitania' than to permit the killing of hundreds of thousands of babies by letting England starve Germany; but the imagination readily visualizes drowning, while it by no means so readily visualizes starvation. The German mind failed to understand this."

In justice to Mr. Veireck, I may remark that in beginning the conversation I had expressed my hostility toward everything he stood for. He accepted the challenge, and was amiable to the end. Moreover, I may remark that when a boy interrupted, to announce that a visitor named O'Sheel was waiting outside, and I asked, "Why do you let the Irish drag you into their campaign?" Veireck answered, "We don't. It is we who are dragging them into ours." Could "the language of truth" go further?

It could, and I wish it had. For there was no mention in our talk of the Treaty of Versailles, no discussion of "winning the morrow," no confession that the demand for "a pure Americanism untainted by British and French propaganda" masked a determination to lend aid and comfort to Berlin. Instead, Mr. Veireck presupposed on my part an inability to see thru a barn door. At one point in the interview he spoke of himself as "cerebral." So are German-Americans in general. Aber, certain of them share his reluctance to notice that Americans may at times be as "cerebral." For instance, in appraising the German-Americans' "heroic services before, during, and after the war."

Who spouted pro-Kaiserism from soap-boxes in Newspaper Row up to the very moment of our recourse to arms? Who bought the *Evening Mail?* Who sheltered the German spies and helped them to operate? During the war—that is to say during America's participation in the war—German-Americans displayed on the whole a very creditable self-restraint. A majority were loyal in semblance. Considerable numbers were splendidly loyal in reality. The country over, German-Americans subscribed $18,000,000 to the third Liberty loan. But who now complain, "Himmel! Under the Terror, we were bullied into subscribing?" After the war, who hastened to organize for international mischief-making on American soil? Who cheered for a "pure Americanism" that would give German-Americans a seat "at the head table where they belong"?

In prescribing a code of etiquet for the vanquished, it is no doubt advisable to be a trifle lenient. If "racial self-consciousness and deep resentment" are deplorable, they are at the same time natural. If a German-American still calls us "oily Pharisees," well, what else should we expect from that particular German-American, considering the afflictions he has endured? Nor is it surprising that, after the war, as before it, German-Americans should defend Potsdam and Wilhelmstrasse and their conduct in "a cruel war forced upon us by England." The other day a German-American loaned me a one-volume encyclopedia of war-lore. It applauds the rape of Belgium;

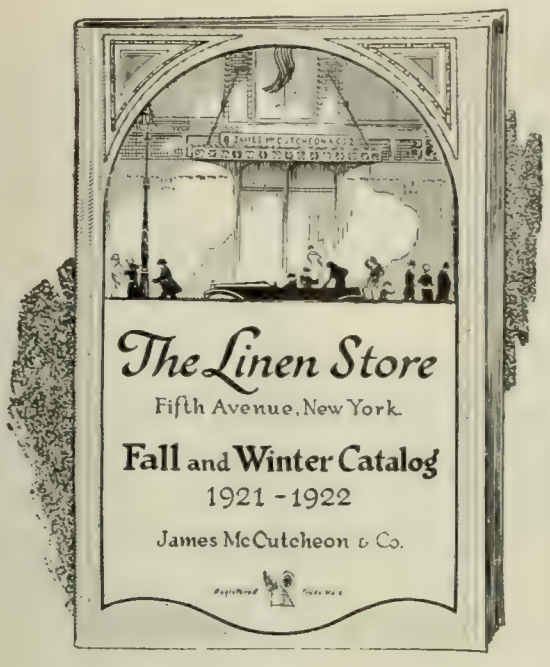
the sinking of the "Lusitania," the destruction of Louvain, the bombardment of Reims Cathedral, the deportations, the atrocities, the violations of international law. "Never on the winning side, always on the right." Tho printed in "the King's English," it aims to perpetuate pro-Kaiserism among German-Americans and to keep always before their minds the Great Elector's precept, "Do not forget that you are a German." A malign volume, nicht wahr? Yet every war produces exactly such volumes. As Mr. Viereck proclaims himself a Freudian and, in a treatise of which the less said the kinder, essays to psycho-analyze Theodore Roosevelt, one may remark—not irrelevantly—that such volumes perhaps attest a "complex of inferiority," the "censor" at work, humiliation whistling to keep its courage up. But one must at the same time recognize that this is a free country. If we invite German-Americans to tolerate "the falsification of history by the dupes and agents of Great Britain," why protest if German-Americans welcome the falsification of history by the dupes and agents of Deutschland? But leniency is bound to stop somewhere. When the vanquished continue to fight, systematically engaging in psychological warfare after the conclusion of military warfare, we object.

New York appeared to think the "Horror on the Rhine" meeting a mere sporadic outburst of anti-Americanism. Senator La Follette and ex-Senator Vardaman knew better, and took pains to send telegrams aglow with sympathetic enthusiasm. With an eye to politics, they have watched the growth of the German-American Citizens' League, the multiplication of Steuben societies, the prosperity of the German-Irish alliance in the United States, and the methodically organized campaign for a "pure Americanism," of which, in a country "all out of step but Jim," our German-American fellow-citizens, with their Irish-American coadjutors, are the sole advocates.

Month by month, Mr. Viereck's rechristened *Fatherland* pleads the cause of Sinn Fein. As regularly it excoriates England. It seeks to "win the morrow." Like the Steuben societies and the German-American Citizens' League, it recognizes that an estrangement between the United States and Great Britain would benefit Germany. A beautiful program! One country—Deutschland! One flag—the red, white and black! One language—the language of Deutschtum, spoken in whatever tongue can loudest cry, "Gott mit uns!"

Happily, there are German-Americans—multitudes of them—who hold all this in utter contempt. Like the hero of "Friendly Enemies," they have passed thru an ordeal inconceivably painful, and emerged — Americans. When Mr. Viereck's *Fatherland* comes eventually to discover how genuinely loyal they are, it will indeed do well to suppress the hyphen in "German-American." And the "German" also!

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## Bishop Mann Sums Up the Case

(*Continued from page 116*)

especially along the East Coast, a large share of the colored people are those who have come from the Bahamas and have been brought up in the Anglican Church. Consequently they have looked to the Episcopal Church in this country as their superior mother. I found on my arrival a number of congregations and in most of them the work not going on very well.

Several years ago I was able to secure the Rev. P. S. Irwin to take the place of archdeacon, with the general supervision of the colored work along the East Coast—his main charge naturally being in the great city of that coast, Miami.

Mr. Irwin was qualified for this work in every respect. He is a gentleman, a scholar, a man of the highest personal character, a man of the utmost zeal, a man of abounding kindliness. I have had occasion to congratulate myself ever since his arrival on the result of his toil. He has greatly increased the congregations, he has built several new churches.

Archdeacon Irwin has, of course, had very many obstacles to contend with. A great share of the colored people themselves are uneducated and are more or less given to disputes and factions. From time to time there has been in this or that mission a certain amount of trouble. This trouble has not been caused by the clergyman, but it has come to him to allay, and he, therefore, has necessarily figured in it. Among other causes there has been a certain jealousy between the native American negro and those from the Bahama Islands. This has more or less come to the attention of some of our white people, and it has, of course, been known that Mr. Irwin has had something to do in connection with it. But the trouble has not been caused by him; on the contrary, it has been for him to do all in his power to dissipate it.

About two years ago certain charges were made against Archdeacon Irwin which were presented to me. I came to Miami, investigated them, and found them baseless.

I am not, of course, saying that Archdeacon Irwin has been at all times infallible and has never made mistakes. He is human, like the rest of us. I am not saying that he may not occasionally have said some hasty things which he would later qualify. That is the case with most of us.

But I do say, with all the emphasis of which I am capable, that the archdeacon has always been loyal to the authority of the church and state, that he was an ardent patriot during the war, that he did his utmost to raise troops for both English and American armies to serve in the war, and that he did much to interest his congregations in such aid as they were able to give to our Government and our army.

I have seen the statement or perhaps the insinuation, rather, that he

has taught race equality. He has unquestionably taught such equality as is described in the New Testament and in the Declaration of Independence—the equal value of all human souls in sight of Almighty God.

As for social and political equality under present conditions, he has not taught it, and he has steadily, and at some risk to himself, opposed the movements and societies which have undertaken to bring such equality about.

As for another insinuation which I have seen in the newspapers, that he is advocating intermarriage of the races, I can only express my amazement that any human being should have ventured to make it, and I pronounce it a lie, whether deliberate or hasty.

Let me very distinctly call attention to the fact that Archdeacon Irwin came here not at his own volition, not as a volunteer, but that he came here at the call of and with the commission of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America. It has been the policy of the Episcopal Church very largely to use white clergy in the care of colored congregations. The reasons are self-evident. While I am glad to say we do have a number of colored priests, yet it is generally for the advantage of the people that they should be under the charge of a white priest. Those who are most strenuous against what they style race equality ought to be very quick to see the reason of this.

Recognizing as I do the immense value of colored churches with only colored ministers, I do yet think that they teach a religion in which the emotional is overstressed and the moral is somewhat overlooked. Our church aims to teach a religion in which the moral will stand four-square and firm and the emotions will guide into the support of that law. And for this reason, also, we do desire a very large contingent of white clergy in our work among the colored people.

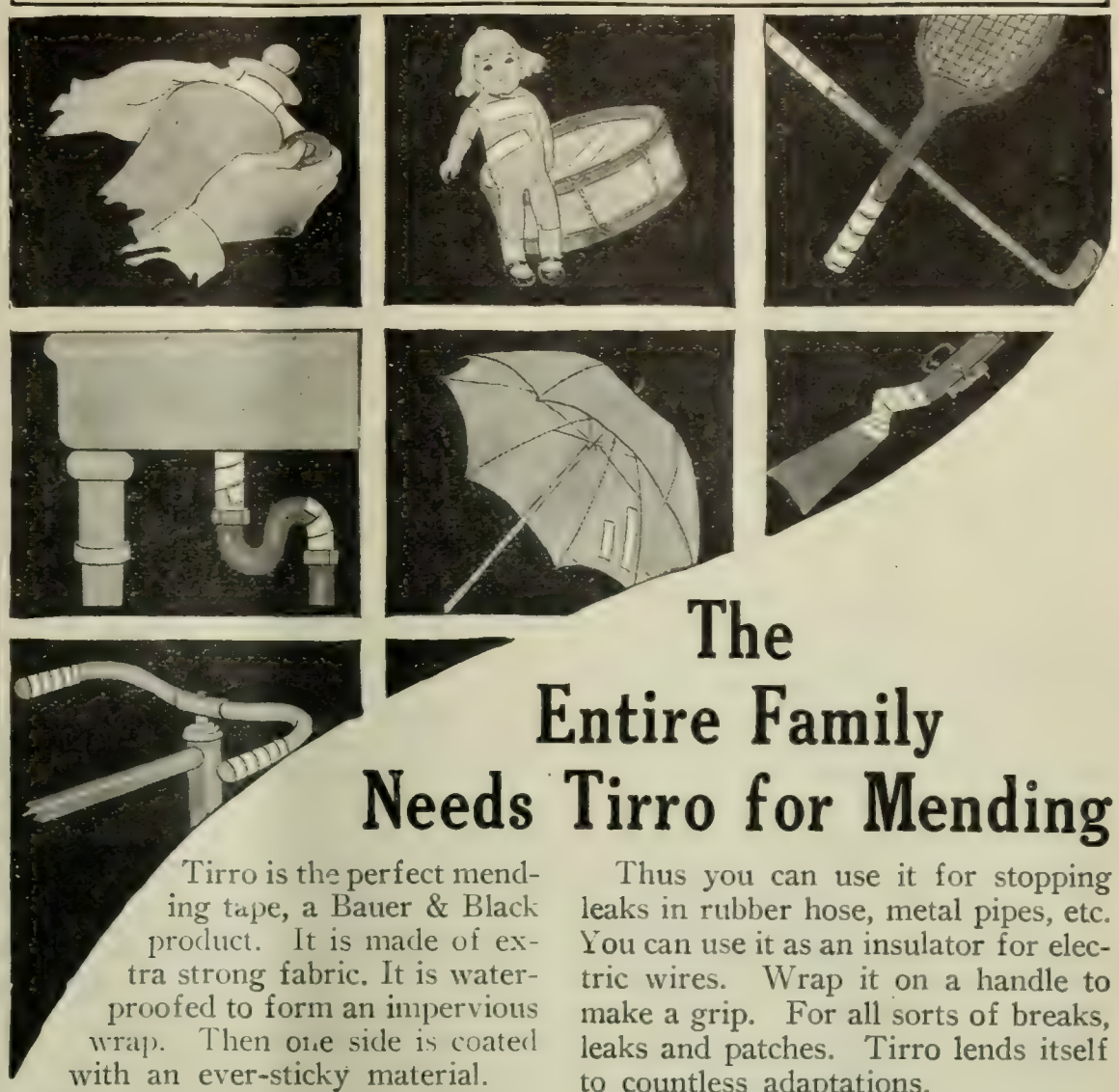
I am greatly shocked at any thought of the remotest possibility of this arrangement of ours, white priests largely employed in colored work, being interfered with in Florida. It would create enormous damage, if not the destruction of our colored work.

In connection, I call upon you to take such measures as shall warrant me in continuing the work upon its present lines. I call upon you to do everything in your power to secure full punishment for the perpetrators of this recent crime. I call upon you to make it certain that the good work which has been going on here for a number of years shall continue.

You all desire the presence of this colored population. You all know that they are a necessary factor in the industrial life of your city, and surely you must all be anxious that those who are to live in your city and to be employed by you in so many lines of activity, shall be men and women who have been taught the moral laws as they have been revealed and enforced by the religion of the church of Christ.

Yours truly,
CAMERON MANN,
Bishop of South Florida.

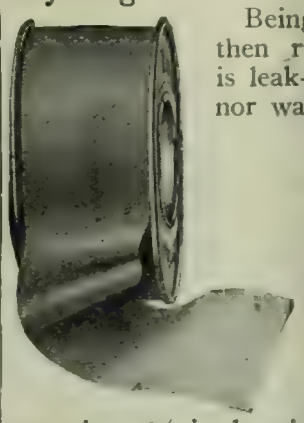

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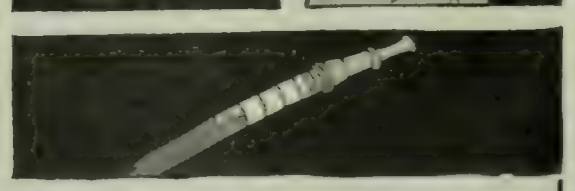
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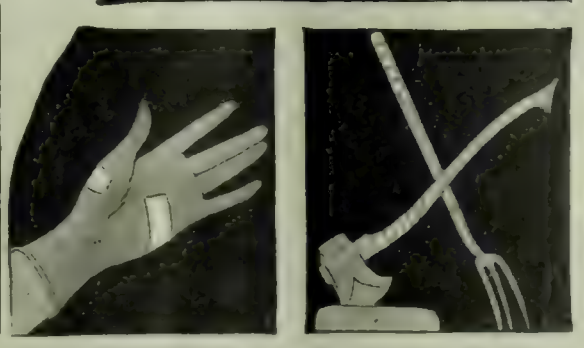
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# New Books for Every Mood

## The Whole Story

The various experts who advised President Wilson have collaborated, first in a series of lectures delivered in Philadelphia on the work of the Peace Conference and later in a book based on these lectures and now published under the title, *What Really Happened at Paris.* Gradually the truth is being pieced together, and no book has as yet made a greater contribution than this to the history of the peace settlements. Every author of any chapter was personally present in meetings of the expert commissions which worked out the details of the peace treaties and supplementary agreements, and the editor of the whole series, Colonel Edward M. House, was President Wilson's most trusted confidant and colleag. Those who look for personal "revelations" in the Lansing style will be disappointed. If Colonel House has ever "broken with the President" he says nothing on the subject. Nor have we any Mr. Keynes out with a slashing pen to do as much harm as possible to the Treaty and its architects; nor a Dillon picking up casual scraps of gossip to amuse the reader and annoy the diplomats. The general verdict of the book, as expressed by Professor Day, is that "When compared with similar bodies in the past, such as the Congress of Vienna or the Congress of Berlin, the Paris Conference faced vastly greater problems, studied its problems in a more scientific way, and sought more earnestly to harmonize its settlement with the principles of justice."

Naturally a book by many authors is unequal and exhibits divergent views, but in this lies perhaps its chief value. The best American books which have yet appeared on the work of the Conference—"Some Problems of the Peace Conference," by C. H. Haskins and Robert H. Lord, and "The Making of the Reparation and Economic Clauses of the Treaty," by Bernard Baruch—dealt completely with limited portions of the subject, the former being wholly political, the latter wholly economic. But now it may be read in one volume from Professor Haskins why the Saar Valley was placed under the League of Nations, from Professor Lord why he thought Danzig should have been given outright to Poland, from Professor Seymour on what principles Austria-Hungary was partitioned, from Major Johnson what the fuss over Fiume was about, from Dr. Bowman why the Turks were allowed to stay in Constantinople, from Professor Westermann what has happened to the Armenians, from Mr. Hudson all about the little understood treaties guaranteeing the rights of minor nationalities in eastern Europe, from James Brown Scott why he objected to "hanging the Kaiser," from Thomas W. Lamont (perhaps the most interesting chapter in the whole book) the inside history of the reparations settlement, from Professor Young the story of the economic clauses, from Samuel Gompers why he likes the labor clauses and why he disliked his Socialist colleags on the Labor Commission, from Herbert Hoover how Europe was revictualled after the armistice, from General Bliss the strong plea for world disarmament which caused such a stir in the press when it was delivered, from David Hunter Miller how the League of Nations Covenant was drawn up, and from Colonel House what he thinks about it all. Most of these men were on Colonel House's "Inquiry" and the organization of the specialists on this now famous body is described by Dr. Mezes. The only work of comparable value and completeness to the present volume is the "History of the Peace Conference at Paris," which is now being published in England under the editorship of Mr. Temperley. For those who cannot obtain the most thoro, authoritative but somewhat ponderous study which our transatlantic cousins are preparing, or who wish a work of similar high standard in shorter compass, *What Really Happened at Paris* is the final word.

*What Really Happened at Paris. The Story of the Peace Conference by American Delegates.* Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Two Angles on Labor

Two books of really first class importance have come from Columbia University dealing with different aspects of the labor movement; one might say with the extreme opposite poles of the labor movement. *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France,* by Dr. Parker T. Moon, is a work which unites the most painstaking scholarship (there are 1136 footnotes and references to support or elucidate the statements in the text) with an easy and lucid style and an imaginative grasp of the spirit of French Catholicism. France is a revolutionary and democratic republic with a class-conscious and unsubmissive working class; it is at the same time a Roman Catholic country with ancient religious traditions. As a rule clerical France has been the enemy of revolutionary France, but not a few devout Catholics have hoped to reunite the sundered halves of French life and win the workingman to the Church by showing him that the Church is his friend. It is with this heroic and partly successful attempt to make Catholicism democratic and democracy Catholic that Mr. Moon's book deals, and within its chosen field it is so complete, accurate and sympathetic as to leave nothing to be desired.

*The Labor Movement,* by Frank Tannenbaum, is written from the viewpoint of an I. W. W. leader whose scholarly tastes led him into academic life. The author combines a dauntless radicalism of theory with a studied moderation of statement; a combination rare enough among active labor agitators. Its main thesis is that conservative labor unionism, such as the American Federation of Labor, leads as logically to social revolution as radical unionism of the I. W. W. type, even if the labor leaders themselves are sincerely devoted to existing institutions and averse to Utopian prophecies:

> A labor union is revolutionary in fact. It is not the expressed desire to change the world; it is the change already embodied if not completed.
>
> What a political party says it would like to do and what the labor union, even the most conservative in outlook, does, cannot be compared or described in terms of similarity. A labor union is a new realignment of social forces in the community—a revolutionary, democratic, coöperative grouping of men and women around the tools and the industry with which they are concerned, and the grouping has only one purpose and one result—the constantly greater control of the machine, the industry, the tool which happens to be their particular means of life and labor.

*The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France,* by Parker Thomas Moon. Macmillan. *The Labor Movement,* by Frank Tannenbaum. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

## DeMorgan's Last Novel

Some people say that William DeMorgan's novels are too long; the answer to which is, too long for what? One does not read books simply for the pleasure of finishing them and if you really like DeMorgan you can never get enough of him; his rambling, amusing, markedly individual style is a steady, restful joy from the first page to the last. He is one of those authors who is distinctly a taste. It is as futile to argue about him as it is to argue about oysters. But if you have never tried a DeMorgan novel, or an oyster, do, at once; you may be one of the elect.

*The Old Man's Youth* DeMorgan had not quite finished when he died. Mrs. DeMorgan has filled in the outline of the tale as she knew it existed in her husband's mind. It is done as quietly and unobtrusively as possible, tho the occasional swift summary of events breaks curiously into the leisurely narrative of the old man's recollections of his boyhood and youth. It is all delightful reading, highly to be recommended to all who have acquired the DeMorgan taste, tho not the best of his books, perhaps, to pick for a sample oyster.

*The Old Man's Youth,* by William DeMorgan. Henry Holt & Co.

## Lands Little Known

Next time the Red Gods call you and you cannot follow them read Roy Chapman Andrews' *Across Mongolian Plains.* For tho travel books never really dispel the wanderlust, they do manage to give you an illusion of having been away from home.

Mr. Andrews is associate curator of mammals in the American Museum of Natural History and he went into China's "Great Northwest" as the leader of the Museum's second Asiatic expedition. This book is not a scientific

study, however, but a readable, informal account of his trip, written for sportsmen and adventurers and lovers of the picturesque. There are thrilling tales of hunting in an automobile antelope, which run at sixty miles an hour, of shooting wild boar and wapiti and mountain sheep. There are vivid descriptions of a land which few occidentals know, a land of rolling plains, of desert and forest and mountain, of a strange and colorful civilization which has changed little since the middle ages. And the author is so enthusiastic about it all that you can't help enjoying yourself almost as much as he does.

*Sailing South,* by Philip S. Marden, is about Central America and the West Indies, places more inviting for winter than for summer travel, but if you are planning a trip there next December this is a good time to read about it. It is a portion of the globe to which North Americans should be urged to travel; we know so little of it and we need to know so much. This book of Mr. Marden's does not pretend to go very deep into the subject, but it gives picturesque glimpses of the sort of places you will see and entertaining information concerning the conditions you will find if you make a steamer trip to Cuba and Panama, Porto Rico and Jamaica.

*Across Mongolian Plains,* by Roy Chapman Andrews. D. Appleton & Co. *Sailing South,* by Philip Sanford Marden. Houghton Mifflin Co.

## Not Like Its Name

Blasco Ibanez's last book, *The Mayflower,* is very like a Sorolla painting, all sunlight and movement and vivid colors, but the strong, clean wind that blows thru Sorolla's pictures is left out. Life among the Valencian fisher folk as this Spanish author paints it is active and colorful but dirty and sordid and brutal as well, and the story is like its background. Blasco Ibanez has a genius for writing of things that you don't want to read about and doing it so well that you have to read about them.

*The Mayflower,* by Vincente Blasco Ibanez. E. P. Dutton & Co.

## An Epic of Earth

*Growth of the Soil* is the latest novel by Knut Hamsun, the Norwegian author who, until he was awarded last year's Nobel Prize for Literature, was almost unknown in the United States altho at one time he dwelt among us as a street-car conductor. *Growth of the Soil* is an extraordinary book. "An epic of earth" W. W. Worcester, the translator, calls it and that comes as close, perhaps, as one can come to describing a book which it is peculiarly difficult to talk of in terms of other books. It is the life story of a man who cleared a farm, built a homestead, married a wife and brought up children in one of the wild tracts of the Norwegian Highlands, an elemental man, living close to the soil, working with it in partnership, as if the earth were a sort of elder brother. He and his wife


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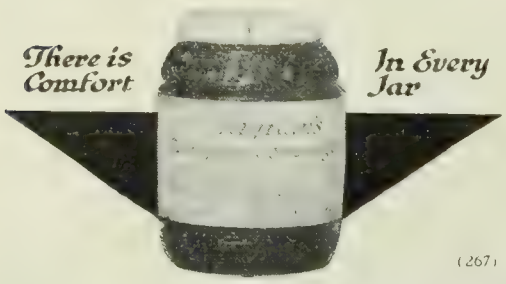
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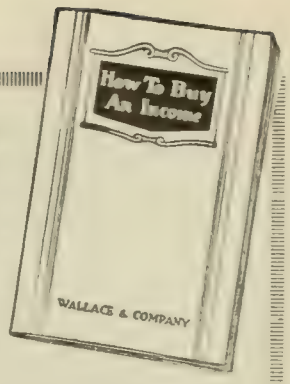
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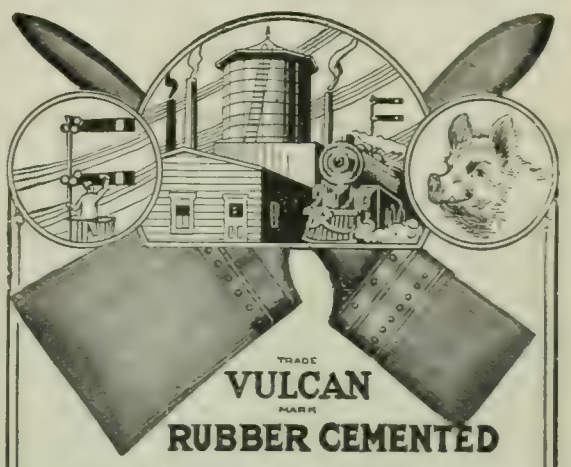
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Brooklyn, N. Y., August 16, 1921.
DIVIDEND 103.

A regular quarterly dividend of 2½ per cent. on the capital stock of the Mergenthaler Linotype Company will be paid on September 30, 1921, to the stockholders of record as they appear at the close of business on September 6, 1921. The Transfer Books will not be closed.

JOS. T. MACKEY, Treasurer.

**AMERICAN CAN CO.**

A quarterly dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. has been declared on the Preferred Stock of this Company, payable October 1st, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 15, 1921. Transfer books will remain open. Checks mailed.

R. H. ISMON,
Secretary and Treasurer.

**THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO.**
New York, September 7, 1921.

A dividend of One Dollar and Twenty-five cents ($1.25) per share on the Capital Stock of this Company, has been declared payable November 1st, 1921, at the office of the General Treasurer, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 30, 1921.

MILTON S. BARGER, General Treasurer.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.,
Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. The Story of the Week.**

1. Give a news talk in which you sum up and explain the steps that have been taken recently toward bringing about a solution of the Irish question.
2. What is the present condition of affairs in Russia? What causes have led to the present conditions?
3. Bring together in the form of a summary the four or five matters of greatest interest for the world in general at the present time. Give a brief explanation of every subject that you name.
4. Write an editorial article for your school paper, naming the subjects that should most interest the citizens of the United States at the present time, and suggesting what principles should guide students in your school in their thinking concerning the subjects that you name.
5. Give a talk in which you explain clearly any cartoon in this number of The Independent.
6. Write in a single well-formed sentence the principal thought of every one of five of the most important editorial articles in this number of The Independent.
7. Point out at least three entirely different methods of beginning articles. Tell how you can apply these methods.
8. Point out examples of antithesis in the article entitled, "The Three Russias." Point out examples of figures of speech in the same article.
9. Draw from this number of The Independent a series of propositions suitable for important public debates.
10. In articles concerning the news of the week find examples of the following kinds of sentences: loose, balanced, periodic, compound, complex.

**II. The New Books.**

1. Explain the following expressions that occur in the various book reviews: (1) A curious, haunting rhythm; (2) A really monumental study; (3) An unusually comprehensive history; (4) A careful survey; (5) A timely study; (6) A convenient analytical guide; (7) Two excellent manuals; (8) An exceptionally thoughtful discussion; (9) A first-hand narrative; (10) A frank, clear, and remarkably effective analysis; (11) Readable and accomplished essays; (12) Humane and seasoned humor; (13) A book of personal sketches; (14) The discriminating lover of books; (15) A sympathetic account; (16) An elemental man; (17) Easy-going essays.
2. Select from the list of books reviewed at least five books that you think would be suitable for your school or class library. Write a letter to the principal of your school recommending the purchase of the books, and giving reasons for your recommendations.

**III. Tarred and Feathered.**

1. Write a serious composition in which you explain why lynch law is fundamentally opposed to the spirit of true Americanism.
2. Why does Mr. Hamilton Holt believe that the two articles "should be read and pondered by all Americans who have the honor of their country at heart"?
3. Archdeacon Irwin's article is a clear personal narrative. Write an equally clear account of any event in which you took an active part.
4. Write an emphatic editorial article in which you incorporate, in the third person, the most important points presented by Bishop Mann.

**IV. The German-American Irreconcilables.**

1. Sum up in a single paragraph the principal thought presented in the article.
2. What is the significance of the last paragraph? What is the importance of the closing paragraph of any composition? Someone has said that "a writer should write his last words first." What does the saying mean?
3. Write an editorial article in which you show how any person living in the United States, whatever his birthplace or his descent, can conquer "hyphenism" and become a good "American."
4. Write a composition founded on contrast. In the first part of your composition show what conditions in the United States tend to preserve or to increase "hyphenism"; in the second part show what conditions tend to decrease "hyphenism."

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,
Former Principal of the High School of Commerce, New York

**I. Approaching Peace Conditions — Our Separate Peace. Peace of Berlin. The League in Session. The Three Russias. Ireland's Refusal. German Republic in Peril.**

1. In a series of class exercises, make charts or outlines of: first, the causes and conditions under which the various nations entered the World War; second, the economic and political changes which took place in the various countries during the war; third, the economic, territorial and political changes provided for in the various treaties of peace; fourth, problems still to be settled by international negotiation.
2. Quote sentences from the various editorials and news items referred to above which indicate the probability of further changes; (a) in the international relations of Russia, (b) the international relations of Germany, (c) the internal organization of Russia, Great Britain and Germany.
3. In what sense will the Disarmament Conference be the third stage in President Harding's peace program. What will be the chief subjects discussed at this Conference?
4. How far does the Treaty of Berlin accept the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles? Mention at least two things provided for in the Treaty of Versailles which the Treaty of Berlin definitely rejects.
5. Can the League of Nations become a successful permanent organization if the United States refuses to join?
6. What are the grounds for Dr. Slosson's declaration: "It is not too much to say that the fate of the whole world was bound up in Russia's momentous choice"?
7. "Suppose . . . Russia had remained loyal to the cause of the Allies . . . What would have happened?" How does Dr. Slosson answer this question? Do you agree with all his answers?

**II. Paying for the War—War Liquidations. As Idle as a Painted Ship.**

1. According to Dr. Williams, why is it useless to hope for considerable reductions in our taxes for the next few years?
2. What are Dr. Williams' arguments in favor of a high protective tariff? Do you agree with him?
3. What especially grave war extravagances have been uncovered by investigation thus far?
4. Do you regard our national investment in sea-going merchant ships as worth while?

**III. James Bryce, Historian and Diplomat —Wisdom of Viscount Bryce.**

1. What are the chief chapter headings in Bryce's "Modern Democracies"? In what respect is this book similar in purpose to the "American Commonwealth"? In what respect different?
2. What important political positions has Viscount Bryce held in his life?
3. "It is the wisdom of Viscount Bryce . . . that is impressive." What evidences of this wisdom are discussed in this editorial?

**IV. Hyphenated Americans, Good and Bad —The German-American Irreconcilables.**

1. Draw up a list of the contributions which the German-Americans have made to American civilization. Compare these with contributions of other European stocks which have settled in this country.
2. What is the author's purpose in writing this article?
3. What remedies for the evil are suggested? What remedies would you suggest?

**V. Capital and Labor in Conflict—The War in West Virginia.**

1. What is the basic cause of the trouble in the West Virginia coal fields which has been "smouldering for several years"?
2. Can you mention any other industries in which similar trouble is "smouldering" at the present time?
3. What do you think of the statement sent by John L. Lewis to the Governor of West Virginia?
4. Is there any way that trouble such as exists in West Virginia can be settled amicably?

**VI. A Civic Library—This Government of Ours.**

1. If you were asked to select ten books from the list of titles given in this article which ten would you select? Five?
2. Mention five other books on government which you would add to the library. Which of these do you know best?

# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

Hamilton Holt, Editor — Hannah White Catlin, Managing Editor

Franklin H. Giddings, Shailer Mathews, Edwin E. Slosson
Preston Slosson, John Spargo, Talcott Williams

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## Remarkable Remarks

CHARLIE CHAPLIN—I hate actors.

TY COBB—The most nerve trying thing is uncertainty.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU—Next year I shall be dead.

JAMES J. MONTAGUE—I was never fanatical about dentists.

ARNOLD BENNETT—The great need of the age is a new dance step.

MRS. SAMUEL GOMPERS — I do not approve of women mayors.

WOODROW WILSON—The vicissitudes of politics are certainly incalculable.

SENATOR PENROSE—I do not have any courage. I am naturally a timid Quaker.

MARY M. DEAN, M. D.—Women have much more independent minds since the war.

GEORGE ARLISS—Ambition is always attained by traveling a tedious, tiresome road.

FLORENZ ZIEGFELD—The present popular craze for bobbed hair started in the chorus.

DR. FRANK CRANE — One of the surest ways to cure oneself of any disease is to quit eating.

HUGH S. FULLERTON—Confidence in yourself wins and confidence in others often gets the gold brick.

GENERAL PERSHING—Members of the labor unions weren't the only ones who made it possible to win the war.

MRS. CORRA HARRIS—You may sometimes foretell what your son is going to be, but you never can tell how a daughter will develop.

J. B. CRANFILL — One of the fears I have of ever growing old is that some scribbling saphead will refer to me as "the grand old man."

CONGRESSWOMAN ALICE ROBERTSON—The club women of America, after all, represent but a small percentage of its 51,000,000 women.

ARTHUR BRISBANE—The flying machine which will make a trip across the ocean cost eventually less than fifty dollars, will let everybody see and know the world.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB—Is it possible that after having won the war we of the allied nations, with everything in our hands, will allow Germany to win the peace thru the efforts of her labor?

## Pebbles

Uncle—Only fools are certain, Tommy; wise men hesitate.

Tommy—Are you sure, uncle?

Uncle—Yes, my boy; certain of it.—*Boys' Life.*

William Lyon Phelps, of the English chair at Yale, has added a new mixed metaphor to his large and amusing collection. This addition is from one of the novels of W. L. George: "The cloud that tried to stab their happiness was only a false rumor whose bitter taste could not splinter the radiance nor dim the effervescence of their joy."—*Detroit Free Press.*

To a priest came a young woman one day, who had an exaggerated idea of her charms and who confessed she feared she had a besetting sin.

"And what is it?" asked the priest, kindly.

"It is this," she replied, her eyes cast down. "Every time I pass a mirror I think of my beauty."

"Faith, daughter," said the priest. "That's no sin, no sin at all. Just a slight mistake, daughter, just a triflin' error in judgment."—*The American Legion Weekly.*

## Opening Nights

Dumas himself would applaud the film of *The Three Musketeers,* with Douglas Fairbanks as the redoubtable D'Artagnan. Both scenario and sets have been arranged with accuracy, and the picture is at once stirring and beautiful. (Lyric Theater.)

*Launcelot and Elaine,* by Edwin Milton Royle, is a dramatization of Tennyson's poem, made real by beautiful stage setting, lovely costumes, and, on the whole, good acting. The roles of Queen Guinevere and Elaine were written for the author's daughters, Selina and Josephine Royle. Pedro de Cordova plays the part of Sir Launcelot. (Greenwich Village Theater.)

*The Merry Widow* has come back! Its music lovelier even than we remembered it. There is not only the famous waltz, but "Maxim's" and "Women" and "Vilya," the last sung charmingly by Lydia Lipkowska in the title rôle. Henry W. Savage has searched both Europe and the United States for artists qualified to sing in this revival; the result is a rare treat for jazz-tired music-lovers. (Knickerbocker Theater.)

*Swords,* by Sidney Howard, a tragic drama written with compelling beauty. Robert Edmond Jones has outdone his best work in the exquisitely colorful setting of the old Italian castle where the war of the Guelphs and Ghibellines reached its stormy hights. Clare Eames is hauntingly lovely as "Donna Fiamma," the adored hostage of the powers of good. José Ruben plays the evil "jongleur" with such passionate menace as only great acting can conceive. (National Theater.)

*The Circle,* by Somerset Maugham, stands preëminent as a play you can't afford to miss. Mr. Maugham has written with both thoughtful sincerity and brilliant wit an entertaining comedy of two triangles, in which the pair of young lovers refuse to be daunted by the warning example of a similar elopement seen in the retrospect of thirty years. The cast includes John Drew, Mrs. Leslie Carter, Ernest Lawford, Estelle Winwood, and John Halliday. (Selwyn Theater.)



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# An Announcement

## To the Readers of The Independent

### By Hamilton Holt

With its next issue The Independent will combine with The Weekly Review. Altho The Independent, reckoned in human generations, is old enough to be the great-grandparent of The Weekly Review, the two weeklies are strikingly alike in spirit and purpose.

Ever since The Independent was founded in 1848 it has been one of the liberal forces in American civilization. In all the trials and triumphs of its history it has never been content to be dragged along behind the procession, but has persisted in pulling from the front. Practically every great constructive reform that has enlisted the support of the American people during the past three generations, it has championed. Many it started.

The Weekly Review in the two short years of its existence has made a deep impression on the best thought of the country. As a fearless champion of the principles of American liberty and progress it stands almost alone in the field of weekly journalism. Under the untrammelled control of its editors and supported by a distinguished group of shareholders whose names are a guarantee of its present and future stability, it has already won a wide circle of readers among people who are accustomed to do their own thinking.

In relinquishing the responsible editorship of The Independent to Mr. Fabian Franklin and Mr. Harold deWolf Fuller, the organizers and present editors of The Weekly Review, I can with real sincerity and enthusiasm recommend to all Independent readers—to whose loyal support I owe so much—that they follow The Independent in its new embodiment. Both Mr. Franklin and Mr. Fuller are seasoned journalists. Both are editors of sanity, leadership, courage, integrity, and ideals. No two men could be found better qualified to carry out the main purposes for which The Independent was established and for which it has ever stood.

I may add that I have been invited by Mr. Franklin and Mr. Fuller to associate myself with them as Consulting Editor of The Independent and The Weekly Review, and I have naturally accepted. But as my new editorial duties will require only a portion of my time, I shall be free to keep in touch with significant events and tendencies thruout the country which require first-hand observation and study.

But my first interest, I am sure, will ever be The Independent. If I have one wish today more than any other, it is that all those who have read The Independent during my editorship will find themselves permanent and loyal supporters of the new and, I confidently expect, stronger and better magazine.

The Independent

September 24, 1921

*The modern man, like the Arabian fisherman, has liberated from the bottle genii that he does not know how to control*

# This Changing World

## By Edwin E. Slosson

## VIII—The Man Behind the Machine

IN previous articles we have considered what the utilization of inanimate energy thru machines has done and can do for the advancement of civilization. But this is on the supposition that man will use his new-found power for that purpose. Suppose on the contrary that man uses it for the destruction of civilization instead of its advancement. That in fact is what he has been doing for the Seven Years War, now coming to a close.

We must realize that what is done by an engine depends on the character of the engineer as much as on the power of the machine. The horse-power of the United States is greater per capita than that of any other country. But what about our mind-power per capita? The mental tests made on the soldier of the American Army in the Great War gave an intelligence quotient of 13+. That is, these able-bodied young men proved to have had on the average no more innate thinking ability than the normal child between 13 and 14 years of age. The population as a whole would of course average lower. Other countries, most if not all of them, would if tested prove to have smaller intelligence quotients than the United States.

The question is not whether human adults behave like children, but whether they can muster up among them enough mentality and morality to manage the stupendous powers which applied science has recently placed in their hands. Once upon a time, long before the oldest of us was born, before any man was born for that matter—I refer to the Jurassic Era—the ruling race was composed of creatures much larger and more powerful than we are. There were giants on the earth in those days, gigantic saurians which when they stood up on their hind legs would tower up four times as tall as a man. But their cranial cavity was smaller than ours. The Jurassic saurians had grown too big for their brains, so they perished.

Now the addition of machine power to the natural strength of man is equivalent, as I showed in the first article, to adding more powerful arms and legs, more skillful hands and sharper senses. It increases his physical capacity but does not directly enlarge his mental ability. It endows him with a giant's strength but does not teach him how to use it.

Among the horrid fancies that haunted the head of Samuel Butler of Erewhon was a nightmare of a coming age when the machines that man has made for his service should rise in Spartacan revolt and enslave man. This skit of Butler's on "The Mechanical Creation" is brought to mind by recent events.

The last few years have made it manifest that in our civilization the mechanical forces have got ahead of the moral forces. Man is mounted on a bigger horse than he can ride. Making war was an efficient process, making peace is—not. The chemist did his bit with amazing, even alarming, proficiency. The diplomat fell down on his job. The physical sciences have evidently been developed so far beyond the political sciences as to constitute a menace to civilization. The modern man, like the Arabian fisherman, has liberated from the bottle genii that he does not know how to control.

If the Great War had continued a year longer it would have been fought with quite another set of weapons than those that began it. "The Next War," says Admiral Fisher, "will begin where the last war left off." This is not correct. It will begin far beyond where the last left off. In our own country, and we may presume in others, more advances have been made since the cessation of hostilities in devising new and more terrible means of destruction than in any other previous century. Not since the battle of Crecy, where the armored knight first encountered the cannon, has there been such a revolution in warfare. In the next war it seems that the three historic branches of the military service, cavalry, artillery and infantry, will sink into subordinate positions, while the two new arms, aviation and poison gas, will determine the issue. The Prince of the Power of the Air will be the ruling spirit in the next war. It is now possible to send an airplane, with or without a pilot, by day or by night, over the enemy's country to sprinkle the ground with a liquid so deadly that a whiff inhaled or a few drops touching the skin will cause death. There is no need for fine sighting and mathematical calculations such as the artillery man requires. No need to know where the enemy is. The airships or self-propelled projectiles will simply move over the land as a farmer's potato-bug sprinkler goes over a field, and a certain strip of territory, say a mile wide and a hundred miles long, will be instantaneously depopulated and will remain uninhabitable for days to come. In the next war there will be no frontiers, no entrenched line, no exempt cities, no distinction between combatant and non-combatant. Fortifications will be futile, for the wall that will withstand a forty-two centimeter projectile is easily penetrable to a molecule of poison gas.

On the sea the revolution will be quite as complete. If an airplane or dirigible can once get above a fleet it can befog it by dropping bombs on the water to form a smoke-

screen. The airship is then invisible to the seaship, but not the reverse. For the hot air from the smoke stack of the steamer sends up thru the cloud that covers it a furrow or ridge by which its course can be followed from above as the burrow of a mole can be followed across the garden. And as you drop carbon disulfide in the run of the mole so the airplane with the sprinkler attachment will simply fly back and forth over the blinded battleships below him. There will be no need to sink ships in the next war; for the reason that there is no use in wasting ammunition on a riderless horse. If, however, it is desired to get the vessel out of the way that can be done with equal ease. The recent experiments of our aviators on German warships showed that a cruiser costing $30,000,000 could be sunk in ten minutes by a bomb that did not hit it. This is the record for the rapid destruction of wealth. No way of creating wealth with such expedition has yet been devised.

Can we say that man has reached a moral and mental maturity so that he can be safely entrusted with such dangerous weapons? You can trust a baby with a spoon, but not with a knife. You can trust a boy with a knife, but not with a gun. You can trust a man with a gun, but can you trust him with such wholesale destructive appliances as poison gas and high explosives? We cannot take them from him as we can take a revolver from a child. It is futile to tell him not to employ them. But it is clear that unless man can learn how to make proper use of his new found knowledge he is likely to destroy himself. Science has endowed man with the power of a superman, but his mind remains human, all too human. He is like a pauper come into a fortune, a laborer who has been put into the position of boss of the shop, a slave made the master of slaves. Man has had no training for such responsibilities as have now been thrust upon him.

If we imagine the multiplication of mankind to continue unchecked there would ultimately come a time when the sign of "Standing Room Only" would have to be hung out on the globe. You have all seen those pictures of the penguin islands of the Pacific, where the nests are so thick as to cover the ground and the ungainly birds can hardly move without smashing the eggs of their neighbors. We wonder how so many individuals can get their living from such little space. The answer is, they don't. The birds do not live on the land but off the water. They draw their food from a hundred miles of the surrounding sea and the island is merely their breeding place. England is such a penguin island. It is fed from oversea. If the German submarines had succeeded in drawing their cordon of death around Great Britain there would have been no need for the Germans to have fired a single shot to have won the war. In a few months the British would have starved in their tight little island.

During the nineteenth century the population of the world doubled. From about 871,000,000 in 1817, it had risen to about 1,649,000,000 in 1914. The Great War for all its appalling slaughter did not reduce the population of the world nor even of Europe as a whole. England and Wales gained about 2,700,000 between 1911 and 1919.

The human race starts in not far behind the scratch of 1914. The losses are psychological rather than material or numerical. War can no longer be classed among the checks on population.

The unprecedented increase of population during the last century was due to two new factors appearing at the same time; (1) the opening of a new hemisphere of vacant land into which might be drained the surplus population of the Old World, and (2) the development of steam power by which food and fertilizer could be brought to those who remained at home. Both these measures of relief are temporary, for as soon as the population in the colony becomes so dense as in the mother country it can neither receive immigrants nor export food. This stage is almost reached in America and the pressure of population is already beginning to be felt.

According to the estimate of Professor Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins, reported in the May *Harper's*, the limit of the population of the United States is about 200,000,000, less than twice the present number, and this limit will be reached in less than two centuries. Whether this calculation is correct or not it is obvious that there is a definite point of saturation for the United States and that point is being approached. This is shown by the falling off of the rate of increase in the present century from 21 per cent in the first decade to 14.9 per cent in the second decade.

Many people have refuted the theory of Malthus to their own satisfaction, but no one has shown how the law of Malthus can be repealed. A geometrical increase, however small, is found in the long run to overhaul an arithmetical increase, however great.

The old rate of increase in population in the United States was 3 per cent per annum. This has been reduced to a little over 1 per cent. But obviously this cannot long continue. We should have to adopt an expansionist policy that would embrace not merely the world, but the outlying planets as well. If the human race should continue to increase at the rate of 1 per cent per annum for the next 10,000 years, which is less than the past period of human history, the whole solar system would not hold their bodies packed together. I did not figure this out for myself. I borrow the calculation from G. H. Knibbs, the statistician of Australia. He rightly says that:

> No conceivable accession of power over nature can make possible the continuance for even five centuries of the rate of increase characterizing the western world for the last few decades.

And since expanding populations mean national collisions, Knibbs concludes that:

> War is inevitable unless concerted action is possible, the object of which is to come to a common agreement as to the rate of increase.

In a given territory such as the United States or the world any increase in population, however slight, must be temporary and cannot be long maintained unless the standard of life is correspondingly reduced. The extension of European control over backward nations as in Java, India or Egypt causes a rapid increase in population without a general rise in the standard of life. Putting a stop to internecine strife, establishing law and order, introducing modern sanitation, opening up new fields of agriculture and starting new industries enables larger numbers to live in the country than under the old régime, but this increase in numbers keeps the mass of the people near the famine point. The effect of this introduction of engine-driven industry into Asia and Africa is not a magnification of the individual, but a multiplication of individuals.

A philosopher on Mars, having a telescope of such power as to follow the actions of men without discerning their motives, would be amazed to observe the white man take up the burden of caring for the black, brown, yellow and red, opening up their territory, developing their resources, protecting them against them- [*Continued on page 155*

## *Noble Vengeance*

### *By Edwin Markham*

*The great souls never seek revenge, but live*
*To sweeten life, to give and to forgive;*
*Behold, too, how the camphor-trees impart*
*To the biting ax the fragrance of their heart.*

# Rendering Unto Caesar the Things That Are God's

## An Unescapably Vivid Picture of What is Happening in Europe Today

### By Edward A. Steiner

**This is the conclusion of a series of seven articles on New Europe, in which Dr. Steiner has been giving The Independent his observations of the changing conditions in France, Germany, Austria, Czecho-slovakia, Serbia, Poland and Russia,—observations made in the course of his extended inspection of the European relief work of the American Friends Committee of Philadelphia.**

**Dr. Steiner is a recognized authority on immigration problems and other matters involving racial characters, customs and differences. He was born in Austria, and educated in Germany. He emigrated to America in his early twenties, and worked a hard way up thru mine and mill and factory. A Jew, he was converted to Christianity, was pastor of Congregational churches, and for some years past has occupied the Chair of Applied Christianity in Grinnell College, Iowa, during which period he has alternated teaching with writing and lecturing.**

IT is a dull, grey Europe which I shall remember, with just a touch of color here and there, like "ashes of roses" after a sunset. The rest is a blanket of storm clouds, not quite emptied of menace; rumbling thunder from the West, flaming flares of red from the East—now spreading afar, threatening all the sky, then showing but torn patches of a passing storm. There is no memory of bright days, hardly even of moments, to bring back as "souvenirs of the occasion" with which to enrich my standardized existence in America, which moves in a well ordered way between nationally advertised breakfast foods and the village curfew.

The unusual in Europe, such as war orphans, war zones, and ruins, soon became the usual, and when thousands of underfed, tubercular children had tramped thru my heart, it became incapable of more than wholesale pity. There is no outstanding experience, no visit to some quiet spot where the war has not torn, hurt, maimed or killed something or someone. The war has standardized Europe, the great steam roller has pressed it flat, the mill of the gods has ground both fast and fine, and it has produced the same grist everywhere.

In the little Slovak villages I heard conversations which had the same trend as in Châlons-sur-Marne. I found the muddle-headedness of Paris in Belgrade, and when I fled to Switzerland for the gladness of the mountains and the joy of being among the unhurt, I found it aching in the same joints as the rest of the continent.

Switzerland was not invaded by soldiers, but by armies of spies and refugees, who came with paper wealth which at first enriched merchants and hotel keepers, and then impoverished them. Cantonal ties were badly strained by racial and cultural sympathies. Bolshevism emboldened the poor and frightened the rich. Switzerland became the center of financial operations in the various depreciated currencies of the continent, she had the usual crop of war profiteers, as well as the hard pressed middle class, and the awakened proletariat hopes to realize the Marxian dream of a socialistic commonwealth.

The high cost of living was the topic of conversation everywhere; among the educated as well as among the ignorant; for the stomach knows no culture line, and if the profiteers escape the hottest terror of hell it will not be because I have not heard them consigned to it in many languages and picturesque similes.

Everywhere I found the financial circus in full swing. Currency taking leaps from almost nothing to a great deal more than something, the American dollar being the aerial gymnast, the German *mark* performing on the parallel bar; while the Austrian *kronen* and the Polish *marks* were the clowns, rolling in the sawdust; once in a while making a handspring in a feeble hope of strength, but invariably landing on their backs, to the amusement and profit of those who sat in the reserved seats, but to the despair of the many on the top rows.

To the anxiety "of what shall we eat?" has been added a new one: "Where shall we live?" There is a housing shortage everywhere, with the possible exception of Petrograd, from which three-quarters of the population has moved, thus leaving houses for much needed fuel thru the hard winters.

The most anathematized man in Europe is the landlord, who has had his traditional rapacity curbed; for while living costs have risen 100 and 1,000 per cent he may raise his rent but 20 per cent. He has had his revenge, an unprofitable one on the whole. He has made no repairs and no improvements, with the result that the cities look shabby from neglect, the walls are murky from dirt and soot. There is no more "Spotless Town."

There are, however, no homeless people; for the law, almost uniform thru central Europe, allows only a certain number of rooms per person, varying somewhat according to the tenant's rank and station. Everybody takes roomers, and it is an unassorted world which is thrown together in hovels and palaces, making the best of a bad situation.

The extraordinary joys I shared were the drop in the cost of living, the temporary recovery of the value of money, the discovery that a young couple might begin housekeeping, by virtue of the fact that someone had departed this life or been squeezed into closer quarters by a relentless law.

The feast for the eye now is, not a new triumph of architecture or an exquisite painting, but a side of bacon in a butcher shop, or a window full of shoes, both of American origin.

The best of men everywhere are not thinking how to conform their lives to high ideals, that they may escape punishment hereafter—but how to escape the tax and the customs collectors. Dante would have a new vision of Purgatory if he were traveling thru central Europe, and had

to pass the new-made boundaries. The poor, who are always poor, are serene. They are used to the empty larder, to scarce and bitter bread, with meat only on rare occasions. And there was always the "*Bon Dieu*" and "*Der gute Gott,*" who has never forsaken them. The miracle of the loaves and fishes has been performed again, and there were also the basketfuls, with enough fragments to feed the starving Russians.

That "charity covers a multitude of sins" was never more true than now, when there are so many sins to cover: Individual sins, national sins, and the sins of the whole human race.

The war stimulated in men certain virtues—devotion, courage, self-sacrifice, coöperation on a vast scale, and the affiliation of peoples far apart in the race and in the social scale; but the brute self, which had to be fed by hate, grew hungrier the more it devoured; the holy flame burnt lower and lower, patriotism became a cloak for profiteering, the broken barriers rose again, and brotherhood was an empty dream.

As an earthquake alters the face of the earth, so the war has created its own mental, social, and spiritual geography. It has torn new chasms between nations, between neighbors and fellow citizens. The teachings of science which proved the relationships of everything living, the new insight which saw no barriers between matter and spirit, Christianity with its faith in the Fatherhood of God and its practise of the Brotherhood of Man, are now opposed by new obstacles between race and race, class and class, shades of religion and social and economic doctrines.

The greed for power masks itself behind race struggle. Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism, the sowers of the seed of the last war, are being displaced by new slogans pregnant with new wars.

Anti-Semitism grows more virulent, the relationships between Catholics and Protestants are not improved, the Socialist class war is being fought openly, and the ancient gulf between the rich and the poor has become widened.

The newly made rich are callous to the suffering of the poor, neither their right hand nor their left hand knowing what foreign hands are doing in saving the masses from semi-starvation, and the new generations growing up with the effects of rickets and tuberculosis unassuaged. I saw the poor in Abraham's bosom, and the rich with unslacked thirst, crying for the cooling drink of water—yet their enemies, new pleasures—erotic plays, grotesque cabarets, *liqueurs* with strange influences, dances with new contortions, a mad race for more wealth, a struggle against new taxes, and dark schemings to evade the laws—are but tortures. I left my rich friends with loathing, and some of my kindred were to me as strangers. The poor I found blessed, and I also was blessed by their suffering, borne without complaint, while I was ennobled by their pride.



**Dr. Steiner's experiences in suffering Europe inspired him to make the following statement: "I have returned from Europe determined to make war on war, to oppose, if need be, the Pagan state, and to work toward making it what it ought to be, a Christian state. I am perhaps more conservative than before, more conscious of the fact that we cannot suddenly break away from the past, that human nature is frail and stupid, and earthbound, and that it needs to be redeemed by being reëducated. However, I am also a more convinced radical, and I know that I must move on whether others move with me or not, whether I suffer from the laggards or not. I must ascend my own Calvary if I am to have a share in the redemption of a wrecked and ruined world. While I want to cling to the past and draw inspiration from those who heard the voice of God, I must bravely face the future, and die if need be on the farthest outpost of human thought and human endeavor.**

The beggars in rags and vermin, displaying their agonies, seemed to me beautiful, in comparison with the rich in their vulgar display of wealth, all too common in Vienna, Berlin, Warsaw and Budapest—the cities of great sorrow and great need.

Concert halls, theaters, and operas are crowded as never before, with the choicest seats at a premium; but true art is art at a low level. Artists have moved again to the garrets, have tightened their belts and walk along the streets like shadows. The holy hush which used to prevail when Wagner was sung or played is no more, and in one of the best boxes in the Berlin Opera, war profiteers were drinking champagne and eating sausages while Lohengrin sang his swan song.

Since the war, no great work of art has been produced. Not for want of material, but the wreckage has been so great, the shores are so thickly strewn by humanity's water-soaked treasures, that the artists are stunned, and stand stupidly on the sands, watching the remorseless beating of the waves.

In statecraft the leaders are equally helpless and stupid. With rare exceptions, the people are drifting, caught by the undertow of alliances, of balances of power, economic selfishness, and the collective greed of nations. I met burgomasters, ministers, presidents, and those makers of public opinion, the editors of the great newspapers. After talking with them I was impressed anew by the fact that when Solomon prayed for wisdom, he knew what the rulers of peoples lacked most.

I went to Europe a fairly modest man; but after having met some of the rulers of mankind, I have gained so much in self-esteem that I believe at a pinch I might govern a country or two, without more damage to them than they are suffering now. That is no reflection upon the men who are the present rulers, they may even be an improvement upon those from the hereditary ruling class, whom they have displaced with such dramatic suddenness.

Herr Friedrich Ebert, "Saddlemaster by the Grace of God," was born in a narrow street in Heidelberg, brought up in the grey atmosphere of hard labor and poverty. His father, a man whose back had grown crooked by bending over his bench; his mother prematurely toothless and aged, a shawl over her head, one of those ghosts of women who haunt the tenements. When she rocked the cradle and sang her crooning hush-a-bye, she did not know that God would "confound the wise and prudent," she did not dream that her son would displace the mighty Hohenzollerns, the last and the proudest of them, William the Second, King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany.

Friedrich Ebert is of medium height, given to Germanic rotundity, caring nothing for pose, knowing no studied gestures; very genial, very gracious, a fairly shrewd politician, and a man of the people, remaining with the people, in spite of place and power beyond [*Continued on page 156*

# China—And Armaments

## By Talcott Williams

CHINA is the real subject of the coming Conference of the great powers in Washington six weeks hence. If China can be settled, all will be settled.

It is the only issue out, of world dimensions. Latin-America is large, geographically. As to trade, there is a group of department stores in the United States whose exports and imports are each larger than those of half the Central and South American states. As to population, there are fewer whites in Latin-America than there are in New York state. The force of the vast region south of us is the white population and some half-breeds. The Near East has, just now, ceased to be a world issue. Its day is to come.

The Limitation of Armaments in the conference has itself three measures, not easily passed. As long as England keeps 300,000,000 Asiatics under the final and absolute control of 70,000,000 whites, the British Empire must have enough force on sea and land to make insurrection hopeless. This may be good for India. All the English papers and statesmen say so; but thinking India (2 per cent) does not like it. The rest cares little, is inarticulate and inert.

As long as Japan wants eventually to hold 300,000,000 Chinese under the highly civilizing control of 70,000,000 Japanese, educating, training to work, developing resources, creating a vast army and navy, able to face the world and scare the simple in it, with an "honest broker's" profit to Japan, to the military, the educated and educating, the producing, manufacturing, trading, banking Japan, the Empire of the Rising Sun has also given hostages to fate and the future as serious as those of England.

But there is this difference at this point between England and Japan. England has been on the Anglo-Indian job nearly 300 years and has reached the point where it can begin to make India a partner in the empire job. Japan has not got to this point. It is still in the Clive-Hastings period. It is setting North China against South, absorbing, penetrating, disturbing, stirring up strife, which requires "the maintenance of order" by Japanese troops. Both England and Japan are on the same job, have the same justification for their policy, only England has been at it longer, only England is England and Japan is Japan, each what each is. "How do they differ?" My dear friend, don't ask me. I have too many friends in both, care too much for both, honor both for their great qualities, and, above all, with the exception of a Huguenot ancestor (since whom these Williamses have been writing and not before), all my blood is English. Asian born, I see how noble, how splendid, how useful is Japan. English descended, I cannot but thrill, even over Plassey and Assaye.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance twenty years ago, to both parties was insurance against Russia. Russia has gone for the present—worse off even than China. The Anglo-Japanese alliance has become instead, for England, insurance against any native revolt in India. Naturally, also, England can make no protest on China nor give the Chinese people protection. All Japan is doing England did, when younger and at the same stage. But while this has given England material strength and advantage in India, the moral loss (I believe, tho others do not) far outweighs the advantage to England in the Great War of feeling that English soldiers would be withdrawn from India since the Japanese army would appear, if revolt came. The wages of unrighteousness come high. In India, nothing in all English rule has been so bitterly resented as Japan in the background of the Hindoo future. For many and obvious reasons, India could accept the English "raj." In the nature of things, it is transitory, as nations and peoples count time. But Japan! There would be nothing transitory about the grip of Japan on India.

Moreover, of all lands and various peoples on the round earth, India has, perforce, gone to the limit of the "limitations of armament." The people are wholly unarmed, stripped and bare of every weapon. Under English rule no arms, not even sporting arms, save at a hopeless cost, are permitted. The native states follow a like policy. One of the greatest of living men in India, known to the Eastern and Western world, said to me a year ago, with supreme bitterness, that even Afghanistan could conquer India, armed and trained as it was. As for Japan, he added with that heartache—the keenest of all the woes of man: despair for one's own land—that five generations of English rule had left nature and conditions such that, were England to grow weak, nothing could prevent Japanese rule, unless India were permitted the freedom in military and naval affairs of the white English dominions.

CHINA, then, returns, as you will see, as the pivot alike of the questions of the Pacific and of the Conference on the Limitations of Armament. Russia is in sad plight: China worse. Russia has still a government, accepted in the European Empire, and a powerful army. Evil and disastrous as this rule may be, it still maintains a definite sovereignty and a central administration. Order is maintained and the only successful criminal seems to be the Government.

China has lost order, for the village, the province and the Empire. The Chinese Government at Peking is just at this writing under Japanese direction, tho made over and window-dressed for the Conference. Its authority is precarious in Peking and unable to maintain the old order of the Empire anywhere. Villages are secure or not, as they are off the road, on a site easily defended, with a capable headman. The cities are liable to siege and sack at any time. The provinces, eighteen in number, once kept the roads open, collected revenue and kept the peace. Not but four or five do this now. Roving military bands, rising to small armies, desolate the land, as they did in the old Roman Empire, when there were thirty Cæsars at once, as the Condotieri did in Italy in the sixteen hundreds, and as Germany was ravaged in the Thirty Years' War. Half a dozen military dictators, Tuchen, play the part of the conflicting Cæsars and Imperators in the period just mentioned. All these live on the country and their armed bands take what they please and do what they please.

Worse still, the Canton Government, holding city and province and the regions about, claims to be a *de jure* Government and has enough title and army to cloud the claim, power and foreign standing. Famine, rapine, human misery cover vast stretches and, since the Chinese are peaceful, with an amazing power in localities to keep order locally and deal fairly by those who pass by, there are great stretches where the villages maintain the life of centuries.

No one can really speak for China. The terms on which Japan will yield Shantung, accepted at Peking, are rejected at Canton and in many cities are quite unknown. Foreigners are safe and their trade goes on; but the Chinese dwell in excursions and alarm us. Taxes are not paid. Revenue is insecure. The customs duties, mails and lighthouses run by foreigners are kept going. There is an army at Peking and Canton, with the forces of ambitious military aspirants to power.

All this grows more acute as the prospect approaches of a final decision being reached at Washington. Can the

powers met there save China by ruling thru the Peking Government by means of an international commission? Will Japan permit? It has Manchuria complete. It can so far do anything in Peking. Its troops, cavalry chiefly, are in a great curve in the half-desert, north, northwest and west, about the fertile lands of the provinces. Japanese traders dot the land. They are under exterritorial jurisdiction. If they sell opium, only the Japanese consul can arrest and try them. He is often distant. No one can sue these traders or collect debts except before their consul and their consular courts. The Japanese consuls have their guards. Behind them is the army and navy of Japan. Even when it affects only a few thousand of European foreigners, engaged in large and important trade, exterritoriality saps the authority of the local government. When it affects tens of thousands of Japanese from day laborers, shopkeepers, druggists, and lesser people and larger, exterritorial rights can very easily become a controlling force. The Japanese are poor, efficient, industrious, ubiquitous, skilled, educated, trained and using unflinchingly all exterritorial powers which free them from all local justice and jurisdiction.

The tools are all at hand for a very able people, close at hand of great ambition, such as all the world's greater stocks share, astute, energetic, commercial, capable, as in Manchuria, in a thousand ways supplant first the trade of other lands and in a score of years to gain complete control of final authority in one province after another. Chinese local institutions would remain. The Chinese people have accepted many conquerors in the past. What would it mean to the world if the population of China yielded an army and navy comparable to its size and this army and navy and all the incomparable resources of China in coal, steel, oil, textiles and pretty much everything that is mined and grown were back of this military force, standing for the two ablest and the largest of the powers of Asia.

Where would the United States be, as its people, a century hence, fronted this final organization of two peoples proud as only Asiatics are proud, whose nationals had been shut out from our own land, by special laws irritating and affronting every Japanese and every Chinese?

If this is the world's prospect, then no "Limitation of Armaments" can be aught but transitory.

But if Japan and the United States can come together and see that the best of all possibilities for both is the development of China from within; then, while armaments would remain and must remain, they can be brought within limits which would save both from grinding taxation. Of the two, the United States can have any fleet it pleases, can equal the fleets of both England and Japan put together. Japan has narrower resources, but its people are inspired by a more homogeneous national sentiment and would bear any burdens to take a great place on the world's stage, and Japan is equal to any position.

Merely to protect China and let it alone is worthless. That has been tried for Latin-American states for a hundred years, and for ten years Mexico, for one, has been destroying railroads and resources, and today has less of the apparatus of civilization and the security of states than it had fifteen years ago.

For China, the Consortium of four powers is a good beginning. Were it extended, were the wise pattern of the Chinese customs service at its early best extended to a constabulary, to coördinating the exactions of "likkin"—a pestilent tax at every gate and boundary—to highways, canals and railroads, and China would be, as its resources were developed and its people educated, more useful and fruitful to Japan and to the world than it could be to either if left either untouched or "inter-penetrated" by Japan.

Such a solution would remove the last great cause of great wars and permit a permanent Limitation of Armaments. Once China was lifted to civilization by the mutual action of associated powers, nation after nation would be salvaged.

A century ago every one was predicting the rehabilitation of countries outworn or—as with those south of us—never well started. Not one of these has ever got on its feet or will, with the competition of the lands which got the start in the eighteenth century and have held the field since. Japan, shielded from European competition, developed its unique civilization, the idealism of Asia, and the energy of our modern world. The United States was of incomparable help to Japan sixty years ago. If the two nations can again see eye to eye and lead in dealing justly by China, they will begin the pacification of the world at the coming conference in Washington.

Japan has fortunately yielded in principle in its proposition of September 13 to the government at Peking the more difficult question at issue in the Washington conference. The Tokio government proposes the managing of the Shantung railroad by the consortium of the four powers. This voluntarily concedes the American policy as to China. Most of the least defensible demands made on China in April, 1915, are withdrawn or modified. The entire attitude and spirit of Japan in this most praiseworthy offer, while not conceding all, shows a frank desire to accept the view that China must be handled as a world issue, and not as a mere Far East issue specially committed to Japan alone.

## Unemployment

WHEN citizens of a free Republic are auctioned off to the highest bidder as they were on Boston Common last week, because they could otherwise get no work, it is time to call a halt and take stock of our boasted Twentieth Century civilization.

# The Immigration Tangle

## By Franklin H. Giddings

IT is to be hoped that President Harding will follow up his plain speaking on the immigration situation by a vigorous insistence upon honesty and common sense in the administration of the restrictive law. As was said in these columns when the law was enacted, it falls far short of a satisfactory measure for bringing about that limitation of immigration which has become necessary. But there is reason to believe that the law, imperfect as it is, is being so stupidly or so dishonestly worked by interested parties, or by Government officials, or by both as to produce an amount of distress quite inexcusable. The President's intimation that various steamship companies have been tolerating questionable practices by dishonest steamship agents should bring out the facts. If the steamship companies are not guilty they are entitled to exculpation and release from public suspicion. If they are guilty they should be penalized and compelled to observe the law in its spirit and letter.

It is not possible to carry out any measure of public policy without making mistakes or inflicting hardships. But when such things happen as the deportation of children of parents living and permitted to live in the United States, blundering and cruelty have become disgraceful.

Unfortunately these immediate evils are not the most serious ones resulting from the immigration tangle. Far worse in the long run will be the aid which they are giving to those industrial and political groups in our population which are at all times tirelessly working to break down all barriers and permit every element and stratum in every population of the world to come into this country at will.

What this would mean is distinctly and decisively shown in Memoir XV of the National Academy of Sciences which presents the data accumulated in the psychological examination of the United States Army. Of the men whose

intelligence was tested and graded some were native born and some were foreign born. Records of the white native born and of each foreign born nationality are separately available. And here are figures from the implications of which no escape is possible. They are the percentages of the men of each nationality that attained the grades of A and B:

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 19.7 |
| Scotland | 13.0 |
| White draft (including all American native born and foreign born nationalities drafted) | 12.1 |
| Holland | 10.7 |
| Canada | 10.5 |
| Germany | 8.3 |
| Denmark | 5.4 |
| Sweden | 4.3 |
| Norway | 4.1 |
| Ireland | 4.1 |
| Turkey | 3.4 |
| Austria | 3.4 |
| Russia | 2.7 |
| Greece | 2.1 |
| Italy | .8 |
| Belgium | .8 |
| Poland | .5 |

It would be inaccurate to assume that these figures measure the relative intelligence of the various European peoples as wholes. Italy, for example, has been giving men of genius to the world for more than two thousand years. Poland has given artists, musicians, authors and Madame Curie. In part the interpretation of the percentages is that emigration from the various European countries has selected from the different countries, different elements. Most of the drafted men of English birth were skilled mechanics. Most of the drafted men of Italian and Polish birth were unskilled laborers.

But these percentages are a true picture of the American white population as a whole and of the distribution of intelligence among the foreign born elements now living in this land. They are a true picture of the distribution of intelligence which we should get on a vastly enlarged scale if immigration were unrestricted. They mean in plain English that unrestricted immigration would inevitably bring the intelligence level of the United States to one of the lowest averages in the world.

To work out an immigration policy that shall be wise, just and workable is not going to be an easy matter. But we must make the attempt and keep on making it until we succeed. Those Americans who would give it up or are opposed to it will not themselves bear mental and moral examination. They are either selfishly interested as money makers who do not care who gets hurt or what happens to posterity, or they are uninformed, or they are stupid. Happily all of them put together are probably a minority of our voters.

## War and Work

If Wilson kept us out of war, did Harding keep us out of work?

## Suppress It

THEODORE Roosevelt once said that Chautauqua was "the most American thing in America."

Certainly the most un-American thing in America is the Ku Klux Klan, founded on the proposition that all men are created unequal and that rights of American citizens shall be denied and abridged on account of race, color, religion and previous condition of servitude.

There ought to be no place in our civilization for this lawless and odious secret association of self-styled Imperial Wizards, Genii, Dragons, Hydras, Titans, Furies, and Ghouls. It should be voluntarily dissolved or involuntarily suppressed.

# Can the "Lame Ducks" Swim?

## By James H. Williams, Able Seaman

THE public press thruout the country appears to have been profoundly agitated of late by a recent decision of the United States Shipping Board to dispose of a fleet of 205 wooden steamers at a uniform price of $2,100 apiece.

Just how far this press agitation has been reflected in public utterances I am unable to say, for I have heard not a word of protest, from street or platform, against disposing of the wooden marine encumbrance in any way possible. Whether they are blown up, sold, sunk or junked appears to be a matter of supreme indifference in so far as Uncle Sam is concerned.

The inspiring and insistent demand for a great national merchant marine, which was so universally prevalent during the war period, now seems to have died out and subsided with the popular frenzy which engendered it.

As an American seaman I feel heartily ashamed of my lubberly countrymen for their crass indifference over the development of our national sea-power. Americans, as a rule, appear to entertain no deep-rooted ideas, not to mention ideals, in regard to maritime greatness. Spurred only by momentary impulses, or national commotion, their enthusiasm seems always to subside with the passing of each national crisis, leaving the merchant marine to "Davy Jones" or whoever can dispose of it.

But the building of these wooden ships has involved a grave national scandal, and some disgusted citizens believe they should be sunk or blown up to hide our national shame. To blow them up would be a national crime, and would cover the seas with dangerous obstructive debris that would soon become an international menace to safe navigation, and might embroil us in serious marine entanglements with other commercial powers.

To sink them, instead of hiding our national shame, would only make our humiliation more complete, and emphasize the guilt of those responsible for their construction. Therefore, some of the newspapers insist, we should use them in some practical way to uphold our national self-respect at least. To give them away to be devoted to public works would certainly be more honorable than to sell them for a bagatelle to private bidders.

Many of these ships, it has been suggested, which are known to be worthless for commercial purposes, could be utilized by the Engineering Department in harbor and river improvement work. That I believe to be true. Many of these worthless hulks could be stripped and disemboweled, and then filled with broken stone, or concrete, and sunk as foundation mats for breakwaters, or jetties at the entrances to our many bar harbors to keep out the silt, divert the stream and preserve the navigable depth of water at channel mouth.

But, nevertheless, I am convinced that a great many of those ships, especially those of the steel strapped type, are really serviceable, or could easily be made so, for many years' profitable trade in the merchant marine. The principal reason for leaving them in the discard all these years has been, I think, because certain interests did not want them to be operated, and other interests, like the present bidders, have been waiting for an opportunity to get them on the "gimme" plan.

Ever since the days of old Noah, and probably long before, it has been an established principle of naval construction that sound ships cannot be built of unsound or unseasoned timber. The best ships that ever bore a proud ensign aloft were built of timber, but the frames and planking that entered into their hulls had to be well selected, even before the trees were felled, and well seasoned afterward.

But in building any wooden ship beyond a certain length

and size, no matter how choice or well seasoned the lumber may be, the hull must be doubly stiffened and braced thruout with longitudinal and transverse sheer planking, or plating to prevent buckling.

I could personally name a number of splendidly built ships which have proven defective thru this very neglect.

In the construction of a wooden ship the butts, where the planking joins end to end, constitute the weakest part, but in a steel ship the strongest, because the steel plates, instead of being united end to end and bolted separately, are lapped over each other and riveted together and to the inside frame by the same operation, thereby doubling the strength at the joints.

IN respect to the superstrengthened wooden ships now owned by the Shipping Board I believe many of them, especially those of the Ballin type, are perfectly seaworthy, and with certain modifications in their rig and propelling apparatus, could be very profitably employed in certain classes of offshore and coastwise trade for many years.

One of the chief defects in those of the United States timber fleet which the Shipping Board has attempted to operate is the fact that their hulls are not structurally capable of withstanding the constant racking of their machinery in a seaway.

The same cause resulted in the condemnation of the old "Metropolis" and the "Empire State" as passenger carriers fifty years ago. Those palatial steamers, the crack ships of their day on the famous Old Colony Line, running between New York and New England, were built for speed as well as carrying capacity and comfort of passengers. They were built, too, at a period when ships were still being constructed "on honor," and our daddies were still proud of an oaken keel. But after a few years' service it was found that the mighty jarring of their powerful engines had shaken their seams all open and loosened their frames to such an extent as to render them unsafe, even for traffic in Long Island Sound, and they were placed permanently out of commission.

The would-be purchasers of the 205 ships above referred to assert their intention to employ them in the Caribbean trade.

The Caribbean is, usually, a placid zone in the spring and early summer, a tragic zone in the hurricane season, from mid-July until after the Equinox in early October. The remainder of the year it is a region of boisterous but not dangerous weather for well found ships.

In their present condition, it is probably true that these suspected wooden ships would prove dangerous in any trade. But, as I have already indicated, with some alterations to their navigating equipment, they might not only prove seaworthy, but highly profitable.

I believe, moreover, that the machinery now installed in many of these ships could be taken out and sold for enough to cover the cost of installing the modified rig.

Among other possible uses to which these hulks may be adapted, it is furthermore proposed to install fifty of them as floating supports to a pontoon bridge across the Hudson River, while the projected North River suspension bridge is in course of construction.

As to whether this plan will prove feasible or not I must leave to time and the engineers to decide. But as a practical sailor I maintain that if fifty of those ships, moored bow and stern in a three mile line from Manhattan to the Jersey shore, are capable of supporting all the approaches and supports to a pontoon bridge of such mammoth extent, and in addition all the incalculable weight and strain of the unlimited traffic it would have to bear; and if in addition they are capable of withstanding the titanic strain imposed upon their cables by the constant surge of the daily ebb and flow of a four knot current, and the irresistible hug and tug of the implacable masses of drift ice piling with insistent clamor about their devoted hulls every winter for ten long years;—if these discredited hulls, I maintain, are capable of withstanding this superimposed test which will be exacted of the ships selected by the engineers for bridge supports, then they are plenty good enough to go to sea and earn some money to redeem their reputations, and retrieve the good name of American shipbuilders.

By dismantling the best of these pre-condemned steamers, and converting them into bald-headed schooners, with three, four, or five masts, according to size and convenience, and equipping them with auxiliary oil motors, in place of the mammoth steam engines already installed in them, a good many of them could be successfully employed in the continuous and very profitable lumber trade to the River Plate.

For many years the New England lumber companies have carried on a very constant and profitable trade in this commodity with River Plate ports. They have bought up, from time to time, all the discarded sailing tonnage American or foreign that came their way, and impressing it into the River Plate trade, have practically monopolized the business, earning large fortunes thereby. The secret of their success has been due to three principal conditions.

First: the great demand for, and national dearth of building lumber in Argentina;

Second: the inability of steamers to compete with them, because of the prohibitive price of coal all along the coasts of South America,

And third: a virtual monopoly of the source of supply.

Thus the Boston and Portland, and largely the Canadian lumber companies have been able for years to defy steam navigation and maintain a very profitable trade in windjammers, even when their ships have been blacklisted by hostile interests and compelled to retraverse the intervening five or six thousand nautical miles to their home ports on ballast.

A number of other trades might be mentioned in which these modified "lame ducks" could be profitably operated, if the Shipping Board could only be persuaded to exhibit a little more real sea-sense, and eliminate some of its book-learned nonsense.

Mr. Lasker is admittedly a confirmed land lubber, and, however great his business ability, his judgment is bound to be swayed by the powerful shipping interests, represented by the able associates with which he has felt constrained to surround himself for the benefit of their practical knowledge of maritime affairs. It is just the amount of practical knowledge they are determined to keep to themselves that is destined to destroy all calculations propounded by the Shipping Board. For it is the open and avowed intention of the United Shipowners Associations to disqualify the Shipping Board, prevent it from functioning, and acquire the government built ships for private operation "as near the zero mark as possible." So assert the latest editions of their private and privileged shipping organs.

The Standard Oil Company, or its subsidiaries, has been using the bald-headed type of fore and aft vessels, such as I have described, in their River Plate trade for a number of years, with evident success, and it would be wise for those responsible for the success or failure of our merchant marine to bear well in mind that the oil monopolists are seldom guilty of business blunders, ashore or afloat.

Neither the shipowners nor the seamen desire an indefinite continuance of government ownership of the merchant marine. But the seamen, at least, possess enough pride and patriotism to wish success to the United States Shipping Board, until such time as its public achievements will have earned for its officials the modicum of success as maritime promoters to which they should aspire, and dispel the prevailing notion that American ships can be bought with a promise or sold for a song.

# The Story of the Week

## Further Irish Negotiations

THE British Government made on September 8 a specific and resolute reply to Eamon De Valera's rejection of its proposals for the creation of a Dominion status for Ireland and his demand for a settlement on the basis of "consent of the governed." Lloyd George pointed out that while the principle of government by consent of the governed was the foundation of British constitutional development, it would be impossible to accept an interpretation of it which would commit the British Government in advance to grant any demands which Ireland might make, even to the repudiation of the Crown and the setting up of a republic. Such an interpretation, made general, would undermine the fabric of every democratic state and send the civilized world back into tribalism. Deprecating any further correspondence, therefore, he asked the Irish leader for a definite reply as to whether he was prepared "to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire could best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations." He concluded by suggesting a meeting at Inverness on September 20.

The general estimate of the British press was that in this communication the Prime Minister had gone to the utmost permissible limit for a just and peaceful settlement of the Irish problem. The Irish press took a hopeful view of it, the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* declaring that it opened the door of peace wider than ever before, and the *Irish Independent* expressing hope that the proposed conference would be held. These are not, it is true, Sinn Fein organs; which indeed do not exist—in Ireland. But that they were in accord with the sentiments of the Sinn Fein leaders was generally believed and indeed pretty clearly indicated.

The Dail Eireann Cabinet met on September 9 to consider the matter, and decided to summon a full meeting of the Dail Eireann for September 14 to take final action. But on September 12 it was officially announced at Dublin by the Sinn Fein authorities that a formal reply to the British invitation had been forwarded to Lloyd George accepting the invitation. From London came a report that the acceptance contained a reservation concerning the allegiance of Ireland to the British Crown, tho the invitation expressly made such allegiance a *sine qua non* of holding the conference. Ruling out the reservation as inadmissible under the terms of the invitation, it was pointed out that on the one hand Sinn Fein acceptance of the invitation and participation in the conference would be tantamount to agreement to remain in the British Empire and under the British Crown, while on the other hand the British government would be committed to the granting of all Irish nationalistic demands short of actual secession.

The most dubious factor in the present problem appears to be Ulster. That province remains inflexible in its refusal to be merged with the rest of Ireland and in its resolution to maintain the present Home Rule act and its own Northern Parliament. It remains to be seen whether the Sinn Fein government will consent to such a separate status for Ulster. Hitherto it has refused to do so, insisting that Ulster be coerced into sharing the general fortunes of the whole island. But that Great Britain would herself apply such coercion, or would permit the South of Ireland to apply it at cost of civil war, is not to be supposed.

Much speculation was rife as to the personnel of the Irish delegation. One report was that Eamonn De Valera would not attend the conference and that the delegation would be led instead by Arthur Griffith, the Sinn Fein Minister for Foreign Affairs; while another was that De Valera would go to the conference as before, with Griffith as his colleague.

Other probable members ere said to be Robert Barton, who until this last errand has been the Sinn Fein courier in intercourse with the British Government; Professor McNeill, and Erskine Childers.

## Bavaria and Berlin

THE age-long animosity between Bavaria and Prussia flamed up to an ominous hight on September 10, when the Government of the former country openly refused to recognize the authority of that at Berlin. This was the culmination of the attack upon the Berlin Government already noted as having begun at Munich on September 2, under the inspiration and direction of the military-royalist-reactionary element, and apparently aiming at either the overthrow of the German Republic or the complete separation of Bavaria therefrom. The Bavarian Government scornfully rejected the Berlin offer of a compromise on the chief points of difference between the two, declaring that it would not submit to "any diminution of the sovereign rights of Bavaria."

At the same time there were widespread popular demonstrations in honor of the former Crown Prince, Rupprecht.

The Diet at Munich, however, refused to follow the lead of the Cabinet, and, instead of approving its rejection of the Berlin proposals, as the Minister-President, Dr. von Kahr, demanded, adopted instead a resolution yielding to




*Low in London Star*

The conductor: "All aboard, gentlemen—but no excess luggage, if you please!"

the authority of the Berlin Government in all national affairs. Thereupon, on September 11, the Minister-President and the Minister of Justice, Dr. Rothe, resigned.

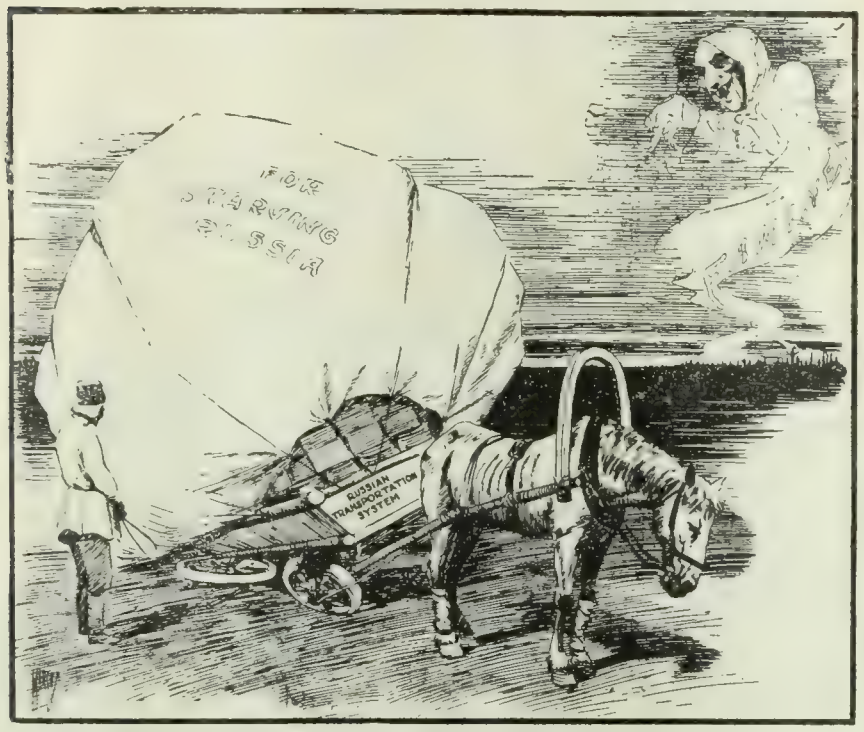
As the remainder of the Cabinet had been less antagonistic to Berlin, it was expected that it would remain in office, but on September 12 all the rest of the ministers surrendered their portfolios.

It is generally assumed that the German government will form a new Cabinet which will act in harmony with the national government at Berlin, and thus abate what seemed at one time to be developing an unescapably grave peril to the future stability and to the integrity of the German Republic.




*Brown in Chicago Daily News*

**An afterthought**




*Marcus in New York Times*

**Under soviet rule**

# The Work of Russian Relief

AMERICAN relief of starving Russians has actually begun. Eighteen railway cars of food from America reached Moscow on September 9, and twenty-three more were on their way thither. With these supplies kitchens are being opened at Moscow, Samara and Kazan. On the same date an American food kitchen was actually opened at Petrograd, at which hundreds of children were fed with rice pudding, rolls and cocoa; the first such food that stricken city had seen for years. How vast a task is before the American Relief Administration may be estimated from the fact that its agents report that of the million and a third children in the province of Kazan, fully a million are acutely suffering from starvation. Thus far there has been no serious friction between the American administrators and the Soviet government, the latter apparently respecting and fulfilling the guarantees which Secretary Hoover required.

Unfortunately the relief work undertaken by other countries does not fare so well. The British Government is dis satisfied with the plans proposed by Dr. Frithiof Nansen, fearing that under them little food would get much further than Petrograd, and that it would there be distributed with the primary aim of bolstering up the Soviet government and adding to its prestige. France takes a similar view of the situation, and in consequence the Supreme Allied Council has appointed an International Russian Relief Commission, to investigate conditions in Russia and to supervise the administration of relief by the Allies. A message was sent to the Soviet government, requesting that the Commission be permitted to enter Russia and make a tour of inspection thru the famine-stricken regions there.

This request the Soviet government refused to grant, with a showing of resentment and wrath at the making of it. Mr. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs, sent on September 8 an identical note to the four Allied Powers—Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy —denouncing the proposal to send such a Commission as "a monstrous sneer at the fate of starving Russia" and as "unthinkable, and designed to give Russia's enemies opportunities of spying into its affairs."

The Allies recall the former declaration of the Soviet government, that upon the reopening of Russia to the trade of the world, only the partisans of Sovietism would be permitted to profit from it, and the more recent suggestion that relief, if not sufficient for all, should first be given to the fighting men of the Soviet armies, and withheld from children and the aged; and in view of these things they express doubt of the propriety of entrusting the distribution of relief solely to the Soviets.

The best hope of the situation seems at present to lie in the declared willingness of the Soviet government to accept aid on the same terms as those governing the relief work of America.

# Japan and China

THE Japanese Government has been making overtures to China, apparently with a view to composing the differences between the two countries before the meeting at Washington of the International Conference on the Far East. The Japanese Minister at Pekin on September 8 handed to the Chinese Foreign Minister a memorandum containing Japan's proposals of terms and conditions for the retrocession of Shantung; to the effect that Japan should return to China all the "leased" territory of that province, with full sovereignty and political rights, and should withdraw therefrom all Japanese troops; but that the railroads now in existence and the mines should be under joint Chinese and Japanese operation and control.

It was semi-officially stated, also, that Japan was willing to cancel the major part of the "twenty-one demands" which she made upon China in 1915, especially relating to Manchuria and Mongolia.

Four days later it was reported from Pekin, on what was described as indubitable authority, that the Chinese government would decline to accept these Japanese offers, preferring to have the whole matter of her relations with Japan considered by the Washington conference; and, in case she does finally accept the proffered terms, preferring to do so at the Conference table rather than in private negotiation, in order that the other powers in the Con-

ference may be jointly responsible for their faithful fulfillment. In anticipation of such reference of her affairs to the Conference, China is preparing to send to Washington four of her ablest statesmen and a numerous company of advisers representing all the various important interests of the republic.

## "For Limitation of Armament"

DEFINITE and substantial progress is being made in preparation for the Conference for the Limitation of Armament, at Washington. Announcement was made on September 9 that the American delegates will be four in number, namely: Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State; Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator from Massachusetts, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Majority Leader in the Senate; Elihu Root, formerly Secretary of State and Senator, and member of the Permanent Tribunal at The Hague; and Oscar W. Underwood, Senator from Alabama and Minority Leader in that body. These delegates will be assisted by an advisory council of twelve members, chosen for their expert knowledge of military, naval, aeronautical, economic, political and international affairs. The other nations participating will send four delegates each, but there will be no restriction upon the numbers of their advisers and assistants. Since they will not enjoy the Americans' advantage of being close to their seat of government, it is expected that their staffs will be numerous, comprising perhaps several hundred each.

Secretary Hughes has been at pains to explain that the common reference to the gathering as a "disarmament conference" is incorrect and misleading, and if persisted in might have the unfortunate and unjust effect of making it seem that the body did not live up to its name. "The proper and official term," he says, "is 'The Conference for the Limitation of Armament,' an entirely different and distinct subject."




*Thomas in Detroit News*

You never heard caddies rave about golf

## Mr. Root and the League Court

MUCH disappointment was felt and expressed among the delegates of the League of Nations at Geneva, on September 12, at Elihu Root's positive declination to accept election as a judge of the International Court of Justice which the League is about to create. Mr. Root had been the favorite candidate of several of the nations represented in the League, and would almost certainly have received practically if not quite unanimous election, and would probably, it was thought, have been chosen Presiding Justice of the court. His declination was widely interpreted as an indication that the United States would continue to support the Permanent Tribunal at The Hague, of which he is a member, and would ignore the new court of the League. This caused Leon Bourgeois, the head of the French delegation to the League, to discuss, in what was described as the most notable speech made at the meeting of the Assembly, the relations of the United States to the League of Nations and the question whether, because of the refusal of this country to join it, the moral influence of the League was decreasing. Anxiety, he said, had been caused by the action of the United States in not only refusing to join the League but also calling an international conference to do the very work which the League was intended to do; a conference of which Mr. Root was to be a member, although he declined membership in the League court. He did not think that there was any real cause for anxiety. "We have every respect," he said, "for national ideas, nay, for national prejudices. We shall go on with our work, conscious that we are doing the right thing, and leaving other people to go their own way. We are very glad to see other peoples also dealing with the question of disarmament, inspired by the same principle as ourselves. They are working for the same object we are, and we wish them every success in their work. We need only wait for the same sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic to bring both sides to a common understanding, in order to attain the reign of peace and justice."

## The Americas and the League

AMERICAN affairs, both North and South, were prominent if not dominant at the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. Augustin Edwards, head of the Chilean delegation, on September 7, declared that Chile would challenge the authority of the League to intervene in any international matters pertaining solely to the Western Hemisphere. This was in reply to the demand of Bolivia that the League should move for revision of the treaty of 1904 under which that country was deprived of its frontage on the Pacific Ocean. The Bolivian demand was based upon the principle enunciated by President Wilson in the thirteenth of his "Fourteen Points" in which he insisted that Poland, when made independent, "should be assured a free and secure access to the sea," while the Chilean reply was based upon the provision in Article XXI of the Covenant of the League of Nations, that nothing in that instrument should affect the validity of the Monroe Doctrine. Fear was felt that Chile might follow this utterance by withdrawal from the meetings of the Assembly, as Argentina did last year, if it were decided to act favorably upon Bolivia's demand, and that Bolivia might withdraw if such favorable action were denied; and it was observed with regret that eight other Latin American countries were abstaining from participation in the meeting. Mr. Edwards, however, said that Chile had no such intention "at present."

Four days later other counsels appeared to prevail with the Chilean government, and it consented to refer the dispute with Bolivia to an international commission, which should be charged not with a final settlement of it but with determining whether the Assembly of the League of Nations was competent to deal with it; the presumption being that if this was decided in the affirmative, the Assembly would order the whole case to be referred to the new International Court of Justice for final judgment. To this arrangement the Bolivian delegate cordially assented.

During the debate over this matter the head of the Colombian delegation, A. F. Restrepo, declared that his country would be foremost in seeking membership in a

new Association of Nations, if President Harding, developing the suggestions and intimations already made by him, should undertake the formation of such an organization; and expressed the belief that all the other South and Central American republics would do likewise. This did not necessarily mean that they would withdraw from the League of Nations, tho he was doubtful as to whether public opinion would approve membership in two such bodies.

The inclination to forsake the League for a new Association he attributed partly to the rejection by the League of Argentina's proposed amendment to the Covenant, making all sovereign States *ipso facto* members of the League unless they voluntarily abstained from membership; but still more to the refusal of the United States to enter the League, a refusal which he regarded as irrevocable. Following this, Lord Robert Cecil and others declared that the non-participation of the United States was undoubtedly hampering the activities and beneficence of the League.

Meantime on September 8, thru a note of August 8 to the French Government the United States notified the League that it would insist upon equal rights, privileges and interests with League powers in the "Mandates" over former German and Turkish possessions. Such mandates, Secretary Hughes pointed out, were made possible only thru the victory of the Allied and Associated Powers, to which the United States essentially contributed. He therefore proposed that, altho this country was not a member of the League, no mandates should be agreed to by the League, or after adoption be changed, without the approval of the United States Government. In pursuance of this policy, it was said at Washington on September 10, that it would probably be necessary to make special agreements, preferably in the form of treaties, with the Allies.

## South American Postal Rates

THE gratifying prospect of lower postal rates between this country and South America was afforded in the action, taken on September 11, of the Pan-American Postal Congress at Buenos Aires, to the effect that each country should be free to fix its own foreign postal rates, provided that such rates do not exceed five cents in United States money for each unit of first-class mail, or "within the half of the equivalent in dollars for the maximum fixed by the Universal Postal Congress at Madrid"—that maximum being 50 centimes, or ten cents.

This is believed to portend a reduction of United States letter rates to South American countries from five cents, as it is at present, to two cents, as it now is to all parts of the British Empire, Mexico, Cuba, Panama, the Dutch West Indies and the Dominican Republic.

Such a reduction would doubtless stimulate commercial correspondence and facilitate the extension of American trade in those countries, and be another long step toward the realization of the ideal long advocated by Mr. Henniker Heaton in England, of "world-wide penny postage."

## The Central American Federation

SIMPLE ceremonies, briefly announced to the world, marked on September 10 what was substantially the recreation of the Federal Republic of Central America. On that day at the city of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, representatives of Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador signed the Constitution of the new nation, and planted a memorial tree; and writs were issued for the holding of elections in the three States on October 15, for members of the Federal Council. It was arranged to raise the national flag of the Federation on September 21, the one hundredth anniversary of the declaration of independence of Central America, and to swear allegiance to that emblem; at which time it was hoped that Costa Rica and Nicaragua would unite with the three States which were already joined together.

This achievement, which should prove most beneficial to the Central American peoples, is of peculiar interest to the United States, because of our relation to former attempts at Central American union.

The first of these was in 1823, when the five States established a federal government at Guatemala City, under the Presidency of Manuel Jose Arce, of Salvador. The new nation was promptly recognized by the powers of the world, and as promptly, in the first few months of its career, performed two noteworthy acts. One was the abolition of slavery, in which it preceded all other American nations.

The other was the calling of the Panama Congress, at which it was hoped to form a League of Nations comprising all the republics of North, Central and South America. Altho President John Quincy Adams expressed the deepest interest in that Congress, and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, declared that it would mark a new epoch in the world's history, the pro-slavery elements which controlled the United States Congress were hostile to it because of Central America's emancipation of negroes, and therefore would not permit this country to be represented at Panama. Our abstention caused a certain alienation between this country and Central America. It also, by depriving those States of the fellowship and guidance for which they had looked to us, caused discouragement and demoralization, and led to the dissolution of the Central American federation in 1838.

Other attempts at union, less than a score of years later, were defeated by the buccaneering of the American slavery propagandist, William Walker, who by his machinations kept Central America in a state of war for a considerable time and, thru the fact that he enjoyed the sympathy if not the encouragement of two pro-slavery Presidents of the United States, increased the estrangement between the two countries.

Finally in 1907 the way to union seemed opened, under the patronage and aid of the United States, when under a treaty made at Washington the five States formed a League of Nations with an International Court of Justice to which all disputes among them were to be referred for adjudication.

But having benevolently aided in the creation of that court, a few years later, for the sake of making and




*Morris for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Unmask the movement**

maintaining a selfish treaty with Nicaragua, our government practically compelled its abolition, and planted the seeds of dissension and actual war in its place; inciting Nicaragua to defy the judgment of the court and supporting her in so doing. This triple record of marplotry is not pleasant to recall. But it will happily not debar this country from felicitating Central America upon its achievement, or from cultivating with that Federal Republic relations both cordial and mutually beneficent.

At the one hundredth anniversary celebration of the independence of the Central American Republics, held at Guatemala City, the United States Navy was especially invited to take part. Rear Admiral Casey B. Morgan, commander of the special service squadron, went as the navy's representative.



*International*

**Unemployed men, desperate to find work, stood on a "slave block" in Boston Common the other day and were offered at auction by "Mr. Zero," the well-known philanthropist, who has constituted himself champion of the unemployed. This sensational public sale of their services brought thousands of spectators, but very little real return. The best bid was $2 cash and room and board for a week. The man shown on the auction block with "Mr. Zero" in this photograph is (like many of the unemployed) an ex-soldier**

## Enforcing Arbitral Awards

THE insistence of the United States that Panama should abide by the arbitral award which was made in her boundary dispute with Costa Rica has proved effective. Costa Rican officials and troops took formal possession of the Coto territory on September 9, without resistance by Panama; United States forces watching operations from afar off but having no occasion to intervene.

The decree of the Panaman government that a month's public mourning be observed is significant chiefly as a display of temperament, while the insistence of the United States has established the fact that arbitral awards voluntarily sought must be accepted and enforced, even tho they may not be to the liking of one of the parties to the controversy. That principle must prevail, of course, if the whole scheme of international arbitration and adjudication is not to fall into contempt and disuse.

Simultaneously with this settlement another dispute over an arbitral award arose, in a different place. Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, of the Federal bench, who had been accepted by both sides as arbiter in the great building trades controversy at Chicago, rendered a decision reducing wages from 10 to 33 per cent.

This wage reduction the Chicago Building Trades Council—the union labor organization—on September 9 by unanimous vote declared "unjustifiable" and provocative of "universal dissatisfaction," and a reopening of the case and rehearing was demanded. This action of the Council was regarded as tantamount to rejection of the award, and was so acted upon by many of the union workmen, who refused to work for the reduced wages prescribed by Judge Landis.

Enforcement of the Chicago award was recognized to be a much more difficult and perplexing matter than it was in the Isthmian dispute.

## After the Mingo War

THE presence of Federal troops in the West Virginia coal region so promptly and effectively quelled the warfare between the miners and citizens that it was deemed prudent to relieve General Bandholtz from his duties there on September 12, leaving three regiments on duty under the command of their colonels until such time as the State militia could be efficiently organized to take their place. On the same day at Williamson, West Virginia, the taking of testimony began in the second Matewan battle trial, the two men on trial being charged with the killing of one of the seven detectives who were slain in the fight at Matewan in May last. At the same time steps were taken to investigate searchingly the origin of the recent hostilities which began on August 31, and to bring to justice those responsible for them. Forty warrants were issued in Logan County for the arrest of men alleged to have been members and leaders of the armed bands whose invasion of that county compelled the call for Federal aid; and a special grand jury was summoned, which will be charged with a thoro inquest into the disturbances.

The more protracted tho much less violent trouble in the fluorspar mining region of Illinois was also brought to an end. The Adjutant-General of the State, the Director of the Department of Mines and the State Director of Labor went to Hardin County on September 8 to conduct an investigation as ordered by the Governor. Three days later, on the anniversary of the beginning of the strike, the town officials withdrew the private detectives who had been employed as deputy sheriffs; and a number of striking miners returned to Elizabethtown, the first union workmen in the place since their wholesale expulsion by the citizens more than a week before.

## The Flood at San Antonio

AN appalling tragedy, more properly to be called in the old phrase an "act of God" than most of the catastrophes from which men so frequently suffer, occurred at the historic Texas city of San Antonio on September 9. While much of the eastern part of the country was suffering drouth, torrential rains occurred in the West, particularly in the western part of the Mississippi Valley and Texas. As far north as Watertown, Wisconsin, precipitation of more than five inches in a continuous storm was reported, while at San Antonio the downpour reached the probably unprecedented figures of seven and three-eighths inches. That, it may be computed, means considerably more than one hundred million gallons on every square mile of land. When the dip of the land sends the precipitation of many hundred square miles into a single channel, a flood of gigantic proportions is produced.

At San Antonio the waters of three streams thus swollen were forced into a channel about half a mile wide, with disastrous results. It was estimated that more than two hundred lives were lost—much time may elapse before the complete roll of the dead is made up—and between two and three million dollars' worth of property was destroyed.

The disaster was not as great as that at Pueblo, Colorado, some months before, or as the famous Johnstown,

Penn., flood of many years ago, but it will rank as one of the greatest in a category of its own, differing from those in which the others are placed.

The flood which did so much damage at Johnstown was due to the breaking of a dam which had been permitted to become unsafe, and was thus to be charged directly against human neglect of criminal proportions. The Pueblo flood, aggravated by the breaking of a dam, was chiefly caused by a heavy rainfall, and was destructive because the city was built in an unsafe place, peculiarly exposed to just such an occurrence; and was thus to be charged at least in part to that same spirit of daring or of obtuseness to peril which leads men to build their homes on the very slopes of a volcano.

But San Antonio was not built in an unsafe place, and the flood was not due to any breaking of a dam. Beyond most great catastrophes, it was due not to any neglect or folly or crime of man, but to natural circumstances beyond his control.

## Alien Poll Tax Invalid

AN almost epochal decision was unanimously rendered by the Supreme Court of California on September 12, in a case involving the validity of a state law, and, possibly, of an amendment to the State Constitution. In November, 1920, a constitutional amendment was adopted empowering the legislature to levy a special poll tax on aliens, and in pursuance thereof the legislature this year imposed an annual poll tax of $10 each on all alien male residents of the state between the ages of twenty-one and sixty. This law the court declared to be invalid, because it conflicted with the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which forbids any state to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws"; and furthermore to be invalid as applied to citizens of Japan, because of a treaty to the contrary existing between Japan and the United States. The test case in which this decision was rendered implicated as defendants a Japanese and a Mexican, who had been arrested for non-payment of the poll tax, and who were consequently ordered to be released.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the decision is the fact that it was rendered by a state court, upholding the superior authority not only of the Federal Constitution but also of Federal treaties over the authority of the state government.




*Morris for George Matthew Adams Service*

**Congress: "William Tell did it! Why can't I?"**

## Unfair Hardships to Immigrants

REPEATED complaints of hardships suffered by immigrants, or would-be immigrants, under the new restrictive law, have been brought to the attention of the President, and have evoked from him a vigorous letter on the subject. It had been represented that many would-be immigrants arriving at the port of New York had been refused admission and been sent home again, because they had happened to arrive a few hours after their country's legal quota for the month, under the new law, had been filled; and thus after parents had been admitted to the United States their children were sent back, or children were admitted and their parents sent back.

Commenting upon this, in his letter to Representative Siegel, of New York, made public on September 12, President Harding said:

> The difficulty must be charged to the dishonest steamship agents, who have brought to this country innocent immigrants in spite of our continued warnings during a period of very great leniency. I know how very persistent have been the impositions which have been made on the Government agents, who have been disposed to be sympathetic and generous in carrying out the law.

President Harding's letter brought to a head the growing dissatisfaction with our new immigration law, which has been the cause of numerous complaints from all sides. With so much evidence accumulated to show the unnecessary cruelty and injustice which the present system allows there is a strong movement under way for a radical revision of the immigrant system, so as to have the work of examination, and also the stoppage of immigration when the legal quota is filled, done at the European port of embarkation instead of at the port of entrance to this country.

## The Status of the Philippines

A notably significant utterance concerning the status of the Philippines was made at the University of Manila on September 11 by W. Cameron Forbes, who was Governor-General of the islands in the Administration of President Taft, and who has been making a tour of investigation thruout the archipelago in company with Gen. Leonard Wood. He deprecated any attempt at immediate independence on the ground that the islands were still without sufficient resources for the maintenance of a separate, unprotected government. Yet he believed it to be contrary to the traditional policy of the United States to hold an alien people permanently in subjection against their will.

"I believe," he said, "in the desire for independence, and have never tried to discourage it. I always said that my duty as Governor-General included changing the political relationship between the Philippine Islands and the United States, and devoted myself to the development of natural resources, as the Filipino people were then and still are without sufficient resources for the maintenance of a separate government without protection. I said then and say now, 'Devote yourselves to developing your natural resources, so as to make yourselves strong enough to maintain your nationality.' Whatever permanent relationship is established, it will be one which will be mutually agreed upon by both peoples as satisfactory to both, and no relationship, unless so established, can be permanent."

It is of course assumed that this utterance voices the tenor of the report which General Wood is about to make to President Harding and that it also forecasts the policy which General Wood will pursue as Governor-General of the islands.

# The Church and the Critic

## A Few of the Comments From The Independent Readers on the Article by Dr. Franklin H. Giddings, "Can the Churches Be Saved?"

OF the hundred or more articles written in reply to Dr. Giddings' discussion of the Protestant churches and their present-day decline, less than 10 per cent denied the need of some such criticism. But tho nine out of ten were agreed in demanding a remedy, their diagnoses differed widely.

"Go back," say some:

Can the churches be saved? Certainly they can, and will be, when they get back, as they will, sooner or later, onto terra firma. Too many of them have been undermined by modern theology. But the process is not modern. They have been thru similar experiences before. Never fear but that the pendulum will swing back.

It was the iron in the New England theology of Edwards and Payson and Lyman Beecher that filled the churches, transformed whole neighborhoods, bred real statesmen and earnest, law-abiding, industrious, sabbath-observing citizens. The liberal theology so prevalent now is emptying the churches, filling the movies, breaking down the sabbath, weakening moral ties, and developing a liberalism which is really license, and is leading towards anarchy. It was the Bible of Victoria that made England; of the Pilgrims and the Huguenots that made America; of Livingstone and Stanley that is making a new Africa. It was the preaching of Moodey and Finney, and scores of other evangelists, that built up the churches, rescued so many thousands from reckless living, the slough of despondency and the gutter. The blood and the home influence of a Congregational minister started Franklin H. Giddings upon a higher level of thought and aim than is fostered by the liberal, go-as-you-please home now so common.

Compare the atmosphere of the average college today with that of Williams and Amherst and Dartmouth and Oberlin two generations ago. The love of pleasure has taken the place of the love of learning. Baseball has superseded the oratorical contest. The college paper is largely a bundle of squibs and jokes, some of which are not of a very high standard. Is it any wonder that young men are not studying for the ministry? A diluted theology and a denatured Christ cannot inspire souls, or save a world from sin. In the end it will be the old Bible or none.

E. P. Brauch.

Melbourne, Florida.

"Go forward," say others.

If the churches will get out of the old ruts of moss-grown dogma and discard antiquated formalities and teach and stand for truth and justice, both social and economic justice; if they will get a grip on the human problems, they will be saved by their own works, and flourish as never before.

Men want and must have social life: the church can and should become the center of the social life of its community. Recreation is also necessary and the church can aid in bringing about conditions that will enable man to have recreation—leisure time to stretch his muscles and refresh his mind. The church should be an agency in teaching the community the new truths that science brings forth.

Man must be appealed to as a man—living among his kind, battling for a living and a few of the luxuries of life; all must have a chance at getting some of the good things of life. It is too late to appeal to man on the basis of approaching death and the sole concern of saving his soul.

The early Christians taught and worked in terms of human problems. When the churches again become alive to such problems of their own time; when they stand and demand again human right and human justice, here and hereafter, they will save themselves alive.

Stephen J. Rigney.

Cut Bank, Montana.

"The truth shall make you free" is variously interpreted. Several letters, such as the one below, blame the churches for fostering traditionalism and urge an open-minded encouragement of scientific investigation and research.

Thousands of men and women will concur with Prof. Giddings in his keen analysis of the condition of the churches today.

The trouble with the church is that it is built upon the quicksands of tradition and handed down ideas with its paraphernalia of forms and ritual, and that its exponents have preferred to teach dogma instead of truth, as reason and intelligence reveal it.

A. M. M.

But the following letter from a minister takes a different viewpoint:

If the churches are losing power today it is not because of the hostile attitude of the churches toward evolution or against the application of historical scholarship to the study of the Bible. Nor can the churches be saved by a changed attitude on these subjects.

Jesus was never popular among the scientists, the doctors or lawyers. This class was wedded to pet theories and theological dogmas. But the masses, the multitude, followed Christ because He gave them "daily bread." He taught and helped them in the problems that were uppermost in their everyday lives. These people were not interested in intricate questions of science and theology. Nor did Jesus ever attempt to force anyone to obey or follow Him. His invitation was one grand "whosoever will."

In other words, the churches must lift up Jesus and Jesus only and He will draw all men unto Him.

(Rev.) Marshall L. Shepard.

New York City.

Among the critics of the Church we find a large majority complaining that modern Christianity is not preached in its relation to everyday living:

The church (with perhaps a few exceptions) is too much occupied in theories, and not enough in practice. Only last night (August 28) I attended a church service in Buffalo and the preacher labored for over three-quarters of an hour to convince his hearers of the analogy existing between the courtship of Isaac and Rebekah and the marriage of the Lamb with the Church.

Apart altogether from whether or no such an analogy exists, of what practical use is it to the average person to know it?

As one who has visited many churches of various creeds I have always observed that when a minister has the courage to try to reply to some of the real questions (such as, who are the meek? what does it mean to cut off one's hand? what did Christ teach of marriage, the resurrection, etc.?) that he can get an audience. But the average minister evades the real issues, and it is this evasion of the questions that are in everyone's mind concerning Christ and His teachings, coupled with the contradiction in a great many minds of the wholesale slaughter by Christian nations for some four years, against the command to "love your enemy," that has aroused in numbers of people a feeling of disgust for the church.

If the church would teach the things Christ taught and do its best to show the people how they can be practically applied, then it will gain prestige, but not before.

H. Greenwood.

East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Many comments, from ministers and from laymen, blame the lack of young men going into the ministry today on the irreligious atmosphere of American family life. As the editor of the Portland *Telegram* writes us:

The trouble with the church today is the trouble with all America. We are having such a good time with the things of this earth we don't care much about the things of the Kingdom of Heaven. Our idea of the successful life is the making of a big fortune in a short time, not the making of great sacrifices for the promotion of righteousness on earth.

The great reason why young men are not going into the ministry is that when children they didn't hear father say that the ministry was much of a profession. Father was talking mostly about making big money in real estate and oil wells. Father was too busy running after the dollar to have family prayers.

You can no more get fervent, devoted divinity students and fervent, devoted laymen out of a prayerless, scriptureless family than you can get red blood out of a white turnip. Mr. Giddings needs to go back a long ways from where his explanation started to get at the root of this evil.

Milton O. Nelson.

Portland, Oregon.

But a preacher who has served forty years in the ministry sees this decrease of new ministers in an altogether different aspect:

Perhaps almost forty years in the ministry, with thirty-two of these years in my present parish, may justify a very frank comment on the article by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, "Can the Churches Be Saved?" Prof. Giddings ought to have gone a little deeper. There is a decrease in candidates for the ministry, but it may be that this is the sign not of the ruin but of the transformation of the church. There are at least two churches, the Quakers and the Christian Scientists, who seem to get along fairly well without a professional ministry. I sometimes think that the professional ministry is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of religion, in and out of the church. If there is a profound reaction against the professionalism that has captured the gospel and is exploiting it, this

reaction may not all be evil. I have given my life to the Christian ministry. I would rather be a minister than be anything else under heaven. I have tried to serve my church faithfully. I understand the necessity for institutions for the incarnation and expression of the Spirit. But I am unconvinced that the present system is permanent. There is no more danger of the church going to ruin than there is of the family or the state. There is the largest probability that the church will undergo profound changes in its adaptation to the growing life of humanity. I have sometimes shocked some of my people by suggesting that it might not be a permanent loss if we should scrap our ministry, our machinery, our buildings, and begin over where the first disciples and followers of Jesus did: on any street corner or crossroad, on any hillside or in any shed where seekers after God might congregate and where any human being whose soul was touched by the Holy Ghost might bear witness to his experience.

FREDERICK W. BETTS.

Syracuse, New York.

And a mother whose son wishes to enter the ministry analyzes her personal reluctance to have him follow that calling:

One of my sons, altho a religious man, will not attend church; the other wishes to enter the ministry.

I try to understand the older boy's aversion and also to analyze my reluctance to have the younger enter the ministry, altho I honor his desire as heroic and the church is indispensable to me.

I believe that reluctance to go to church comes from the hang-over from Calvinism —the church atmosphere of gloom, resignation, the suggestion of sorrow, death, and trouble. I feel the counter pull of those modern cults that suggest joy, life, hope, and spiritual help for bodily ailments. These new faiths vitalize and (in some respects) better follow the teachings of the Master who came that we might have more abundant life.

The position of clergymen, as now offered in Protestant churches, does not attract capable men because no man, underpaid, unassisted, can do all that the program demands. He receives better cooperation and feels that he has more influence in Christian work outside. He is better paid for it, and has a chance to keep in touch with world affairs. He is not overworked and he is free from constant criticism. His wife is free from traditional duties.

Because attendance is not required in Protestant churches, selfish members leave that duty to others. If that attitude continues, of course churches will dwindle. But a change is now past due, and it is the congregations that must bring it about. They must lift from the shoulders of one man the whole weight of the church and, giving him big opportunities for development, with unselfish, personal assistance, encourage the necessary work that it is impossible for him to accomplish unaided.

The right job will attract the right man to the church.

Ministers have not failed the church—the church has failed the ministers.

MRS. A. B. TROWBRIDGE.

Flushing, Long Island.

From Canada comes the following explanation of why the Protestant churches lost ground during and after the war:

Dr. Giddings has entirely overlooked the main cause of the decline in influence of Protestant ministers. This cause is found in the course taken by the ministers during the late war. In Canada, and I believe I am correct in assuming the same is true as regards the United States, Protestant clergy during the war turned their backs on the history and teaching of the past. For them there was no longer a Common Father of all men; the idea of human brotherhood was cast aside. The deity was treated as a tribal god and, instead of the old doctrine of love, from every pulpit came a fiery stimulus to tribal hate. Catholic clergy, in this country at least, did not, even in the hysteria of war, wholly forget the message that came thru Bethlehem. Herein, as I see it, is the chief reason why the Catholic church has gained ground while Protestantism has been going back.

W. L. SMITH.

Barrie, Canada.

But testimony is by no means lacking that

"God's in His heaven,
All's right with the world."

Yes, the churches can be saved.

If you doubt it for a moment, take down your dusty Bible and read Matthew 18:19.

Then make a week-end trip to Chicago and on a Saturday night, go, with about one hundred and fifty young men, students of Moody Bible Institute, to their upper chamber and be a spectator.

Then multiply this number by the thousands of people who are not troubling their souls about doctrines but are going calmly about their Master's business, and you will *know* that the churches *cannot be lost.*

As for the bad theology that Mr. Giddings asserts has been preached, he is forgetting the many little town and country churches that have not even been touched by this *intellectual religion* but have learned to love the *spiritual religion* that Christ taught.

The seminaries *are* short of students. But so are the schools short of teachers, one hundred thousand short, right now. But we do not believe for that reason that the schools are going to destruction. Instead, we recognize that the shortage is due to economic conditions and take steps to overcome these conditions. The situation is the same with the ministry. We must make it economically possible for young men to enter the ministry.

Besides, we forget that the ministers alone are not the churches, any more than the teachers are the schools. And there are plenty of people today who are doing some serious thinking along religious lines. Just recently a minister told me that there never was a time when it was so easy to approach people about religion. They are *hungry* for it. But they do not want intellectual twaddle; they want to know *how to live* and *how to die*, and any church that will teach them this will be filled.

But the churches need to be aroused to their opportunity. They have a tremendous latent power, especially *now*. A few more articles like Mr. Giddings' may awaken it!

F. PERL BEMIS.

Estherville, Iowa.

What Dr. Giddings really meant to ask, or might better have asked, in your issue of August 20 was, "Can the churches be made still more efficient?" The Protestant churches of the United States, taken altogether, are the greatest power-houses for good in all the world. They are still spreading the true gospel, the evangelical gospel, the truth that makes mankind free and happier and that makes life and property safer — and this with gradually increasing power and influence.

Neither the Protestant church nor Christianity are failures. They are the most generally successful forces in which human beings coöperate. The "bad theology," "bad Christianity" and "bad Protestantism" which Dr. Giddings deplores are as a fly, or three flies, on the back of an elephant. Come out into the growing South and West and see the thriving and prosperous extension work of nearly all of the evangelical churches.

The Laymen's Missionary Movement of the Southern Presbyterian churches is only one of thousands of evidences of the growth in spirituality and soul-winning power of all Protestant churches. Everywhere are springing up centers where the Word is taught in its purity, and young people are instructed and sent to the ends of the earth with the old-time unction and success!

CHARLES F. HUHLEIN.

Louisville, Kentucky.

A Methodist pastor who makes a vigorous plea for constructive coöperation "in times like these when the foundations of the established order are being shaken," ends with this pertinent paragraph:

If a few million of the critics—all able to "pass the alpha intelligence test" (of course!)—who are now throwing stones thru the churches' windows at us who are doing our best within will please transfer their energies from destructive to constructive tactics, uniting with us in loving and serving our fellowman—it will help a whole lot to *save the churches!*

A. E. T.

And here is one constructive criticism, of which we have space to publish only the outline:

The churches can be saved; but to me there are four necessary steps before their salvation is completed. Namely:

1. Fewer denominations.
2. Broader creeds.
3. A scientific basis.
4. A social service program.

J. B. DISHER.

Rockville, Indiana.

In a minority of one is this reader, who refuses to take Dr. Giddings' article seriously:

As I read Professor Giddings' report on the condition of the Protestant church I was constantly reminded of an old physician in my boyhood home. It was a part of his shrewd professional policy to exaggerate the seriousness of his cases. As he examined his patient he would knit his brow and shake his head and assume an expression of gloom that seemed to indicate that negotiations might well be opened with the undertaker. Upon his less intelligent clientele his manner made a profound impression.

It is a most alarming diagnosis that Professor Giddings gives of the condition of the church. We all know that a patient may have a much stronger hold on life than appears to a physician. Professor Giddings is much impressed with a recent newspaper investigation of the church, but he must be aware of the fact, as his own article indicates, that a newspaper report on the church, to be good copy, has to be sensational. If he had sought first-hand information in the annual year-books of any of the leading denominations he would have discovered that the churches are now engaged in a successful campaign involving an enormous expansion of their work at home and abroad, and the raising of extra tens of millions to finance it.

Professor Giddings is in a position of the gravest responsibility. He is in possession—he assures us so in italics—of the only possible remedy for a moribund church. Will he let this time-honored institution die? E. W. M.

## This Changing World

(*Continued from page 140*)

selves, teaching them modern methods of manufacture, increasing their wealth, caring for their infants and invalids, giving them opportunities for expansion and multiplication, in short doing everything possible to give other races the advantage over his own with the inevitable result that the white man finds himself being rapidly outnumbered by the millions of alien peoples that he has called into existence. And if the Martian turned his telescope on internal conditions he would find similar acts of altruism carried almost to the extreme of self-effacement. He would see the most capable, industrious, thrifty and conscientious part of the population taxing themselves heavily and limiting their own offspring in order that the feeble-minded, the incapable, the inefficient, the idle, and improvident classes should be better cared for than they could care for themselves and could have opportunity to multiply. A Martian philosopher, I say, might wonder whether such self-sacrifice would result in an improvement of the population.

A decrease in the birthrate is not necessarily a misfortune to a country. Very likely the British Isles have now all the population they can support in comfort under present conditions. The alarming thing about it is that the breeding is from the poorest stock instead of the best. Whatever objective standard one may take this is true. Sir James Crichton-Browne, in a presidential address before the congress of sanitary inspectors, showed that in the districts where there was the most overcrowding, the cheapest type of labor, the lowest degree of culture and education, the highest percentage of pauperism and lunacy, the greatest criminality and the highest death rate from tuberculosis and infantile disease, there the number of children were greatest in proportion to the possibly productive wives. It is a clear case of the survival of the unfittest, the reversal of evolution. No race can maintain its efficiency and virility against such reactive forces.

The future of a country depends ultimately upon the character and ability of its people. Increase of wealth, advance of science, improvement in education, discoveries in sanitation, just social conditions, all the achievements and hopes of the present age will be of little benefit to posterity if there is a decline in the native quality of the race. It would be disastrous to hand over a more perfect and complicated governmental machine to inferior engineers. One-seventh of the present generations will be the parents of one-half of the next. Therefore, two generations of selection, natural or designed, would completely transform the character of a nation. Is this seventh composed of the best men and women that we have? This is what is going to determine whether civilization shall advance or retrograde.




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# Rendering Unto Caesar the Things That Are God's

(*Continued from page 142*)

his wildest dreams. He saw all the great ones, and the trained ones, and those born to rule, pass into oblivion. Those pompous gentlemen, those super-heroes shrank before his eyes into small, trembling, frightened creatures. Their dusty files—the springs from which they drew their political wisdom—grew dustier and failed to yield even a drop of saving wisdom in a great national calamity.

It was Ebert who touched the button which produced on the historic film the collapse of the monarchy, and the flight of the Kaiser into exile and oblivion.

In Vienna I was received by Herr Professor Hainisch in the same office in which the ultimatum to Serbia was signed, the first act in the terrible drama of the World War.

Herr Professor Hainisch is the successor of the proud Hapsburgs, "Apostolic Majesties, Emperors of Austria, Kings of Hungary and Bohemia," Grand dukes of a dozen duchies, once the rulers of half the earth, theirs by conquest, by inheritance, by dower, by diplomatic rascalities.

However, the worm of death lay curled in the majestic curve of the Hapsburg's crown. The jeweled cross surmounting it, the glittering gift of one pope and blessed by a succession of popes, drew darts of lightning, and did not save the heads which wore that crown from the curses which fell upon them.

Next to God I was taught to revere the old Emperor Francis Joseph, and in my childhood I stood for hours and hours in the burning heat and choking dust to catch a glimpse of him. Once his son, Crown Prince Rudolph, visited our town, and I was chosen to present him with a bouquet of flowers. He listened tolerantly to my stammering speech, and I was in the seventh heaven; tho I wore patent leather shoes, a size too small, a stiff collar which sawed at my jugular vein, and a suit of clothes made much too large in anticipation of my next year's growth. What matter? I saw royalty, and royalty smiled at me in a royal way.

Now I have met and spoken to and shaken the hand of the man who rules in the Hapsburg's place. He wore a plain pair of grey trousers and a black Prince Albert coat, and I could offer him an American "smoke" without offending his dignity.

I saw the peasant Vitos, on the streets of Warsaw, all eyes fixed on him, the Premier of Poland. From raising pigs to ruling a country! A new, old country, a delicately poised country, in the keeping of a peasant! He has held plow handles but never government handles. He is middle aged, sleepy looking, shrewd eyed, when the lids are lifted, and he has a good head when he puts it to work.

Polish kings and Polish aristocracy, velvet-coated, gold-trimmed, spur-booted aristocracy, replaced by a peasant who tucks his trousers into his boots and who, when he opens parliament, or dissolves it, has a hard time not to say: "Git up" and "Whoa"!

Who says one has to be born and trained to govern people? After all, people are like sheep, and a farmer knows how to handle them.

I looked up with reverence and awe to the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, long before he was president, and when no one, least of all he, modest man, once a blacksmith's apprentice, dreamed of his being one. Tall, thin, ascetic looking, he is the typical college profesor, which position he attained by dint of hard work and his poor parents' sacrificial toil. He was born in the village of Hodonin, a few miles from my birthplace, and knowing his background and his early history, I could scarcely imagine him in the Hrddshin, the palace of the Bohemian kings, peopled by shadows of history and martyrs of history.

None of them have an easy task, these men risen from the ranks, and they need to pray for wisdom for themselves and for their people.

ALL beaten, bruised, crippled, Europe is suffering from a perverted nationalism, a diseased patriotism. New hates have been added to the old hates, and nations are plotting for power, not planning for peace. Exhausted and impoverished, having nothing to lose, the nations are the more ready to fight again. The war as a lesson to humanity teaches that the race is hopelessly stupid, and does not learn anything from history.

France, all but drained of strength, is ready to waste what is left. She disarms the Germans, thus setting free a million men to compete with her in the markets of the world—and conscripts a million of her own men, chaining herself to coal and cannon in the Saar. She wastes the strength of virile men by a useless "Watch on the Rhine," and plots for the control of Europe with Poles, Czechs, Magyars and Jugo-Slavs, feeble reeds at best, which will break the moment she leans upon them. To believe that she can create a strong Poland to keep Germany and Russia apart, is a faith which the most elementary lesson in history ought to disprove.

The bones of Frenchmen have been scattered as dung upon nearly every acre of Europe. For decades the plowman's share stirred the bones of her brave ones; yet she is ready to sow them into the earth again, for that futile thing, political power.

England, which has strewn the ocean with wrecks, whose sailors and marines have been cradled in their last sleep by the waves, whose far-flung domain is ready to break into frag-

ments; even the British Isles growing brittle under the hammer of Sinn Fein —England, too, is not suing for peace, but is building more battleships for that impossible hope of remaining sole mistress of the seas.

At a time when steel has proved itself the weakest thing in national strength, one of England's statesmen, in pleading for more armament, said passionately that "Great Britain can not trust herself to Good Will, but to good battleships."

If France and England, at the moment of their triumph, had shown good will to their vanquished enemies, battleships might be obsolete in a decade or two. The people, the hard pressed, crushed, crucified people, were ready for "Peace on Earth, Good Will toward men." The politicians, the panic stricken, privileged classes alone, wanted power. The lesser countries, the newly made republics and kingdoms are being harnessed to the war chariots of the great powers, and together they are going to their doom.

Bernard Shaw has said that the race might become suddenly well if we killed off all the doctors. It may be more true that governments might function normally, if we would kill off all the diplomats, the international politicians, who try to gerrymander the universe, and to whom the people are still like vermin to be drowned in coal oil and combed out with bayonets.

The borders drawn at Versailles are but temporary, and are fields for new battles. Militarism has been destroyed in one place, and like the plague, has been scattered broadcast.

Prague, Brataslava, Warsaw, Belgrade, are infant Potsdams waiting to grow up, and in no place is Good Will taking the place of suspicion, envy or hate. The beaten and disarmed countries have been disinfected from the plague; give them thirty years, thirty normal years, to cleanse themselves from pollution, to wash themselves of their guilt, and they will be the only victors of the Great War.

Today there are more men unemployed in England and France than in Germany and Austria. Bulgaria recruits her sons and daughters for constructive service to the state, and solidifies her possessions; while the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes drills soldiers, passes restrictive laws, and is like a barrel gone dry, the hoops unable to hold the staves together.

The spectre of Bolshevism has given the reactionaries everywhere a chance to fear and arrest social progress; while the liberals, the liberated men, the onward moving men have been hindered and damned by being opprobriously labeled. The reactionaries label them Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks call them reactionaries; so between the reactionary Nationalist and the Bolshevist the Liberal has no choice. Both are materialistic to the core; tho the one may swear by the Bible and the other by Karl Marx.

The ashen grey men and women, the armies of ricket-cursed and consump-


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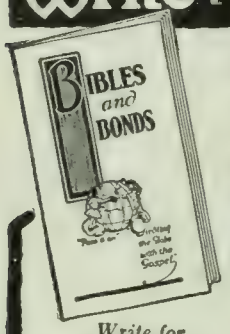
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tive children, the wreckage of economic life, and the pauperization of vast multitudes, are the same in Nationalistic Warsaw, Berlin, Vienna, or even Glasgow, Birmingham and London—as they are in Bolshevik Petrograd, Kiev and Moscow.

Warsaw is full of beggars, insistent, dirty, vermin-eaten; Moscow is full of beggars, deprecating, fairly clean, wearing thin clothes ineffectively mended.

The wreckage caused by reactionary, capitalistic Nationalism is old—it is the wreckage of the masses, the wreckage caused by machines, coal dust, gas fumes, narrow tenements, seasonal occupations, periods of unemployment, periodic wars.

Bolshevism wrecked the corpse of an Empire. Its wreckage is new. The flotsam and jetsam of Petrograd and Moscow are more pathetic because they are more recent. Pauper princes, professors and technicians, pauperized millionaires, heirs and heiresses, are new and terrible; perhaps more terrible than the destruction caused by the older system. Neither the old nor the new system cares a fig for the Kingdom of God, an applied Christianity, a practical brotherhood or a genuine internationalism. Both want power, not Peace and Good Will.

All thru Europe I found a feeling, freely expressed, that at a critical moment in the world's history, organized religion failed to fulfill its claims as a bringer of peace. The hopes mankind placed in it were not realized, for the churches failed to function except as an amen to the reactionary, Pagan state.

The church gave its all to Cæsar; even that which was God's, the folds of the flags obscured the cross, and the great sacrifice of Calvary seemed in vain.

"Had the churches functioned," men say—preachers and bishops say it now—had the nations been permeated by Christian idealism, had they dominated by the power of holiness, the great war calamity might have been averted. Sermons now are full of assertions that militaristic force is futile in settling quarrels between nations, that besides being un-Christian it is impractical; and not only ministers say it, but also professors, essayists, political economists, sociologists. However they are saying it between wars, when it is safe to say it.

During the war the majority of ministers invoked the war god to grant victory. They harnessed the lowly Nazarene to the cannon and put Him into the trenches to help in the killing and the maiming. They veiled the New Testament and unveiled the Old; they ignored the Sermon on the Mount and chanted the imprecatory Psalms.

If the church or its ministry were faithful to the Spirit and teachings of Jesus during *one* war; if the state knew it could not use the church as a recruiting station, and as a laboratory for the culture of fighting morale, it might be less willing to rush into war.

Of course the church would suffer martyrdom: but is it not time that it should be willing to assume the Apostolic function of suffering for truth's sake?

While organized religion the world over failed in this great crisis, and the multitudes are turning from the churches, Europe is spiritually hungry, and when a man cries with some show of authority, "Lo here and Lo there," masses of men rush to hear the voice of the eternal, and all sorts of religious vagaries prosper, while the church languishes and decays.

There is an outspoken demand that Christianity manifest itself in its full power, by accepting the consequences of its teachings, or cease its pretense of being the "Bride of Christ" when it is only the concubine of Cæsar.

EVERY traveler from abroad is met by the question: "What does Europe think of America?" I should not care to answer the question if it hinged upon whether we have maintained our place in the affection of our Allies. The war was the honeymoon of the allies, and with the armistice, the estrangement which leads to divorce proceedings began. Europe loves us as much as a patient loves the doctor who has saved his life—until he presents his bill.

Nowhere was I received with open arms because I am an American, nor were the keys of any city presented to me, and I venture to say that I was overcharged when the tradesmen saw the cut of my shoes, "for by their" shoes "ye shall know them." Of enmity I felt none, and of grateful affection, much, and that we do not owe to what we did with the sword. In fact our share is apt to be minimized by the victors.

What affection Europe feels for us we owe entirely to what we did thru the healing hands of our nurses and social workers, to the splendid and dramatic work of Mr. Hoover, and in no small degree to the unassuming, self-effacing work of the Quakers.

I have returned from Europe determined to make war on war, to oppose, if need be, the Pagan state, and to work toward making it what it ought to be, a Christian state. I am perhaps more conservative than before, more conscious of the fact that we cannot suddenly break away from the past, that human nature is frail and stupid, and earthbound, and that it needs to be redeemed by being reëducated.

However, I am also a more convinced radical, and I know that I must move on, whether others move with me or not, whether I suffer from the laggards or not. I must ascend my own Calvary if I am to have a share in the redemption of a wrecked and ruined world.

While I want to cling to the past and draw inspiration from those who heard the voice of God, I must bravely face the future, and die if need be on the furthermost outpost of human thought and human endeavor.

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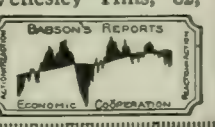
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H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.

New York, September 20, 1921.

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A quarterly dividend of two per cent (two dollars per share) on the capital stock of this Company has been declared, payable on October 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 20, 1921.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

By FREDERICK HOUK LAW, Ph. D.

Head of the English Department, Stuyvesant High School, New York

**I. A Plan for a Lesson in Thought Content and in Literary Style.**

1. Read the following articles carefully, paying great attention to mastering the thought presented, and to observing the effectiveness of expression: (1) Rendering Unto Cæsar the Things That Are God's; (2) The Man Behind the Machine; (3) The Church and the Critic.
2. The three articles are written by entirely different types of people. What common ideals do the articles emphasize? In what one thought are the writers entirely in harmony? How can you account for this agreement in thought? How can you apply this thought to the development of your own life?
3. Explain exactly how Dr. Steiner's article fulfils its title, "Rendering Unto Cæsar the Things That Are God's."
4. What does Dr. Slosson believe should characterize "The Man" who works "Behind the Machine"?
5. What marked characteristic of modern life do most of the letters in "The Church and the Critic" severely criticize?
6. Summarize what Dr. Steiner says concerning the results of the World War.
7. Summarize the ideals of life that Dr. Steiner believes should characterize men who are truly good. What does he say concerning the reasons that make many men fail to follow these ideals?
8. Write several sentences—one for every country—that will express Dr. Steiner's thought concerning every land that he has visited.
9. In the next-to-the-last paragraph Dr. Steiner says that he is more conservative; in the last paragraph he says that he is more radical. What does he mean?
10. What does Dr. Steiner believe will make an ideal nation?
11. What does Dr. Slosson say concerning the machine-power and the moral-power of modern civilization?
12. What prophecy does he present concerning war in the future?
13. Summarize the startling facts Dr. Slosson gives in regard to increase of population.
14. Explain why "The future of a country depends ultimately upon the character and ability of its people." What, then, is one way to live a patriotic life?
15. "The Church and the Critic" criticizes modern college life. Do the same criticisms apply to school life?
16. Dr. Steiner's article contains figures of speech in almost every sentence. Mark every figure of speech in the article. Read aloud at least ten of the figures he makes. Explain the most notable of the figures.
17. Dr. Slosson employs many effective similes. Mark a number of his similes, read them aloud, and explain the most notable ones.
18. What different types of introductions are employed in the three articles? Which article has the most effective ending?
19. Define the following words that occur in the articles: maimed, cultural, anathematized, traditional, rapacity, murky, serene, callous, grotesque, rotundity, ascetic, sacrificial, perverted, gerrymander, pathetic, morale, utilization, per capita, saurians, genii, maturity, ungainly, obvious, improvident, retrograde.

**II. A Plan for a Lesson in Teaching Appreciation of Poetry.**

1. Read "Noble Vengeance" thoughtfully, thinking carefully of the meaning of every word.
2. Compare the poem with the last part of Scene 2, Act II, of Shakespeare's "Henry V," a scene in which the gallant King Henry V of England says: "Touching our person seek we no revenge." Explain in full what characteristics of King Henry V are brought out in that scene.
3. What is the full meaning of the comparison expressed in the last two lines of the poem? What practical lesson is conveyed in those two lines?
4. Can you justify the title? Under what circumstances is vengeance noble?
5. Does the poem gain or lose by its brevity?
6. Edwin Markham is a leading American poet. Go to a public library and find information concerning him and his work. Consult "Who's Who in America" and "New Voices" by Marguerite Wilkinson.
7. Express some original thought in verse, or in pleasing prose.

### History, Civics and Economics

By ARTHUR M. WOLFSON, Ph. D.,

Former Principal of the High School of Commerce, New York

**I. Economic and Social Factors in Modern Civilization—This Changing World.**

1. Read thru this article and then show that the last paragraph sums up the author's general contentions.
2. "The last few years have made it manifest that . . . the mechanical forces have got ahead of the moral forces." What are the proofs of this statement?
3. What is the Malthusian Theory to which the author refers? How far is this theory working out in this country, in England, in countries like India, Egypt and China?

**II. Social and Economic Conditions in Europe—Rendering Unto Caesar the Things That Are God's.**

1. Where does the author get this title? Show that the conditions described in the article justify the selection of this title.
2. Explain the statement: "The war has standardized Europe."
3. According to Professor Steiner what are the most significant political facts in the following countries: Germany, Austria, Poland, France and England?
4. What does he mean by saying, "Prague, Brataslava, Warsaw, Belgrade are infant Potsdams"?

**III. The Problem of the Far East—China and Armaments. Japan and China.**

1. What are the two great political problems of the Far East? How are English interests involved? Japanese? American?
2. Write a brief account of the struggle for India which took place during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
3. Write a similar account of the struggle for supremacy in China which has been going on for the past seventy-five years. When and why did the United States first take a hand in this struggle?

**IV. International Federation and Peace—The Americas and the League. The Central American Federation. "For Limitation of Armament."**

1. How far has the Monroe Doctrine aided in maintaining peace in the Western Hemisphere? How far has it failed?
2. In what way does the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations "hamper the activities and beneficence of the League"?
3. Has the United States any interest in the establishment of a Central American Federation? Is a similar federation of any group of European states possible?
4. What will the coming conference in Washington do toward bringing the world nearer to peace?

**V. Foreign Elements in Our Population—The Immigration Tangle. Unfair Hardships to Immigrants.**

1. What are the chief European elements represented in the population of our country? In what parts of the United States are each of these European elements chiefly to be found?
2. When and why did the United States first begin to put restrictions on European immigration?
3. What are the chief provisions of the present immigration law? What modifications, if any, would you suggest?
4. Why does the writer introduce the table of intelligence test averages into his editorial?

**VI. The American Merchant Marine—Can the "Lame Ducks" Swim?**

1. Write a brief history of the American merchant marine down to the outbreak of the Civil War.
2. In what way did England admit her responsibility for the almost complete disappearance of the American flag from the high seas?
3. Why did the United States undertake to create a merchant marine during the Great War?

**VII The Problem of Ireland—Further Irish Negotiations.**

1. How long has the effort to establish Home Rule in Ireland gone on?
2. Under what circumstances did the Sinn Fein movement originate? What are the chief events in its history up to the present time?
3. "The most dubious factor in the present problem appears to be Ulster." Why are the Ulster men so bitterly opposed to any form of Home Rule?

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